

Physics 280: Session 21

Plan for This Session

Student questions

News and discussion

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Nuclear Attacks

Thursday: “Star Wars” video, more on history

News and Discussion

GLOBAL SECURITY NEWSWIRE

DAILY NEWS ON NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL & CHEMICAL WEAPONS, TERRORISM AND RELATED ISSUES

April 2, 2012



The United States on Saturday said it would join five other world powers and Iran on April 13 and 14 to discuss concerns over the Middle Eastern nation's atomic activities, Reuters reported (see [GSN](#), March 30).

The session in Istanbul, Turkey, would mark Iran's first formal meeting with the five permanent U.N. Security Council member nations and Germany since early last year (see [GSN](#), Jan. 24, 2011). The United States and its allies suspect Iran's nuclear program is geared toward development of a weapons capability; Tehran insists its nuclear program is strictly peaceful.

News and Discussion

April 2, 2012



A Wednesday satellite image of North Korea's Dongchang-ri launch installation. Photographs taken of the site from space appear to show continued preparations for a long-range rocket launch, according to a think-tank analysis (AP Photo/DigitalGlobe).

Pictures taken from space last week indicate that North Korea is continuing preparations for a declared rocket launch this month, the Associated Press reported on Monday (see [GSN](#), March 30).

Pyongyang has announced that it intends to send an Earth observation satellite into space between April 12 and 16. The United States and other nations suspect the launch is in actuality another test of North Korean long-range ballistic missile technology.

Pictures from Wednesday indicate the North "has undertaken more extensive preparations for its planned April rocket launch than previously understood," according to the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies' U.S.-Korea Institute.

Among the developments are the readying of a transportable radar center at the Dongchang-ri launch installation, the institute said. The system would allow engineers to rapidly collect data regarding the functioning of rocket engines and other

components.

News and Discussion

April 3, 2012

A French research reactor is set to receive in excess of 400 pounds of weapon-capable highly enriched uranium from the Y-12 National Security Complex in Tennessee, the *Knoxville News Sentinel* reported on Monday (see [GSN](#), March 28).

The material has reportedly reached Europe, just weeks following the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission's March 16 approval of the transfer. The substance is slated for conversion to power the High Flux Reactor at the Institut Laue-Langevin in Grenoble, France.

"The material was recently delivered," National Nuclear Security Administration spokesman Steven Wyatt said.

The uranium was refined to a level exceeding 93 percent, necessitating tight protective measures for the shipment. The NNSA spokesman refused to elaborate on the timing or means of the material's transfer, though, stating that "details are sensitive and/or classified."

News and Discussion

South Africa might resume nuclear fuel operations, including uranium enrichment, Reuters reported on Monday (see [GSN](#), June 9, 2011).

The nation's one-time apartheid government produced highly enriched uranium to fuel several nuclear weapons believed to have been manufactured in the 1980s. However, the HEU program was curbed starting in 1985 and within a few years [South Africa](#) dismantled its nuclear arms and associated programs.

South Africa is now seeking to boost power production by 9,600 megawatts while curtailing its need to buy nuclear fuel from other nations. That could mean developing indigenous uranium enrichment and conversion plants, along with nuclear fuel production sites.

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

- Introduction to Defending Against Nuclear Attacks
- History of Defending Against Ballistic Missiles
- Current and Proposed Missile Defense Programs

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

Introduction to Efforts to Defend Against Nuclear Attack

Types of Defenses Against Nuclear Attacks

Passive defenses (“civil defense”)

- Seeks to deter or mitigate rather than defeat an attack
- Requires sheltering and crisis relocation
- Has been embraced and discarded several times (1950s, 1960s, 1980s)

Active defenses (weapons to destroy weapons)

- Seeks to prevent nuclear weapons from detonating at their targets
- Requires destruction of delivery vehicles (aircraft, ICBMs, SLBMs, cruise missiles, etc.) before they reach their targets
- Must be nearly perfect to avoid enormous death and destruction (offensive weapons costing \$1M can kill 1M people and destroy \$1B worth of property)

Passive Defenses Against Attacks

Sheltering (1950s, 1960s, 1980s) —

- Blast shelters (could withstand ~ 50–100 psi overpressures)
 - Only a very small fraction of the land area of the US would be subjected to 50 psi, even in an all-out attack
 - However, most people live in cities and hence would likely be subject to blast, fire, etc.
- Fallout shelters (could have protection factors ~ 100)
 - Radiation from fallout decays rapidly with time
 - Cumulative exposure would still be serious
 - Submarine attacks might continue for weeks or months
 - Problems and costs of providing adequate sanitation, ventilation, food, and water are enormous
- Warning time could be very short (~ 10 minutes or less), so most people would not reach shelters

Passive Defenses Against Attacks

Crisis relocation (Reagan, 1980s) —

- Plans developed by Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)
- Plans called for evacuation of all urban and other “high risk” populations and quartering of evacuees in “host” communities
- There was confusion over whether many communities were high-risk or low-risk
- Feasibility of successful evacuation is very doubtful
- Many urban areas and host regions refused to participate in planning, finding the concept offensive, ludicrous, or dangerous
- By 1985, passive defense was again dropped

Current Direct Threats to the United States Posed by Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles

Only two countries currently have nuclear-armed ballistic missiles that threaten the territory of the United States —

- *Russia*: currently has about 2,000 strategic warheads on delivery vehicles on high alert; on course to reduce this number to 1,550 by 2018; may have as few as 150 land-based missiles by 2015
- *China*: currently has ~ 12 liquid-propellant long-range missiles; warheads are stored separately; has a solid-propellant program

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Countries of concern —

- *North Korea*: Taepo Dong-2, 5,000 km? failed its only test, in July 2006; rumored Taepo Dong-2C/Taepo Dong-3?? 10,000 km?? never tested.
- *Iran*: Shahab-3, up to 2,000 km, liquid, deployed; Sejil, 2,500 km, solid, tested; unlikely to field a 10,000-km missile by 2015 unless given one.

Delivery Methods Other Than Long-Range Ballistic Missiles Pose Greater Threats

Several countries are capable of developing mechanisms to launch SRBMs, MRBMs, or land-attack cruise missiles from forward-based ships or other platforms. Some may develop such systems before 2015.

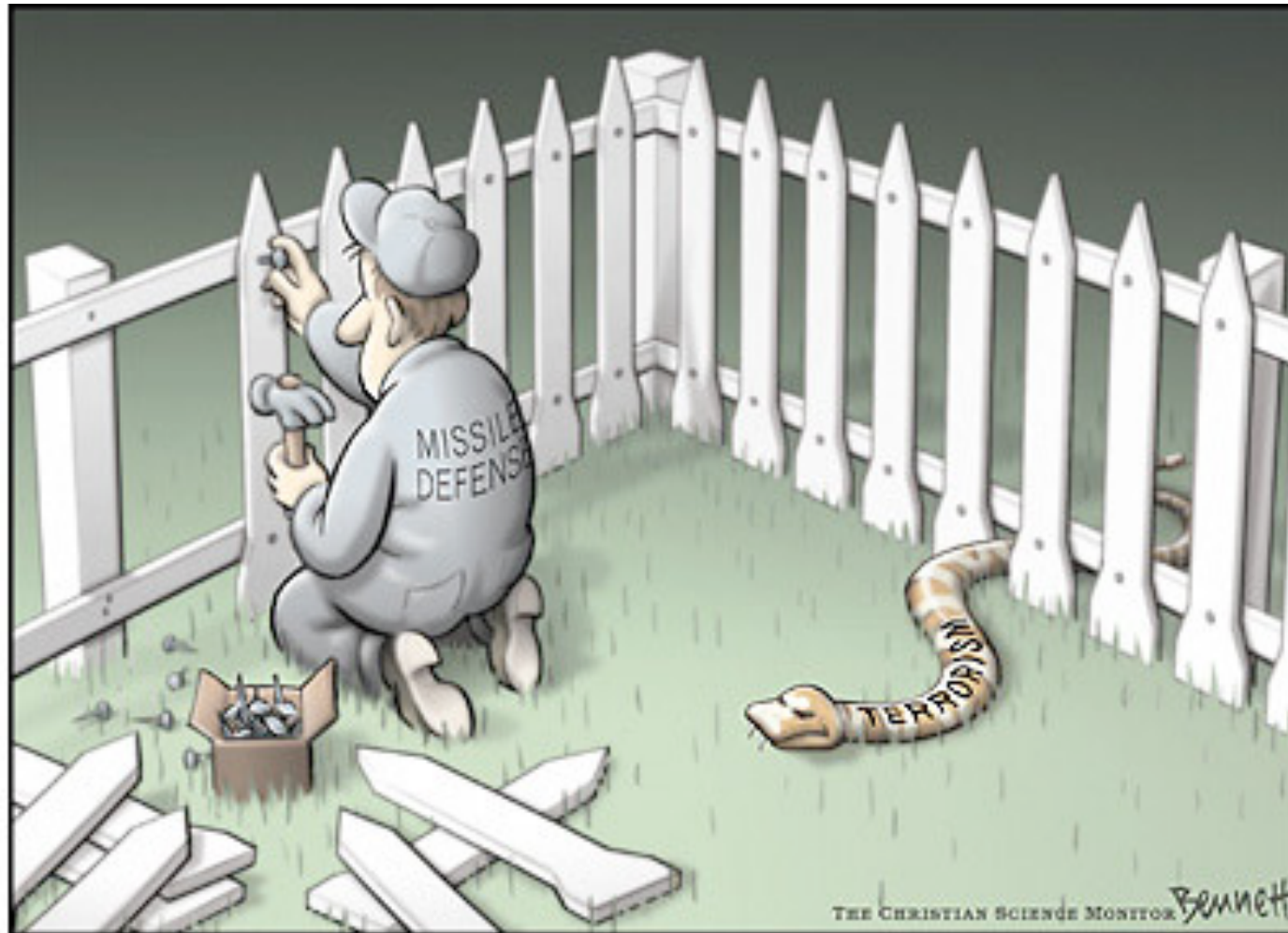
U.S. territory is more likely to be attacked with [nuclear weapons] using non-missile delivery means—most likely from terrorists—than by missiles, primarily because non-missile delivery means are —

- less costly
- easier to acquire
- more reliable and accurate

They also can be used without attribution.

Unclassified summaries of the most recent National Intelligence Estimates of Foreign Missile Developments and the Ballistic Missile Threat Through 2015

Nuclear Threats to the United States



Reducing the Threat of Long-Range Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles

There are many possible ways we could reduce the threat of nuclear-armed missiles, such as —

- Develop friendly relations
- Use cooperative diplomacy, incentives, and disincentives to prevent the development and spread of nuclear and missile capabilities and to reduce and eliminate existing threats
-
- Plan to destroy threatening missiles on the ground
- ***Attempt to destroy attacking missiles in flight***

Programs to Intercept Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles Have Been Controversial. Why?

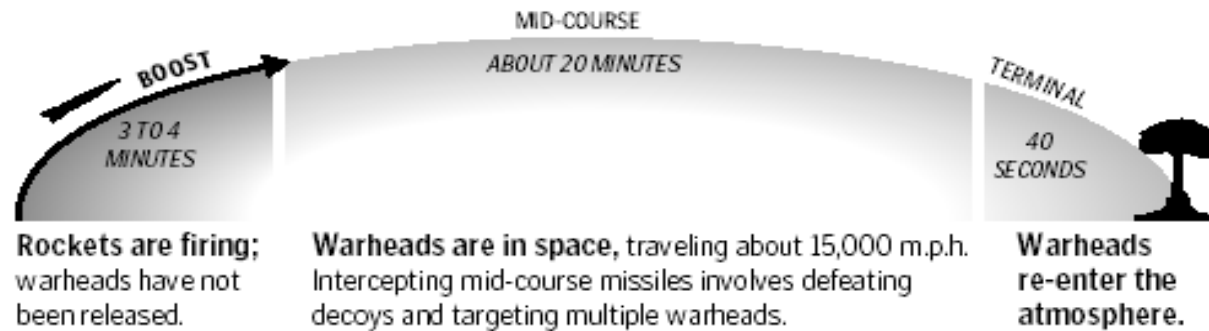
U.S. programs to intercept nuclear-armed long-range ballistic missiles have often been used for other purposes —

- As bargaining chips
- To sidetrack or destroy arms control agreements
- To create a (false) sense of security
- To win partisan political advantage

Programs to intercept nuclear-armed long-range ballistic missiles would *not* be controversial *if* —

- An effective defense was clearly possible using near-term technology
- Such a system could be built for an acceptable cost
- ABM programs would not cause other countries to do things that would end up decreasing our security
- ABM programs would not distract the U.S. from taking other steps that would be more effective in increasing our security

Phases of Flight of a Long-Range Ballistic Missile



Phases of flight —

- Boost phase (rocket motors burning) ~ 1 to 4 min
- Post-boost phase (MIRVed missiles) ~ 5–10 min
- Midcourse phase (ballistic flight) ~ 20 min
- Terminal phase (within atmosphere) ~ 20–30 sec

Types of re-entry vehicles —

- MRV = multiple RV (not independently targetable)
- MIRV = multiple, independently targetable RV
- MARV = maneuverable RV

Types of ABM Systems

‘Terminal’ defenses would attack RVs during re-entry —

- Traditional (radars & rockets armed with conventional or nuclear warheads)
- ‘Simple/novel’ systems (curtains of projectiles, ‘dust defense’ using buried bombs)

‘Mid-course’ defenses would attack RVs in space —

- IR sensors, particle-beams and neutron detectors
- Kinetic-energy warheads or particle beams

‘Boost-phase’ defenses would attack missiles during powered flight, when their rocket motors are burning —

- IR sensors
- Kinetic-kill vehicles (KKVs), lasers, particle beams

ABM System Requirements

- Sensors
 - Goal: detect, identify, and track targets
 - Passive (optical, IR)
 - Active (radar, particle beams)
- Weapons
 - Goal: destroy missile boosters or warheads in flight
- Battle management capability
 - Detection
 - Identification
 - Tracking
 - Discrimination
 - Targeting
 - Damage assessment
 - Retargeting

The Dream of a Technological Solution to the Threat of Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles

- Over the last 50 years the U.S. has spent more than \$300 billion in 2012 dollars on technologies intended to intercept nuclear-armed long-range ballistic missiles in flight.
- We are currently spending about \$10 billion per year on this effort.
- But this huge and costly effort has not significantly enhanced the real security of the United States.

Consequences of a Single Warhead Penetrating a Missile Defense System Would Be Horrific

A large (100 kiloton – 1 Megaton) nuclear explosion in a major city would, within seconds to minutes —

- kill many millions of people
- reduce a hundred square miles to rubble

Very little can be done before or after a nuclear explosion to lessen the deaths, injuries, and destruction it causes.

Consequently, failure to intercept even a single nuclear warhead would have horrific consequences beyond anything in human history.

Past and Current U.S. Missile Defense Programs

Eisenhower Nike-Zeus Program (1950s)

Kennedy Nike-X Program (1960s)

Johnson Sentinel Program (1966–68)

Nixon Safeguard Program (1969–76)

Reagan Star Wars Program (1983–1990)

Patriot in the first Gulf War (1991)

Bush-I and Clinton GPALs Program (1991–1997)

Clinton National Missile Defense Research Program (1997–2001)

Bush-II Missile Defense Program (2001–2009)

Obama Missile Defense Program (2009–present)

Total spent so far: > \$300 billion in 2012 dollars.

Most of these systems were never deployed.

None were found to be effective.

Nixon's 1976 'Safeguard' ABM Weapon System



iClicker Question

What is the minimum range a missile must have to be considered an ICBM?

- A. 2,500 km
- B. 3,500 km
- C. 4,500 km
- D. 5,500 km
- E. 6,500 km

Blank

iClicker Answer

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iClicker Question

Which one of the following is *not* a phase in the flight of an intercontinental-range ballistic missile?

- A. Boost phase
- B. Post-boost phase
- C. Cruising phase
- D. Midcourse phase
- E. Terminal phase

Blank

iClicker Answer

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- E. Terminal phase

iClicker Question

Missiles

Which of the following acronyms refers to a missile configuration that can deliver nuclear warheads to several different targets?

- A. RV
- B. MRV
- C. MIRV
- D. MARV
- E. MMARV

Blank

iClicker Answer

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Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attack

Reagan's 'Star Wars' Program (1980s)

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Why discuss Reagan's 'Star Wars' program in detail?

- *It remains a point of reference for many current discussions of missile defense*
- *It provides valuable "lessons learned"*

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Began with a paragraph in Reagan's speech on March 23rd, 1983 —

- Surprised and stunned the entire US government, including the Pentagon
- Expressed a grand vision to make nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete”, replacing nuclear deterrence by a defensive weapons system
- Was a radical departure from previous US policy
- Contradicted the results of just-completed studies by the White House and the DoD
- Did not say success was assured, but implied it was highly likely and could be achieved soon
- Launched a major, long-term research and development program: the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Why was almost everyone surprised? —

- The President consulted with only a few advisors (not including his Secretary of Defense or his Science Advisor) before giving his speech.
- The U.S. already had a very large research program that was investigating ABM weapons.
- The White House Science Council had just completed a study which concluded that missile defense would be technologically infeasible for the foreseeable future.
- The Defense Department had just completed a series of detailed studies that concluded the prospects for success were very poor and recommended reducing the funding of the existing ABM research program (DDR&E had testified about them earlier that same day).

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Some consequences of Reagan's speech—

- Raised public hopes and expectations that could not be fulfilled (“protection of our population against nuclear attack is a practical possibility and might even be accomplished soon”)
- Led to doubling and tripling of expenditures on ABM weapon research and development, exacerbating the enormous budget deficits of the Reagan years
- Closed off pursuit of alternative approaches to reducing the threat of nuclear weapons
- Accelerated the building of offensive weapons
- Started expensive programs to develop and deploy extensive missile defenses that continue unsuccessfully to this day

**The 'Star Wars' program did *not* cause the Soviet Union's collapse
(it was already collapsing)**

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Sensors, computers, and weapons would have had to be integrated into an enormously complex system that—

- Would have had to attack ballistic missiles within seconds after having been dormant for years
- Would have had to work almost perfectly the first time it was used, even though it could not be tested under realistic conditions
- Would have had to work almost perfectly while being attacked by Soviet nuclear and space weapons

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Some technical realities of the time —

- A system that was 90% effective would have allowed a Soviet attack to kill 75% of the US population immediately, with millions of later deaths
- IR laser weapons would have required space-based mirrors 10 times larger than the largest ever built on the ground and lasers $> 10^6$ times brighter
- Midcourse intercept would have required detection, tracking, and discrimination of $\sim 100,000$ objects in space, at *existing* Soviet force levels
- Battle management computer programs would have required more than 100,000 man-years to write using the most advanced techniques then available and would have had to work almost flawlessly the first time they were used

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

For every SDI weapon concept that was proposed or imagined, including all space-based weapons, a counter-measure had already been identified.

Unlike the weapons themselves, these counter-measures were —

- Possible with existing technology
- Relatively cheap

Moreover, the SDI program did not even attempt to address nuclear weapons carried by —

- Air-, sea-, or ground-launched cruise missiles
- Submarine-launched ballistic missiles
- Bombers
- Ships

A main ingredient of SDI was an X-ray laser concept that used a large nuclear weapon as its source of power.

Yet SDI was supposed to make nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete”.

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Knowledgeable people inside and outside the government knew the goal of complete protection was impossible —

- Knowledgeable scientists and others outside the government spoke out strongly
 - Gave public speeches, talks, articles, etc.
 - Pledged not to participate
- Knowledgeable people inside government spoke out
 - Made cautious public comments
 - Some gave forceful secret advice
- Allies of Reagan tried to “move the goal posts” to —
 - Enhancing deterrence
 - Causing the Soviets to spend money on countermeasures
- However, all this had little impact on the public's perception

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

As a result of its technological unreality, the emphasis of the SDI program fluctuated wildly from year to year —

- Space-based X-ray lasers
- Space-based particle-beam weapons
- Space- and ground-based optical and UV lasers
- Space-based kinetic energy weapons
- Smart rocks
- Brilliant pebbles
- High- and low-altitude rocket interceptors

None of the resources spent on these exotic technologies contributed significantly to subsequent ABM programs.

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

Some consequences of the 'Star Wars' ABM weapon program —

- Spurred the race in offensive strategic weapons, until ~ 30,000 were deployed
- Spurred Soviet efforts to develop space weapons
- Poisoned arms control efforts
- Had an enormous opportunity cost
 - Diverted money, manpower, and other resources from education and internationally competitive civilian industries and products to uncompetitive military industries and products
 - SDI ended up costing more than \$150B in 2012 dollars, but accomplished very little that was useful

The SDI program was greatly reduced by Bush-I and terminated in 1994 by Clinton, but Clinton felt compelled to restart a program to defend against long-range ballistic missiles in 1998. Bush-II greatly expanded this program.

Reagan's 'Star Wars' ABM Weapon Program

What if Star Wars weapons had been deployed?

- It would have aggravated crisis instability.
- It would have shortened decision times, removing humans from the loop.
- If the weapons actually worked and were matched by the Soviets, U.S. allies would have been disarmed.
- There would have been an enormous financial cost [the cost of the originally proposed prototype system exceeded \$1 trillion in 1985 \$].
- It could have created a false sense of security, possibly leading to tragic mistakes.

The 'Nitze Criteria' for Deploying an ABM System (Important)

In the early 1980s, Paul Nitze argued convincingly that to be considered for deployment, an ABM system must first meet the following three criteria —

1. The system must be effective
2. The system must be able to survive attack
3. The system must be cost-effective at the margin

These criteria were officially adopted ~ 1985 and have become known as the “Nitze criteria” for it to make sense to deploy a missile defense system.

Adoption of these criteria effectively ended any chance of deploying a missile defense system during the 1980's and 1990's, because no system then under development could come close to meeting them.

Bush-II scrapped the Nitze Criteria in 2001 in order to deploy a missile defense system (see “capability-based development and deployment”).

Lessons from Reagan's 'Star Wars' Program (Important)

- Missile defense technology is highly challenging
- Technology cannot be coerced by wishful thinking, ideology, or policy (engineering programs must be consistent with technical realities, because nature cannot be fooled)
- It is important to understand what technology can and cannot do in a given situation, because to be successful, policies must be consistent with the available technology
- An R&D program without clear goals will always waste time and money
- Frequent testing is critical and the budget for tests must therefore be large; if there is no commitment to such an effort, the program will fail
- An independent evaluation and review process is critical

Physics 280: Session 22

Plan for This Session

Student questions

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Nuclear Attacks (cont'd)

Today: “SDI” (Star Wars) video

Tuesday: “Missile Wars” video

iClicker Question

About how many *total* nuclear weapons does the UK now have?

- A. 50
- B. 100
- C. 200
- D. 500
- E. 1,000

Blank

iClicker Answer

About how many *total* nuclear weapons does the UK now have?

- A. 50
- B. 100
- C. 200**
- D. 500
- E. 1,000

iClicker Question

About how many nuclear weapons does India now have?

- A. 20–30
- B. 60–80
- C. 120–150
- D. 2,000
- E. 5,000

Blank

iClicker Answer

About how many nuclear weapons does India now have?

- A. 20–30
- B. 60–80**
- C. 120–150
- D. 2,000
- E. 5,000

iClicker Question

About how many nuclear weapons does Israel now have?

- A. 20–30
- B. 60–80
- C. 120–150
- D. 2,000
- E. 5,000

Blank

iClicker Answer

About how many nuclear weapons does Israel now have?

- A. 20–30
- B. 60–80**
- C. 120–150
- D. 2,000
- E. 5,000

iClicker Question

About how many nuclear weapons does Pakistan now have?

- A. 50
- B. 100
- C. 250
- D. 3,000
- E. 5,000

Blank

iClicker Answer

About how many nuclear weapons does Pakistan now have?

- A. 50
- B. 100**
- C. 250
- D. 3,000
- E. 5,000

iClicker Question

North Korea is thought to have enough Pu for for about how many nuclear weapons?

- A. 1 or 2
- B. 3–5
- C. 6–10
- D. 11–20
- E. 20–50

Blank

iClicker Answer

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- C. 6–10**
- D. 11–20
- E. 20–50

The Dream of a Technological Solution to the Problem of Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles

Introduction to the “SDI” (Star Wars) video —

- Reagan’s science advisor George Keyworth II
- Gorbachev’s science advisors Roald Sagdeev & Evgeny Velikhov
- Lakota Sioux bullet-proof “red shirt” defense — produced a massacre then
- Faith in SDI’s “impenetrable shield” could have produced a catastrophe
- Faith in current missile defense systems could produce a catastrophe today

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

“SDI” Video

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

Discussion of “SDI” Video

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

Impact of Patriot in the First Gulf War

Patriot in the 1991 Gulf War

Events that formed the public's impression—

- TV videos of Patriot “engagements” and enthusiastic reports by military spokesmen and news reporters of the Patriot’s successes.
- General Schwarzkopf: “The Patriot’s success is 100%—so far, of 33 Scuds engaged, there have been 33 destroyed.”
- President Bush, during a celebratory visit to Raytheon, said “Patriot is 41 for 42, 42 Scuds engaged, 41 intercepted... **Patriot is proof positive that missile defense works.**”

Patriot in the 1991 Gulf War (cont'd)

Later studies showed the Patriot's actual performance was *very poor* —

- The First Army study (February 1992) was found to have many serious flaws by the GAO and the CRS.
- In April 1992, Pedatzur (Tel Aviv) reported only 1 Scud hit by a Patriot based in Israel; found that 4 Patriot warheads had fallen and exploded in populated areas.
- A corrected Army study (April 1992) reported a 'success rate' > 70% in Saudia Arabia and > 40% in Israel (success = incoming WH destroyed, dudged, or deflected) [this is still the official DoD claim].
- A September 1992 GAO study reviewed the corrected Army study and found only 4 engagements (9% of the total) in which there was strong evidence of a Patriot 'kill'.
- A detailed study by Postol & Lewis (MIT, 1991–92) found *evidence of 3 hits but no evidence of any 'kills'*. An independent study by the APS largely agreed.
- **In the end, there was not a single well-documented intercept but many well-documented complete misses**

However, these results came too late and few included videos, so they had little impact on the public's perception that Patriot had succeeded.

Physics 280: Session 23

Plan for This Session

Student questions

News and discussion

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Nuclear Attacks (cont'd)

Today: “Missile Wars” video

News and Discussion

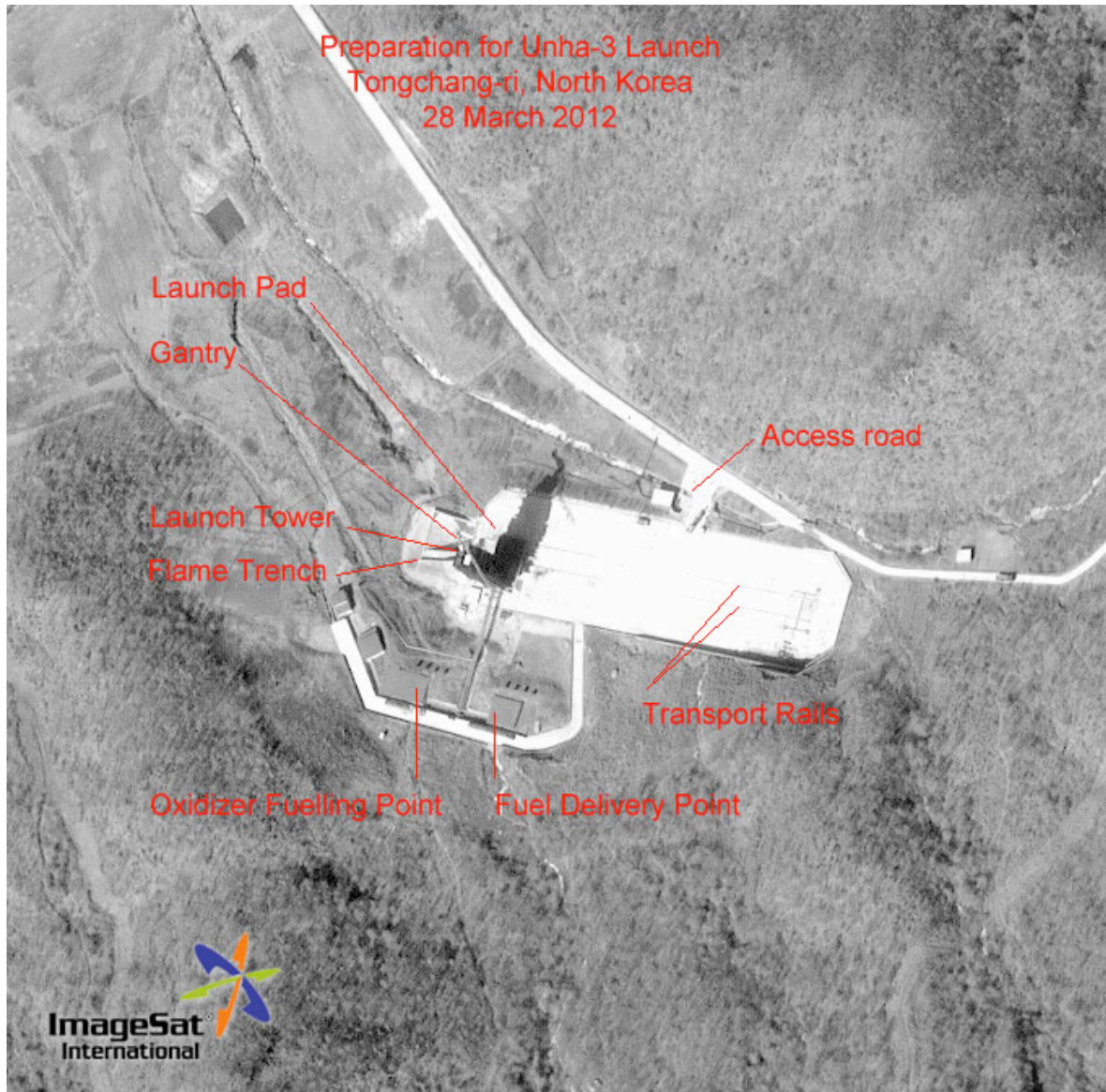


A North Korean soldier stands in front of the country's Unha-3 rocket, slated for liftoff between April 12-16, at a launching site in Tongchang-ri, North Korea on Sunday April 8, 2012. (AP Photo)

(AP) TONGCHANG-RI, North Korea - North Korean space officials have moved all three stages of a long-range rocket into position for a controversial launch, vowing Sunday to push ahead with their plan in defiance of international warnings against violating a ban on missile activity.

The Associated Press was among foreign news agencies allowed a firsthand look at preparations under way at the coastal Sohae Satellite Station in northwestern North Korea.

News and Discussion



News and Discussion



Expected Trajectory for the Planned North Korean Space Launch

First-Stage Splashdown Area

Second-Stage Splashdown Area

News and Discussion

South Korea says North preparing for nuclear test

By HYUNG-JIN KIM, Associated Press – 10 hours ago

SEOUL, South Korea (AP) — Recent satellite images show North Korea is digging a new tunnel in what appears to be preparation for a third nuclear test, according to South Korean intelligence officials.

The excavation at North Korea's northeast Punggye-ri site, where nuclear tests were conducted in 2006 and 2009, is in its final stages, according to a report by intelligence officials that was shared Monday with The Associated Press.

News and Discussion

By Paul Richter, Los Angeles Times

April 10, 2012

WASHINGTON — Iran's top nuclear official offered hope that Tehran may be flexible in upcoming international talks about its disputed nuclear program, indicating that the regime may be willing to halt production of the enriched uranium that most worries the West.

Fereydoun Abbasi, head of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization, said in an Iranian TV interview broadcast Monday that Iran wants only enough 20%-enriched uranium for its medical needs.

The United States and its European allies are worried that Iran could refine the 20%-enriched uranium it is producing into weapons-grade fuel for a nuclear bomb in a matter of months.

Talks are scheduled to begin Friday in Istanbul, Turkey, between Iran and the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council — the United States, Britain, France, China and Russia — plus Germany.

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attack

PBS Frontline Video “Missile Wars”

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attack

Discussion of “Missile Wars”

iClicker Question

Which of the following is **not** one of the “Nitze criteria” for considering deployment of an ABM system?

- A. The system must be effective
- B. The system must be able to survive an attack
- C. The system must use the most advanced technology
- D. The system must be cost-effective at the margin
- E. None of the above are “Nitze criteria”

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iClicker Question

Which of the following was **not** a consequence of Reagan's Star Wars" anti-missile program?

- A. The public developed unrealistic hopes for a perfect shield against long-range missiles
- B. The already enormous federal budget deficit was greatly increased
- C. The Soviet Union and China moved to increase the size and capability of their missiles
- D. The Soviet Union collapsed economically
- E. U.S. scientific and engineering talent was shifted from internationally competitive civilian enterprises to uncompetitive military enterprises

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iClicker Question

Missile Defenses

Which of the following is not a lesson of the Star Wars program?

- A. Missile defense is highly challenging
- B. The necessary technology cannot be produced by wishful thinking or ideology
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- D. Frequent testing is unnecessary
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iClicker Question

Missile Defenses

The reported success of the Patriot missile defense system during the 1991 Gulf War was a key argument used to restart the U.S. program to defend against ICBMs. In the end, how many intercepts of Iraqi short-range missiles were well-documented?

- A. 0
- B. 5
- C. 10
- D. 50
- E. 100

Blank

iClicker Answer

Missile Defenses

The reported success of the Patriot missile defense system during the 1991 Gulf War was a key argument used to restart the U.S. program to defend against ICBMs. In the end, how many intercepts of Iraqi short-range missiles were well-documented?

- A. 0
- B. 5
- C. 10
- D. 50
- E. 100

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

Bush II's Missile Defense Program (“Total Defense”)

Bush's 'Capability-Based Acquisition' (Important)

The 'Nitze Criteria' were officially scrapped.

Instead, the Bush program was "capability-based", which meant —

- It had no specific goals or requirements.
- Congress was supposed to give the Missile Defense Agency (MDA) whatever money it asked for.
- MDA would say later what it did with the money.
- President Bush asked Congress to increase MDA's budget by large amounts every year.
- MDA's budget in FY2009 year was \$10 billion, twice the entire budget of the National Science Foundation.

Similar Problems With George W. Bush's and Reagan's Missile Defense Programs

- Missile defense was closely personally identified with the President.
- Missile defense was ideologically driven and highly politicized.
- There was misleading “information” all over the place.
- The policy goals and conceptual framework kept shifting.
- The technical goals were unspecified or nonexistent.
- The R&D program was poorly defined and overextended.
- Tests were infrequent and unrealistic or nonexistent, and budgets for testing were far too small.
- Tests and demonstrations of little relevance (stunts) got wide publicity, while vital technical information was hidden from the Congress and the public behind a wall of secrecy.

Any program with these characteristics has serious problems.

Physics 280: Session 24

Plan for This Session

Student questions

News and discussion

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Nuclear Attacks (final)

Next: Nuclear arms control

News and Discussion

Launch control Center for North Korea's Missile Test Site



News and Discussion

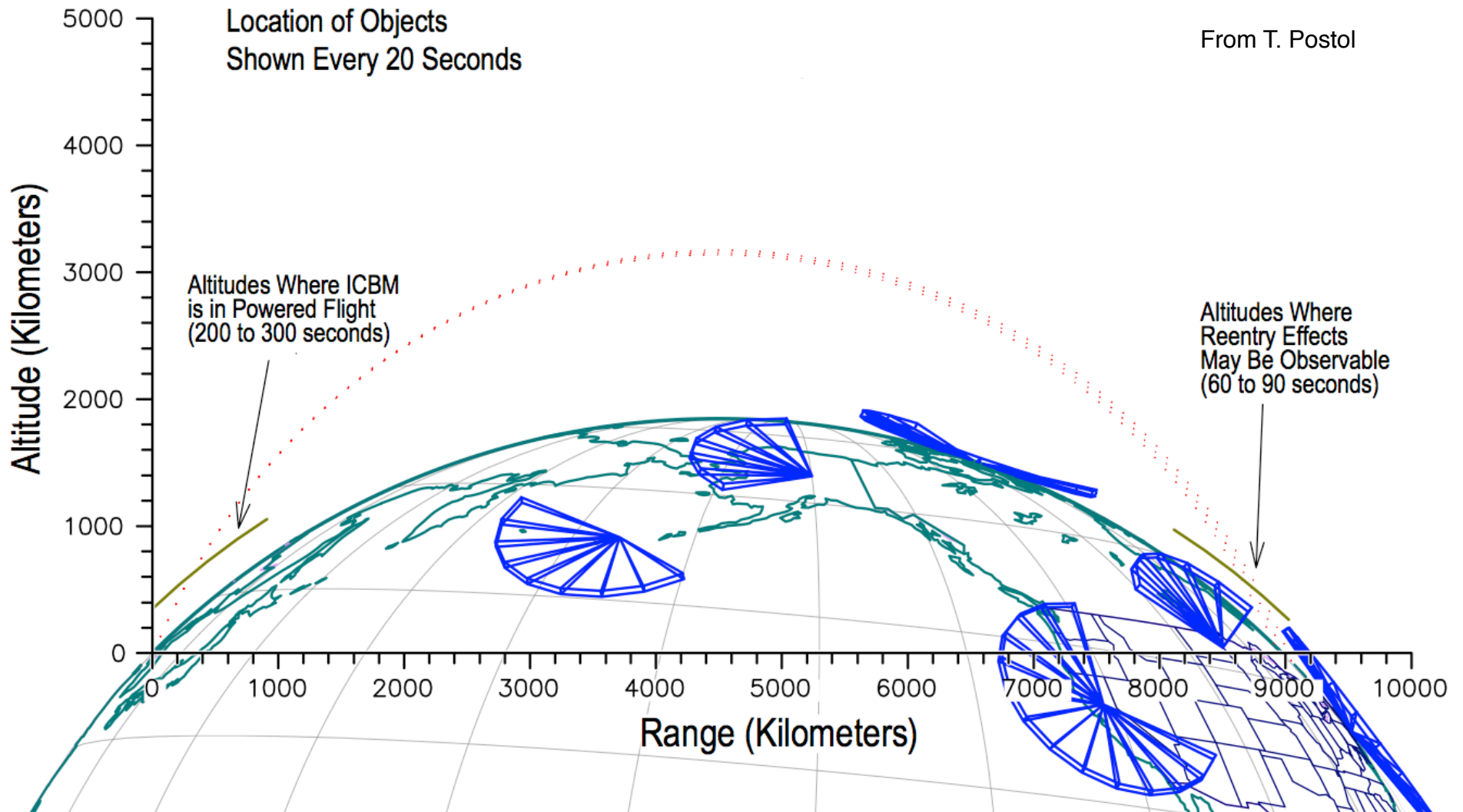
Update on North Korea's Unha-3 Rocket

- Based on ballistic missile technologies
- First stage is a cluster of Nodong engines
- Second stage appears to be a Soviet SS-N-6
- Third stage appears identical to the upper stage of Iran's two-stage Safir-2 launch vehicle, made of SS-N-6 parts

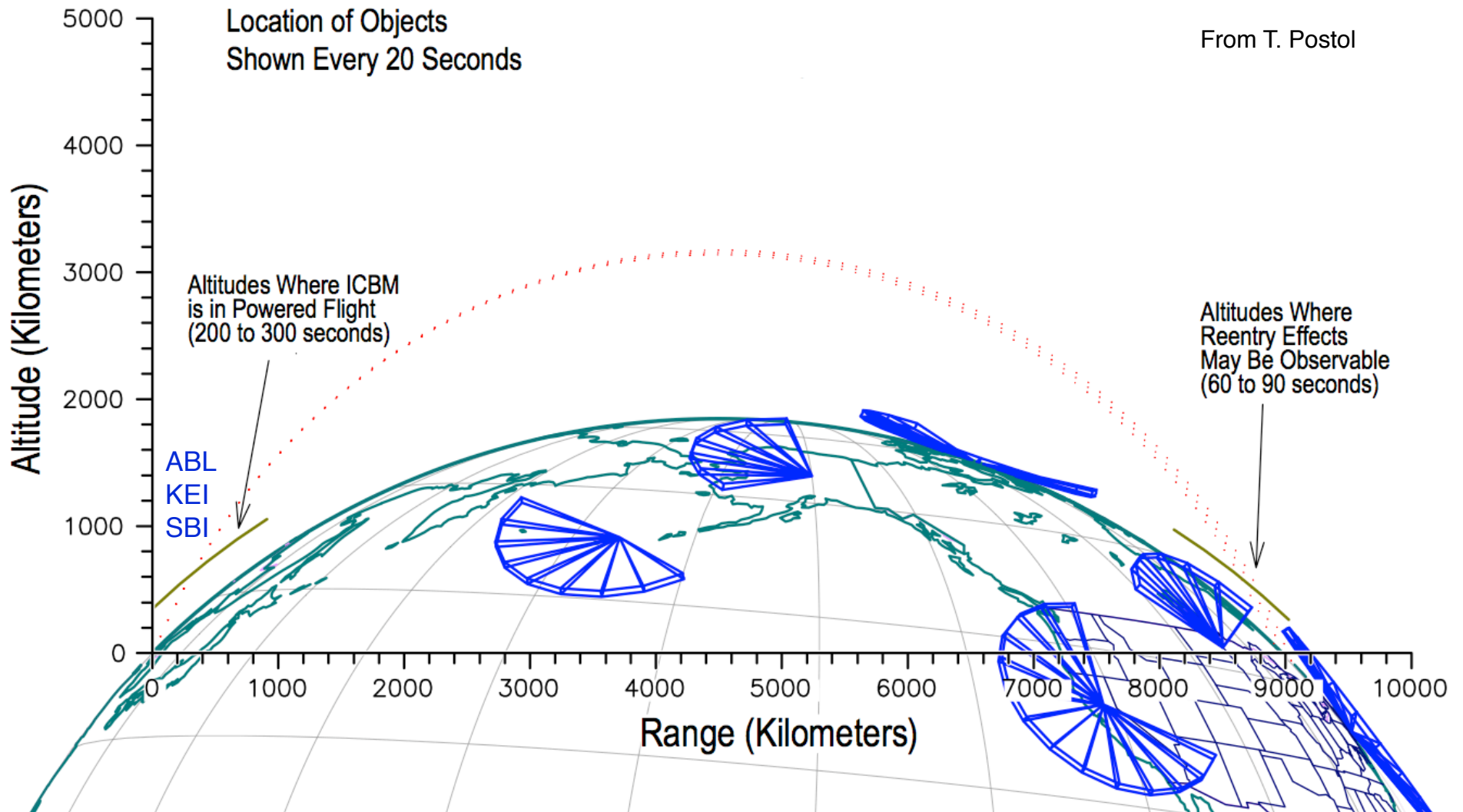
The rocket was launched at 7:39 AM Friday, April 13, local time and broke apart about 90 seconds into its flight.

Why did North Korea attempt this launch now?

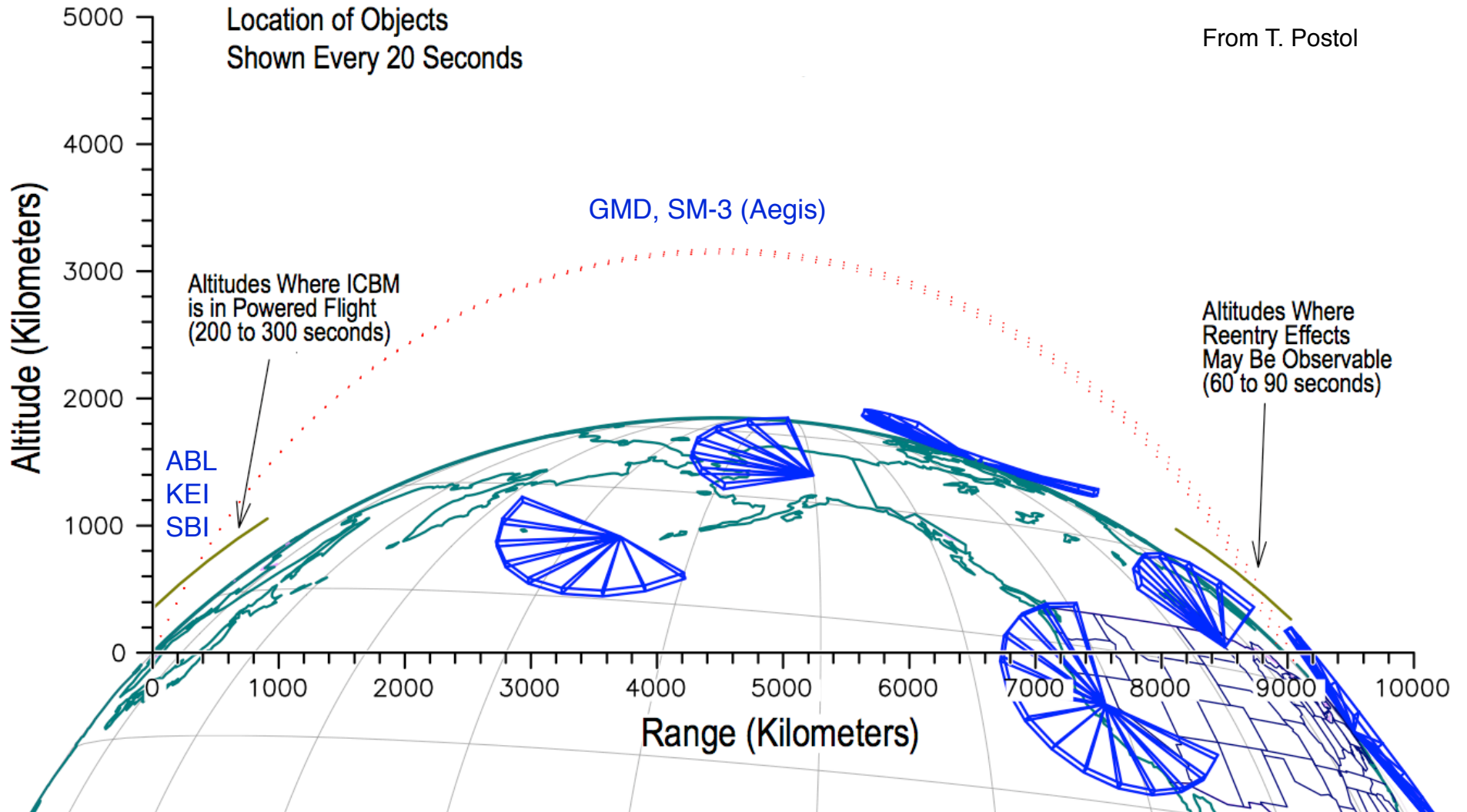
Originally Planned Defenses Against Nuclear-Armed Long-Range Ballistic Missiles



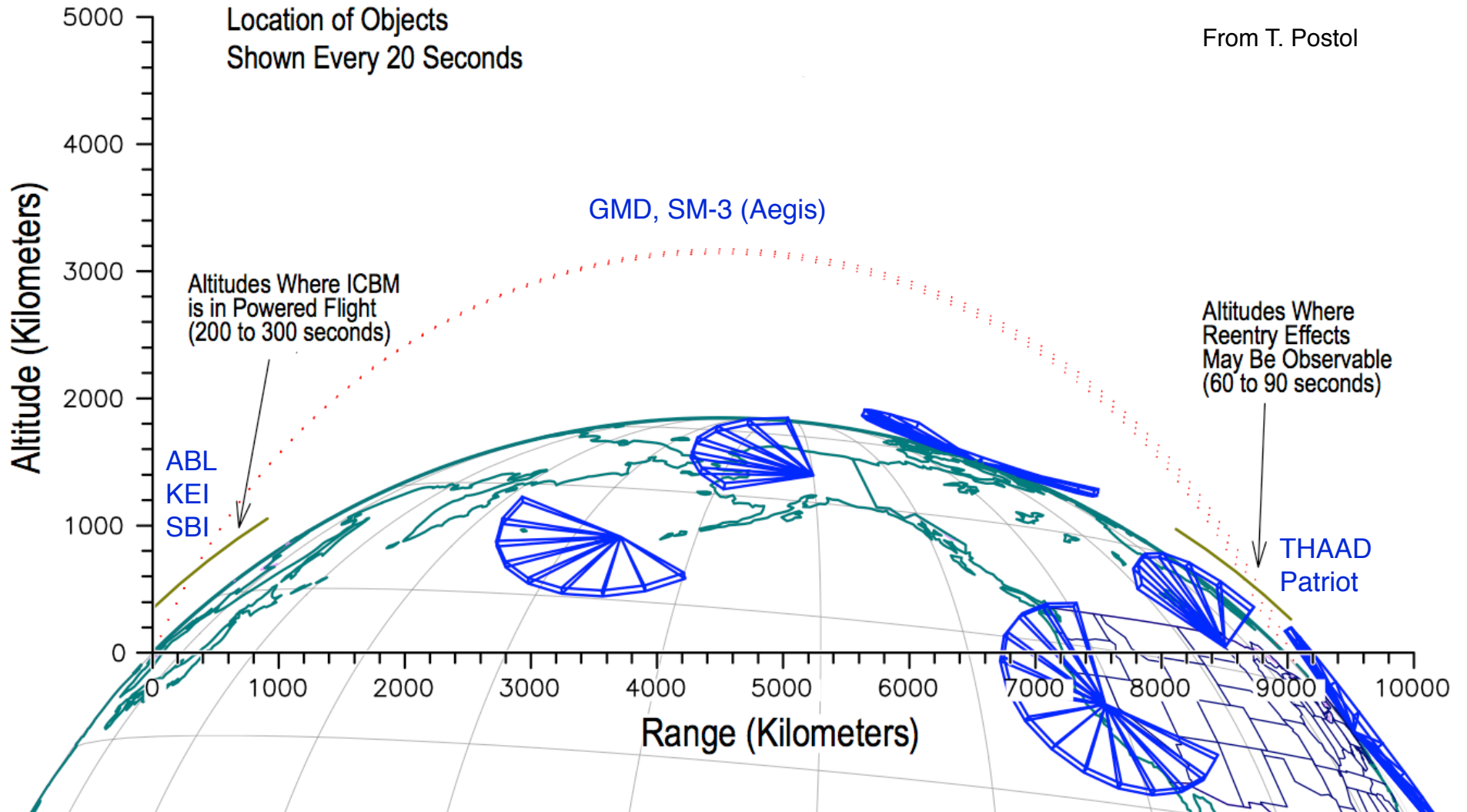
Planned Defenses Against Nuclear-Armed Long-Range Ballistic Missiles



Planned Defenses Against Nuclear-Armed Long-Range Ballistic Missiles



Planned Defenses Against Nuclear-Armed Long-Range Ballistic Missiles



Almost All These Programs Have Since Been Scaled Back or Cancelled

- Space-based Interceptor (SBI) — cancelled 2003.
- Airborne Laser (ABL) — reduced 2008, cancelled 2012.
- Kinetic-Energy Interceptor (KEI) — cancelled.
- Multiple Kill Vehicle (MKV) — cancelled 2005.
- Theater High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) — scaled back, may be cancelled.

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

Bush's U.S.-Based Midcourse Intercept System

Criteria for the Proposed GMD System

President Clinton had established four criteria for deciding whether to move forward with deploying a system:

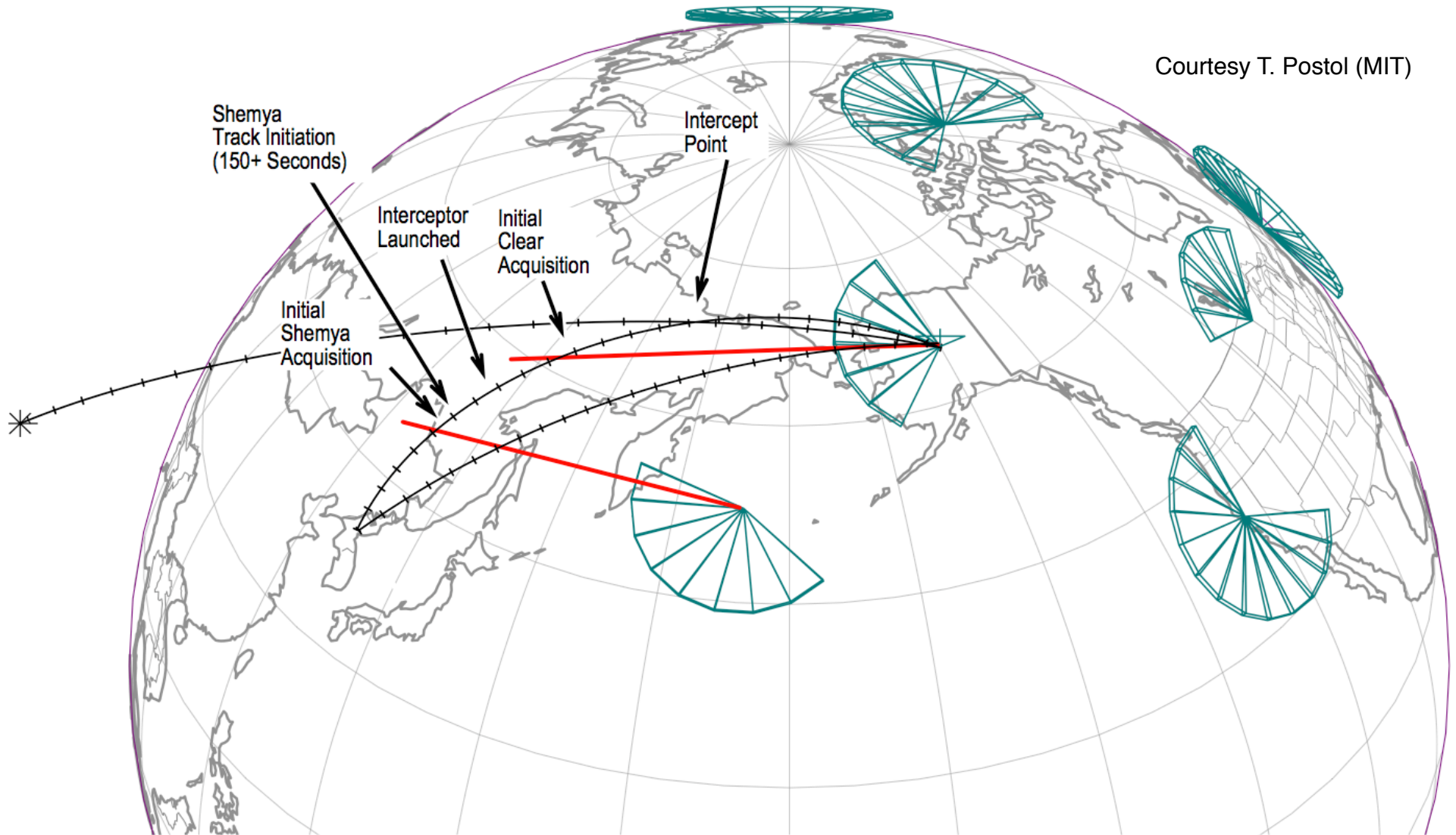
- The threat
- The expected cost
- The technological maturity of the system
- The impact on arms control efforts

President Bush decided to “deploy” the system by 2004, without regard to any of these criteria.

The Concept of Midcourse Intercept



Theoretical Functioning of Proposed Ground-Base Midcourse Intercept (GMD) System



Challenges to Midcourse Intercept

- Each ICBM could launch —
 - Multiple warheads
 - Or dozens of chemical or biological submunitions

So many warheads would overwhelm the defense

- Each ICBM could launch —
 - Countermeasures and penetration aids, including large numbers of lightweight decoys

Outside the atmosphere, these would be difficult to distinguish from warheads and would confuse the defense

Assessment of Bush's Proposed Ground-Based Midcourse Missile Defense System (cont'd)

The January, 2008, DOT&E Annual Report stated:

- Flight testing of the GMD system “is not sufficient to provide a high level of statistical confidence in its limited capabilities.”
- “The addition of limited operational realism to BMDS testing against strategic threats has uncovered unanticipated deficiencies that will require additional development and testing.”

March 2009 Report on the Bush ABM Program by the Government Accountability Office

MDA spent \$56 billion researching and deploying elements of the ground-based midcourse defense (GMD) system from 2002–2009.

MDA failed to achieve *any* of its 6 testing objectives for 2008.

Nevertheless, system elements, including 24 modified GMD interceptors, are being deployed before being fully tested.

MDA overran its budget by \$150 million in 2008. The GMD program cost \$56 million less than budgeted because it did not emplace *any* of the 3 GMD interceptors or conduct *either* of the two tests planned for 2008.

The GAO recommended that MDA —

- Test its GMD interceptor against a complex scene with countermeasures.
- Ensure that items are not manufactured for fielding before their performance has been validated through testing.

News and Discussion

Test fails; Raytheon warhead delivery halted

David Wichner Arizona Daily Star | Posted: Tuesday, April 5, 2011 12:00 am

The U.S. Missile Defense Agency has suspended deliveries of a warhead made by Raytheon for the nation's ground-based missile-defense system, pending the results of an investigation into the system's second failed intercept test.

Deliveries of the Exoatmospheric Kill Vehicle, or EKV, a non-explosive guided warhead made by Tucson-based Raytheon Missile Systems, were halted after the kill vehicle failed to hit its mark in a Dec. 15 flight test, Missile Defense Agency spokesman Rick Lehner said.

When deliveries are resumed depends on the results of a "failure review" launched shortly after the December intercept failure, Lehner said, adding that the agency is likely weeks or months away from releasing a final report.

Current Status of the GMD System

- The current GMD system:
 - About 30 interceptors have been deployed in silos
 - Most are in Alaska, a few are in California
- Test results:
 - 8 hits in 15 highly scripted, simplified tests since 1999 (several launch failures— called “no tests” — are not counted)
 - The launch time and trajectory of the “attacking missile” were known and always the same, closing velocities were slow, no countermeasures were allowed
 - Only two tests involved the interceptor rocket intended for the system
 - The satellite systems needed to detect and track an enemy missile launch are not complete
- Stated capability of the current GMD system:
 - **In 2009, General James Cartwright, Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in U.S. Senate testimony claimed that the missile defense system in place in the United States was 90 percent effective (2009).**
 - **In 2010, the DOT&E stated that the current midcourse system provides only “emergency, low-confidence capability”.**

The Conundrum of Midcourse Missile Defense

It creates incentives for adversaries and competitors of the United States to increase or modernize their missile forces, but offers no credible defense against them.

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

George W. Bush's Proposed Boost-Phase Intercept System

Why is There Interest in Boost-Phase Intercept?

Midcourse Intercept Appears Extremely Challenging

Each missile could launch —

- Multiple warheads
- Dozens of chemical or biological submunitions
- This could overwhelm the defense

Each missile could launch —

- Countermeasures and penetration aids, including large numbers of lightweight decoys
- These would be difficult to distinguish from real warheads above outside the atmosphere
- This could confuse the defense

Why is There Interest in Boost-Phase Intercept?

Boost-phase intercept has been described as easier than midcourse intercept, because

- ICBMs are described as slowly-moving, fragile targets
- ICBMs have bright exhaust plumes that are easy to track
- An ICBM is a unitary target if it can be intercepted before it deploys its warheads
- It is usually assumed that there are few if any effective countermeasures to boost-phase intercept

It is also argued that boost-phase intercept . . .

. . . would reduce the challenge faced by the midcourse layer if it were the first layer of a layered defense

Requirements for a Successful Boost-Phase Intercept

- The interceptor rocket must reach the target missile before it has a velocity that will carry its warheads to the defended area.
- The interceptor's final stage ("kill vehicle") must be able to maneuver to hit the ICBM while it is in powered flight.

Key Issues for Boost-Phase Intercept

ICBM boost phases are short (4 min liquids, 3 min solids)

- The defense has little time to decide whether to fire
- Interceptors have little time to reach the ICBM

Geographical constraints require high interceptor speeds

- Intercept points for ICBMs from North Korea and Iran are 500 to 1,000 km from potential interceptor basing locations

ICBMs in powered flight accelerate unpredictably

- Burn variations, energy management, programmed evasion
- Interceptors would have to be fast and agile

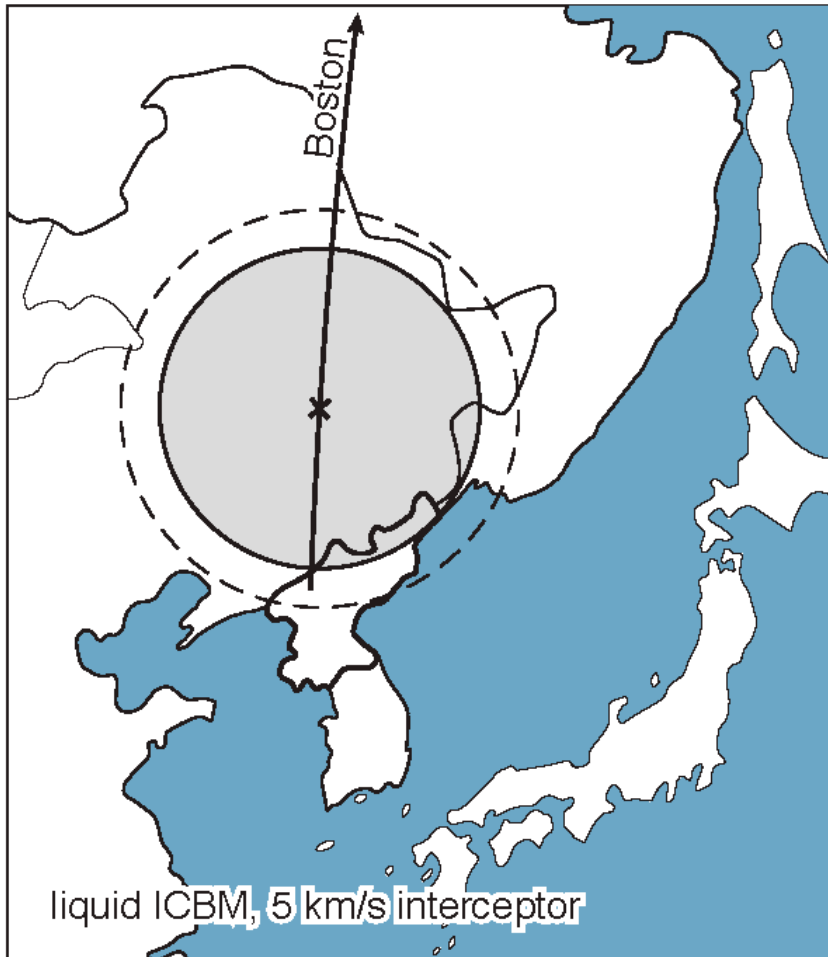
A successful intercept is unlikely to destroy warheads

- Live warheads could impact the territory of the United States or U.S. friends and allies (“shortfall management problem”)

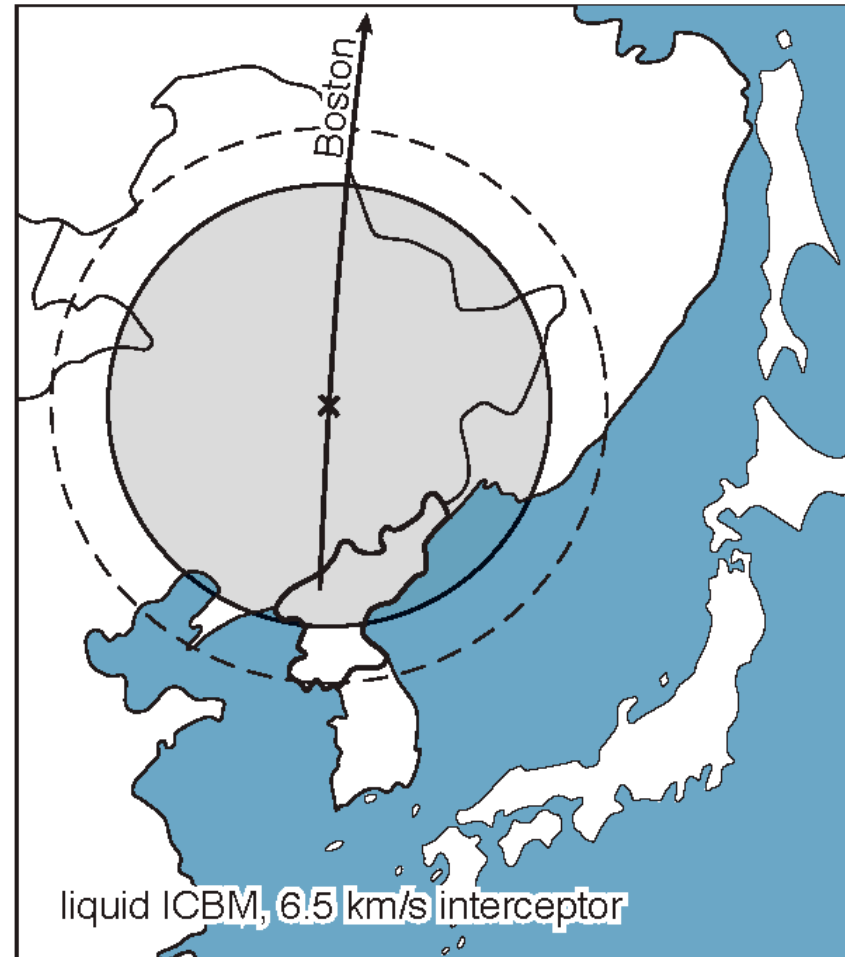
Reaching the ICBM in Time

- In many situations the interceptor rocket would have only ~ 2 min (solids) or ~ 3 min (liquids) to reach the target ICBM, even with a state-of-the-art space-based detection and tracking system
- In some situations, the defense would have only seconds to decide whether to fire, and even if its interceptors were fast and fired immediately, they could have difficulty reaching the ICBM in time

Regional Geography Constrains How Close Interceptors Could Be Based

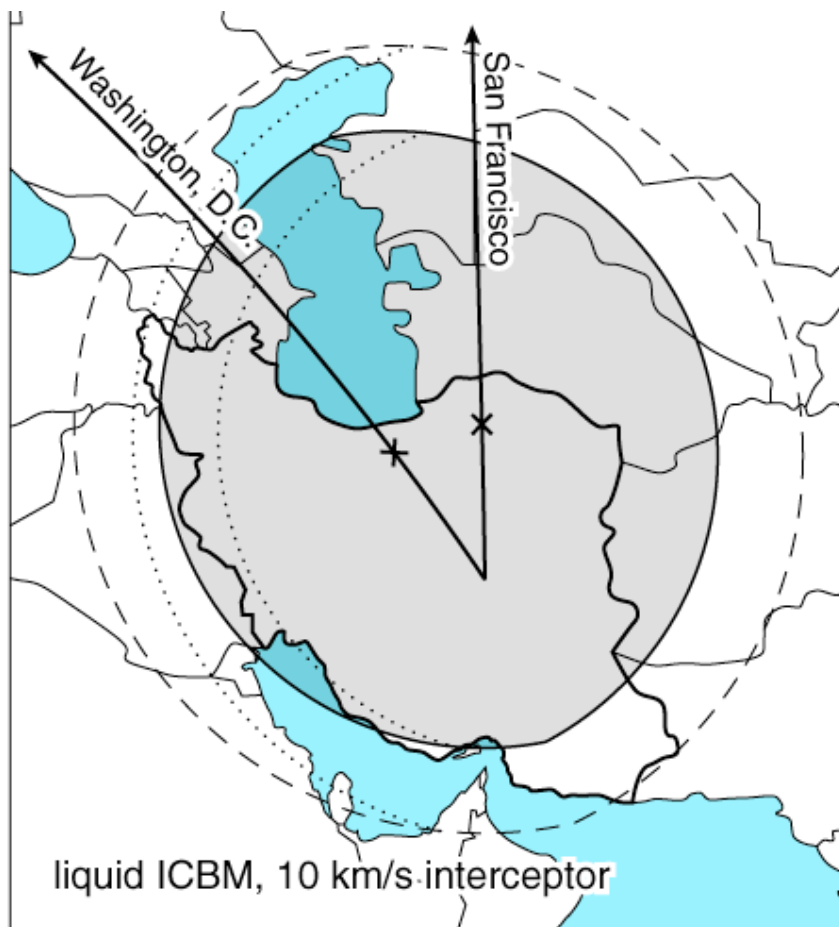


Basing areas for a 5 km/s interceptor to defend Boston against a liquid-propellant ICBM launched from North Korea

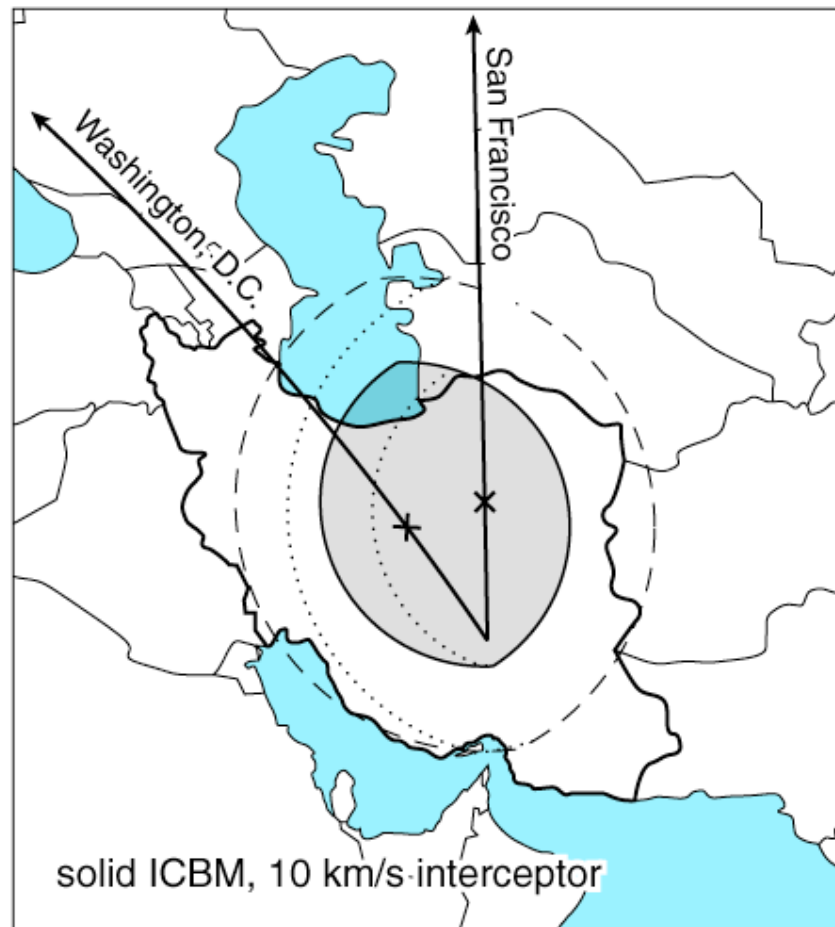


Basing areas for a 6.5 km/s interceptor to defend Boston against a liquid-propellant ICBM launched from North Korea

Regional Geography Constrains How Close Interceptors Could Be Based



Basing areas for intercepting a liquid-propellant ICBM from Iran to the Lower 48 States



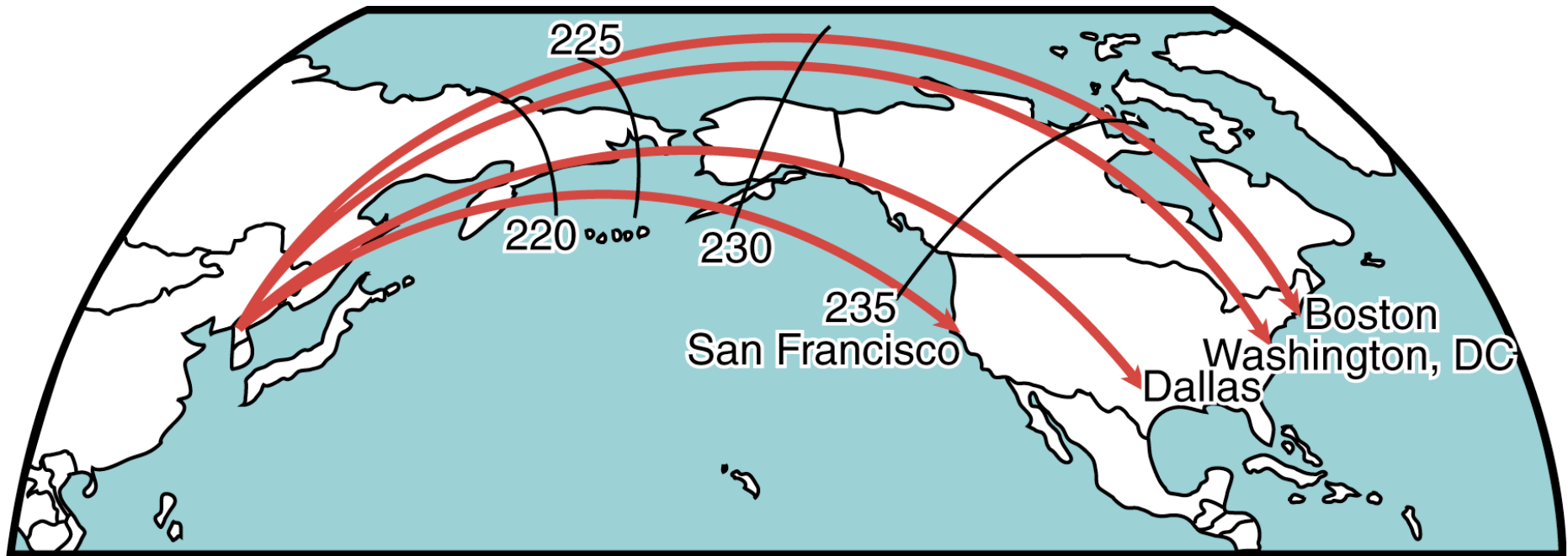
Basing areas for intercepting a solid-propellant ICBM from Iran to the Lower 48 States

Implications of the Time Constraints

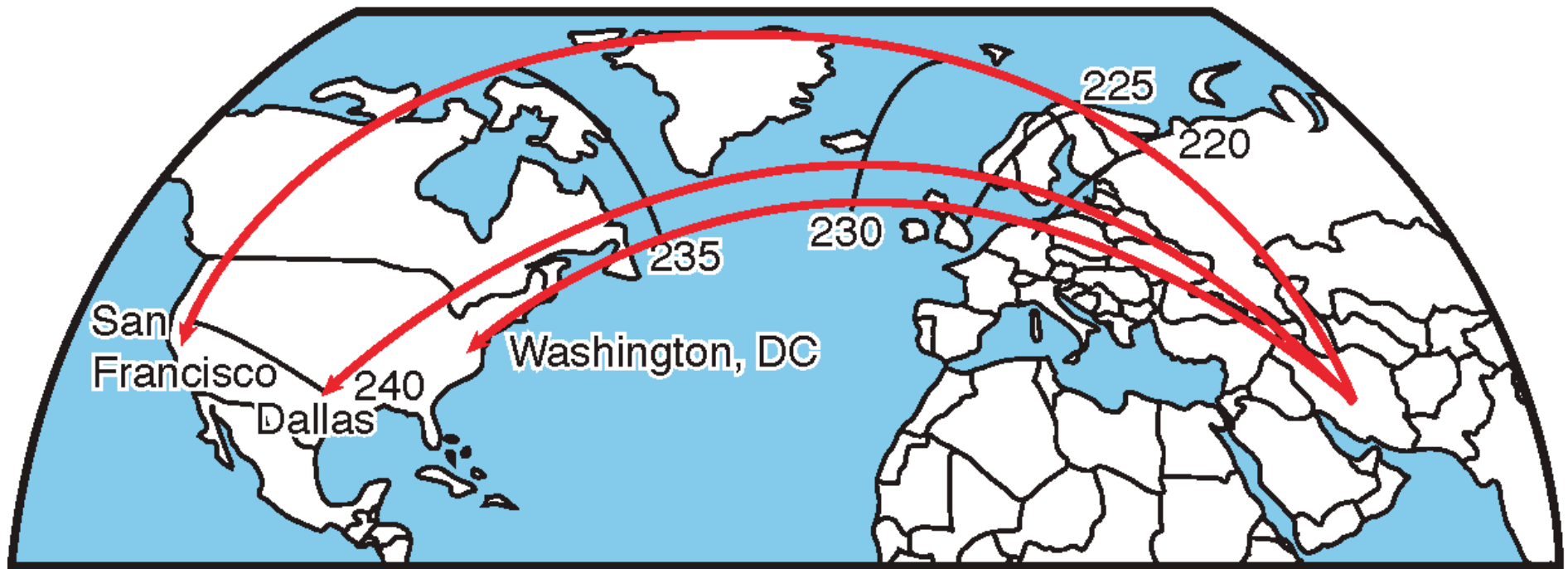
The very short time available to complete the intercept poses significant command-and-control issues —

- In some situations the decision whether to fire interceptors would have to be made within a few seconds after a firing solution was obtained
- There would generally be too little time to determine using the system's sensors whether the rocket is an attacking ICBM, a theater ballistic missile, or a rocket launching a satellite
- Consequently, interceptors would have to be fired whenever a large rocket in powered flight is detected, without waiting until the nature of the rocket or its trajectory is established
- Giving commanders the ability to divert or destroy interceptors in flight might extend the assessment time by 100 seconds or so

Munitions from North Korean Missiles Could Impact Russia or Canada



Munitions from Iranian Missiles Could Impact Western Europe or Canada



Issues Posed by Time Constraints

The short time available to complete boost-phase intercepts poses significant command-and-control issues —

- In some situations the decision whether to fire interceptors would have to be made within a few seconds after a firing solution was obtained
- There would generally be too little time to determine using the system's sensors whether the rocket is an attacking ICBM, a theater ballistic missile, or a rocket launching a satellite
- Consequently, interceptors would have to be fired whenever a large rocket in powered flight is detected, without waiting until the nature of the rocket or its trajectory is established

A System of Space-Based Interceptors Would Require Many Large Satellites

Placing interceptors in space would avoid geographic restrictions on basing, but global geographic constraints would still determine when ICBM must be intercepted

To counter *solid-propellant ICBMs*, at least 1,600 interceptors would be required, each at 840 kg, for a minimum mass in orbit of 2,000 tonnes

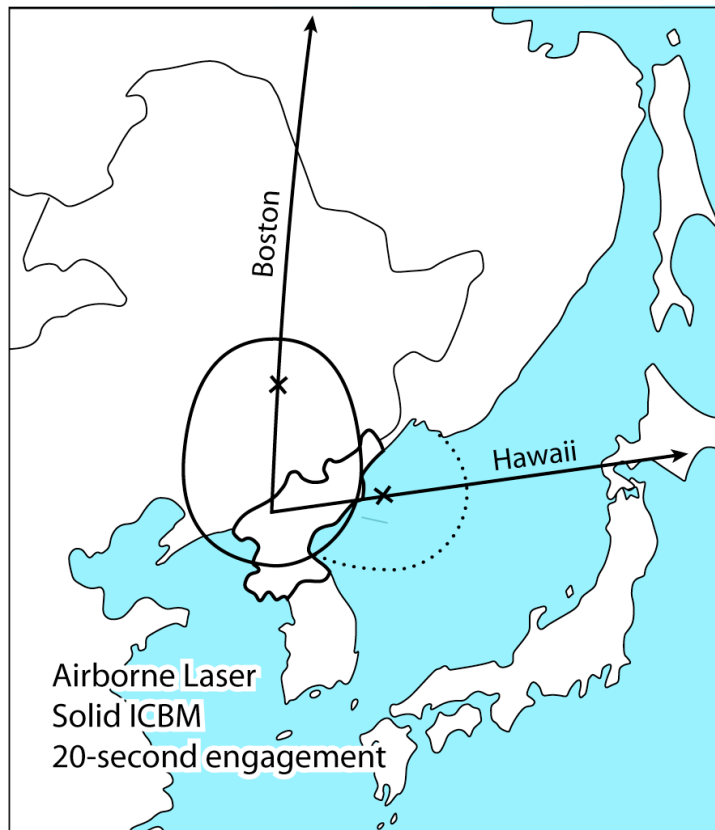
- Would require a 5- to 10-fold increase in the annual U.S. space launch capability

To counter *liquid-propellant ICBMs*, roughly half as many interceptors and space launches would be required

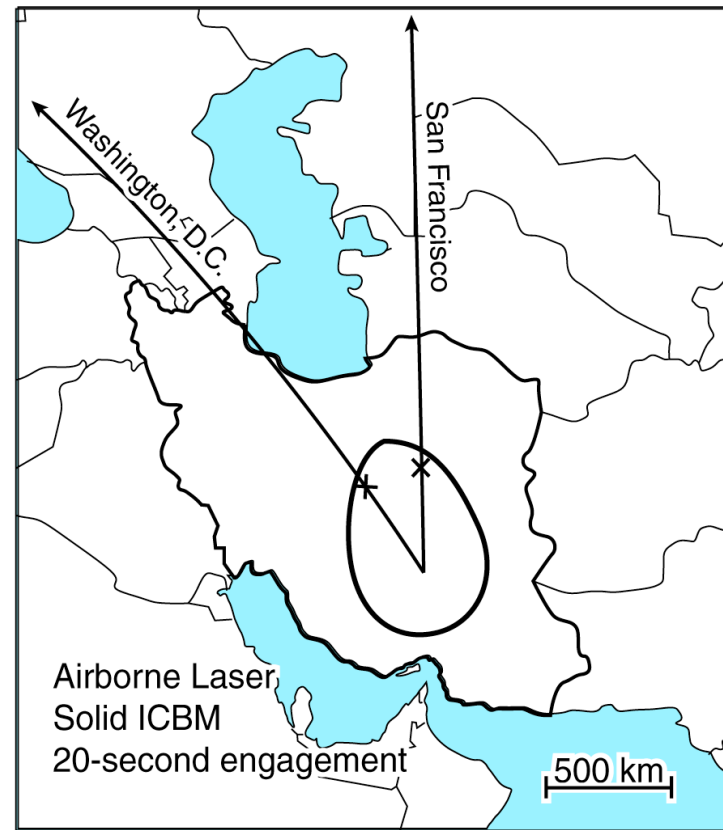
- However, a space-based system designed to counter only liquid-propellant ICBMs could become obsolete quickly

The Airborne Laser Would Have Only Limited Capability Against ICBMs

Basing areas for intercepting a solid-propellant ICBM from North Korea

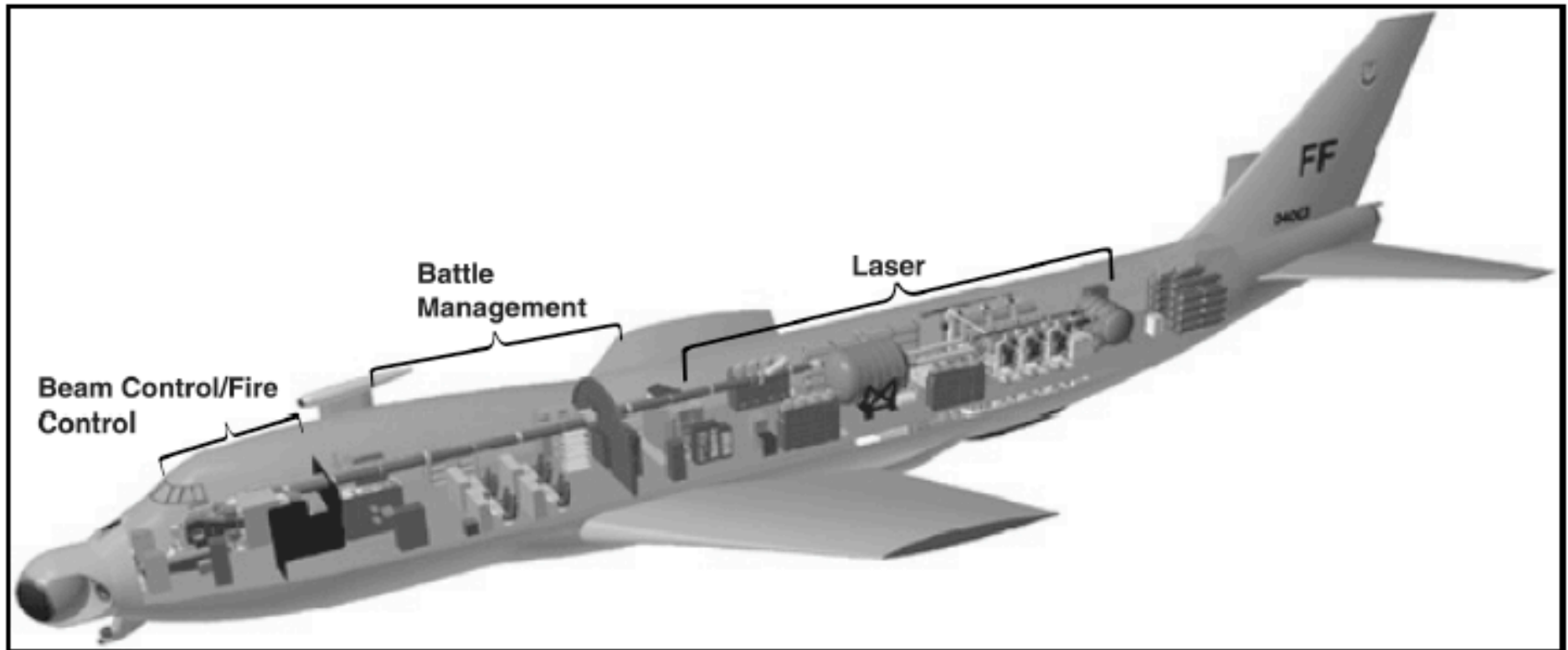


Basing areas for intercepting a solid-propellant ICBM from Iran



The Airborne Laser Concept

Figure 1: Airborne Laser Aboard Boeing 747 Aircraft



Source: Airborne Laser Program Office.

The Airborne Laser Would Have Only Limited Capability Against ICBMs

The ABL's range would not be limited by time, but by the distance a focused beam could be propagated through the atmosphere

The ABL could in principle be used against ICBMs, if the laser worked as advertised

If it worked as advertised, the ABL would have a range up to 600 km against a liquid-propellant ICBM

- Could be useful against ICBMs from North Korea, but not from Iran, unless ABL aircraft could fly over the lower Caspian Sea or Turkmenistan

The ABL would have a range of only 300 km against a solid-propellant ICBM

- Would not be effective in any of the scenarios examined by the APS

Airborne Laser Boost-Phase Intercept Program



U.S. Missile Defense Agency

The Airborne Laser Test Bed program's laser-armed aircraft takes off on February 14 from Edwards Air Force Base in California on its way to long-term storage at Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Arizona.

Countermeasures Would Challenge Boost-Phase Intercept

A boost-phase defense would not be susceptible to some of the proposed countermeasures to midcourse defense, but it would face countermeasures

Examples of countermeasures to both hit-to-kill and the ABL

- Launch several ICBMs nearly simultaneously
- Deploy solid-propellant ICBMs

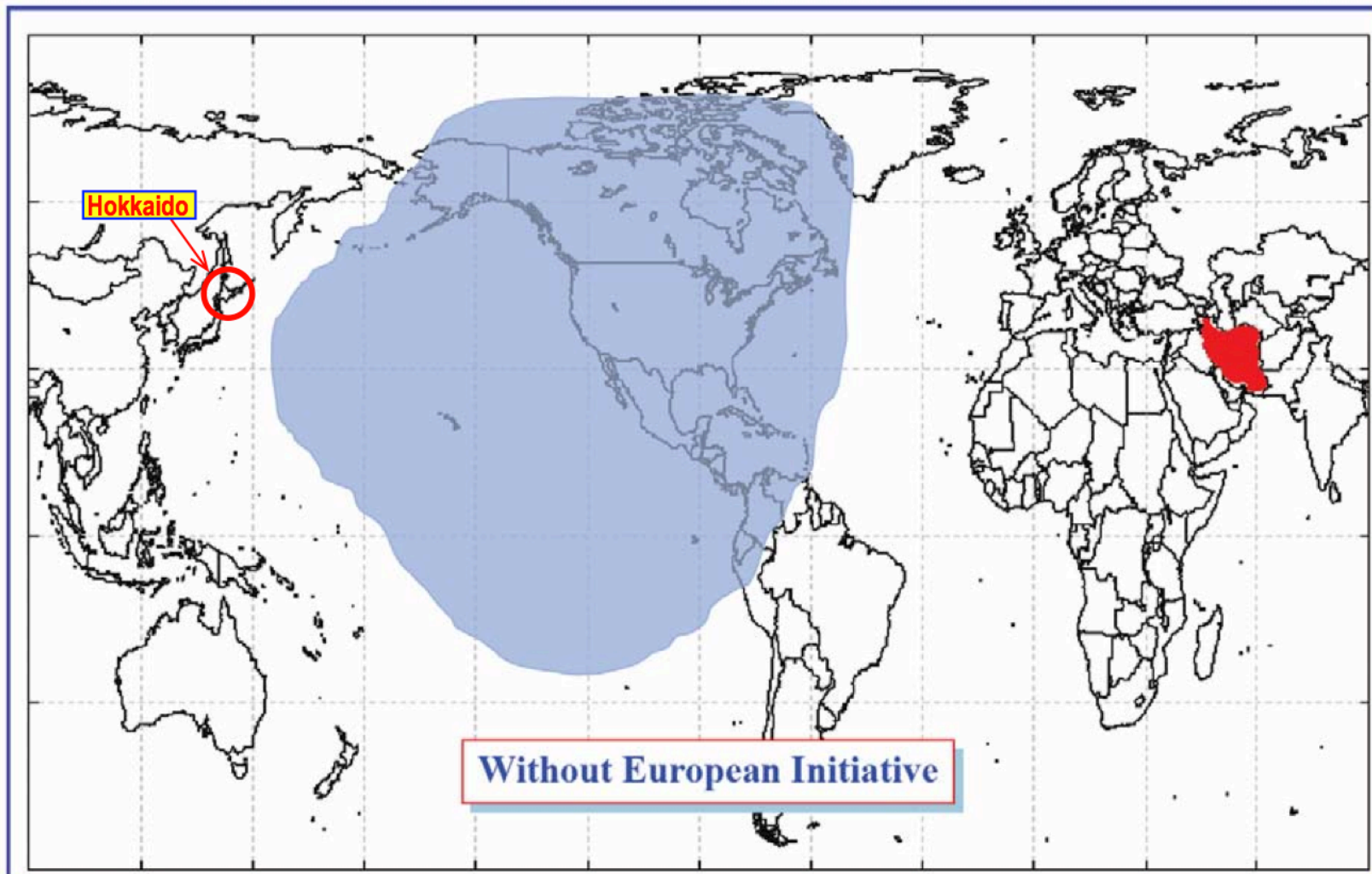
Examples of countermeasures to hit-to-kill

- Deploy payload during powered flight
- Program evasive maneuvers
- Deploy decoys and jammers
- Deploy fast-burn boosters with multiple upper stages
- Mask the kill-vehicle aim point (to defeat warhead kill)

Examples of countermeasures to the ABL

- Attack the airframe
- Roll the ICBM
- Use ablative coating
- Change the optical properties of the ICBM

Claimed Theoretical Effectiveness of U.S. GMD Against Iranian Ballistic Missiles



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07-MDA-2564 (18 MAY 07)

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12

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

European-Based Missile Defenses

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

George W. Bush's Proposed European Midcourse Intercept System

Bush's Proposed European Missile Defense

(Missile Defense Agency Slide)

Courtesy: T. Postol (MIT)

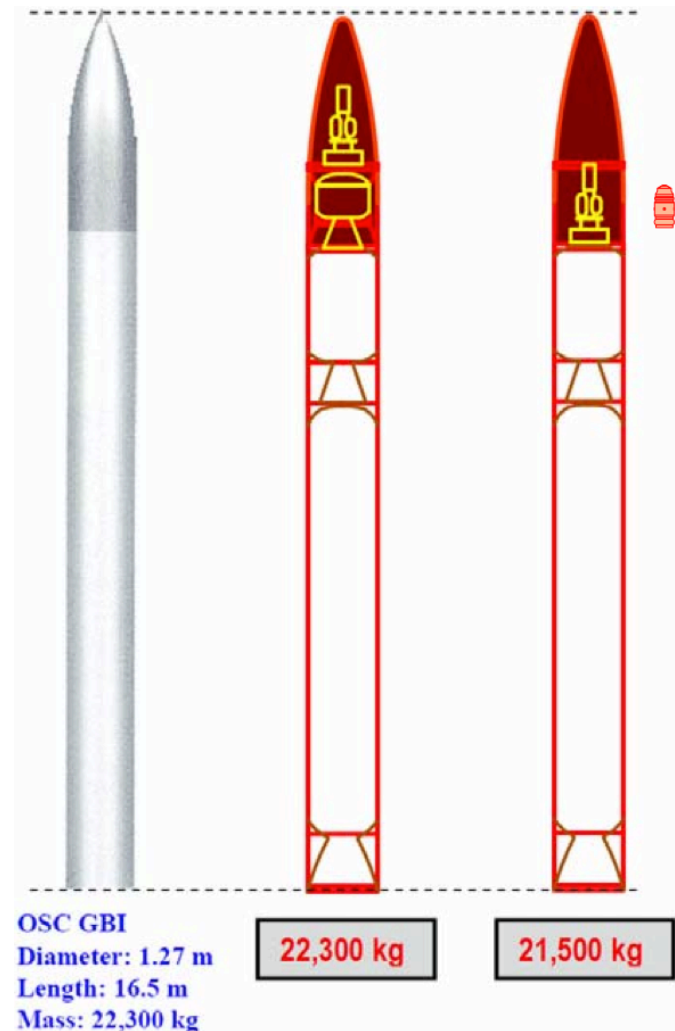
- **Up to 10 silo-based long-range interceptors located in Eastern Europe (2011-2013)**
- **Re-location of a narrow-beam, midcourse tracking radar currently used in our Pacific test range to central Europe (2011)**
- **Field an acquisition radar focused on the Iranian threat from a forward position to provide detection, cueing, and tracking information (2010-2011)**



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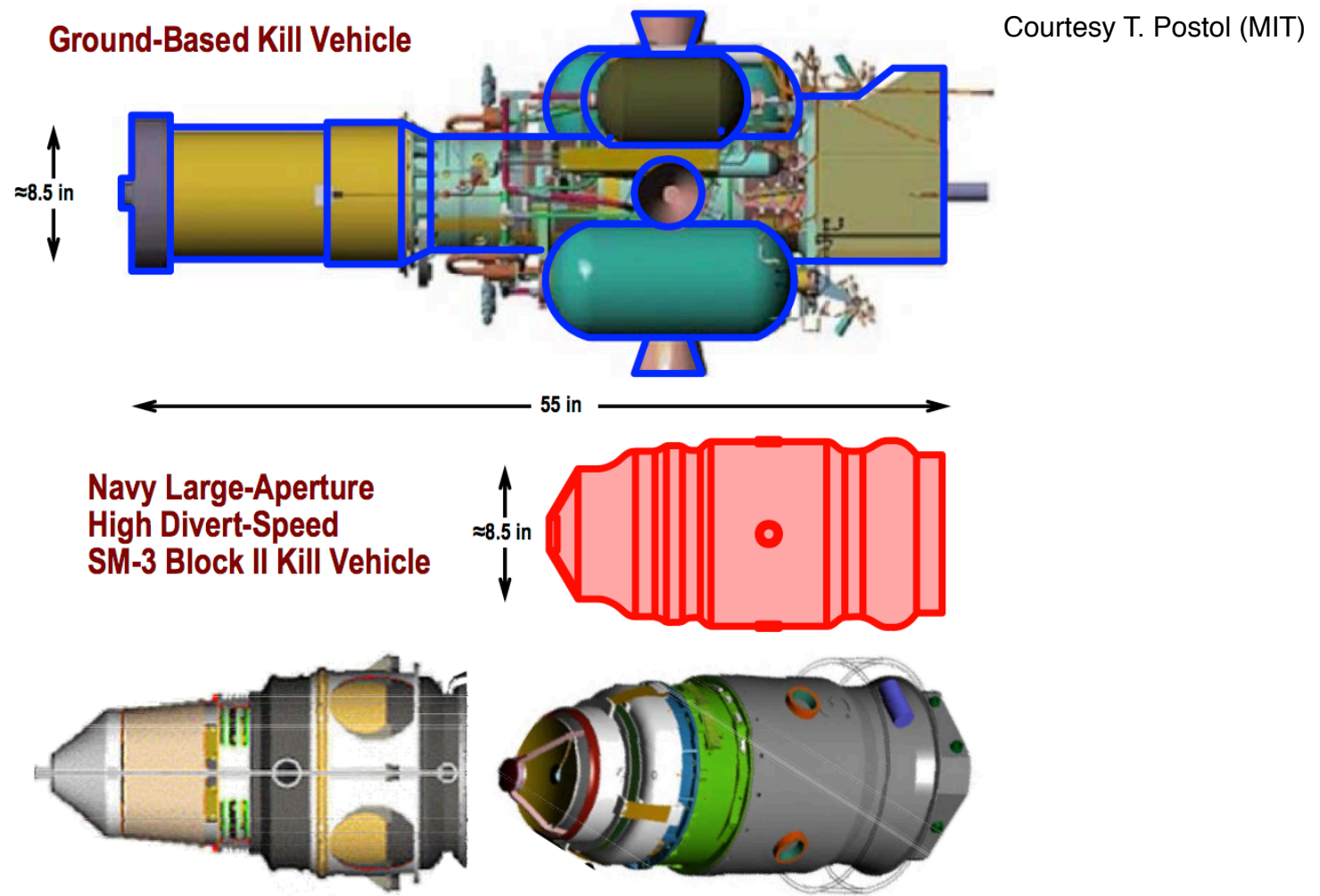
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Planned Midcourse Intercept Rockets



Courtesy T. Postol (MIT)

Planned Midcourse Intercept Kill Vehicles

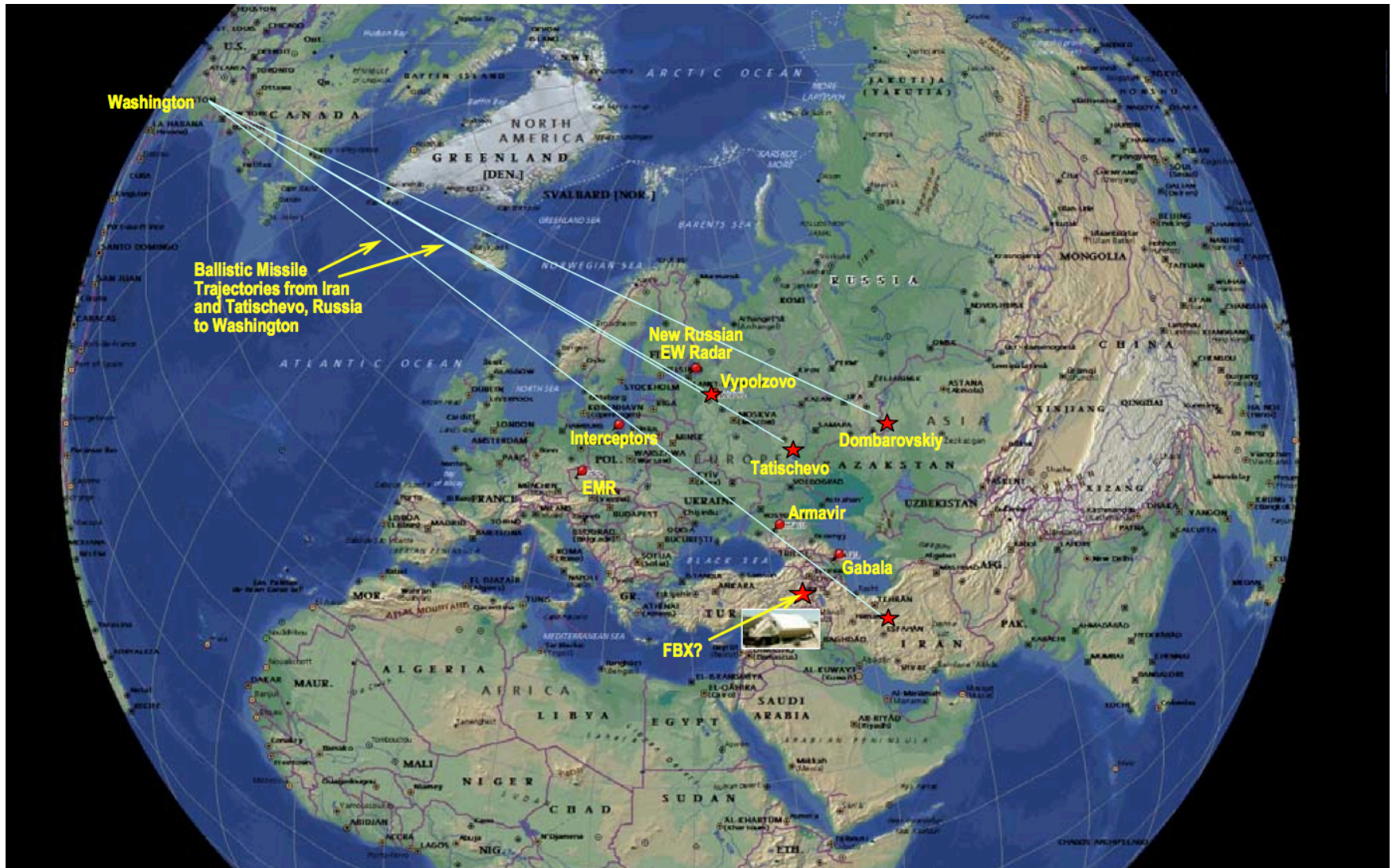


Proposed European Defense Against Ballistic Missiles



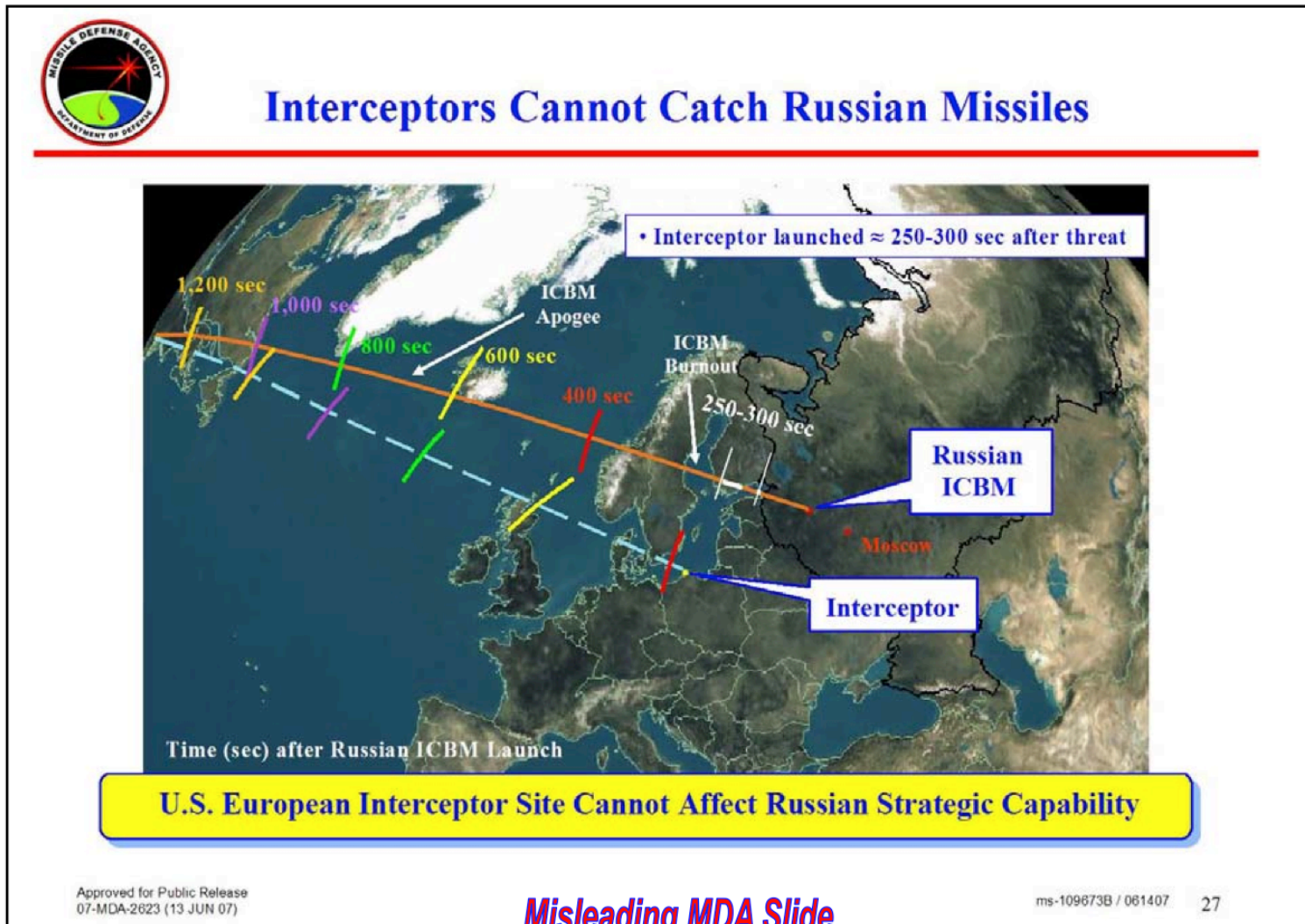
Courtesy T. Postol (MIT)

Proposed European Defense Against Ballistic Missiles



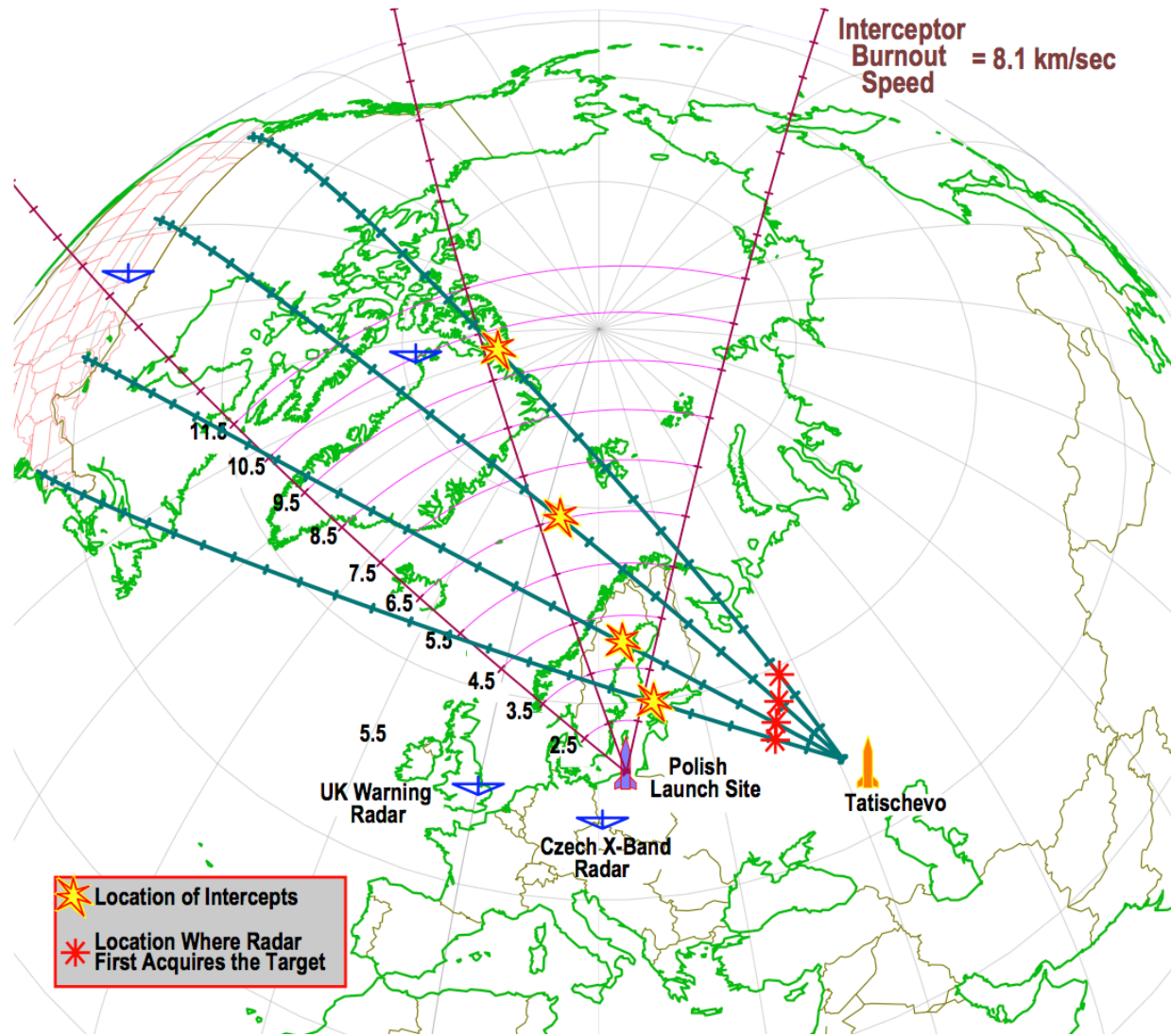
Courtesy T. Postol (MIT)

Proposed European Defense Against Ballistic Missiles



Courtesy T. Postol (MIT)

Proposed European Defense Against Ballistic Missiles



iClicker Question

Which of the following missile defense programs was cancelled because it was judged technically infeasible for the foreseeable future?

- A. Sea-based Interceptor rockets
- B. Interceptor rockets with multiple kill vehicles
- C. The Airborne Laser
- D. Space-based interceptors
- E. All of the above

Blank

iClicker Answer

Which of the following missile defense programs was cancelled because it was judged technically infeasible for the foreseeable future?

- A. Sea-based Interceptor rockets
- B. Interceptor rockets with multiple kill vehicles
- C. The Airborne Laser
- D. Space-based interceptors
- E. **All of the above**

iClicker Question

Even though the tests have been highly scripted and have not included realistic decoys or other simple countermeasures, the ground-based midcourse defense (GMD) system has only achieved what success rate?

- A. 0%
- B. 10%
- C. 50%
- D. 80%
- E. 90%

Blank

iClicker Answer

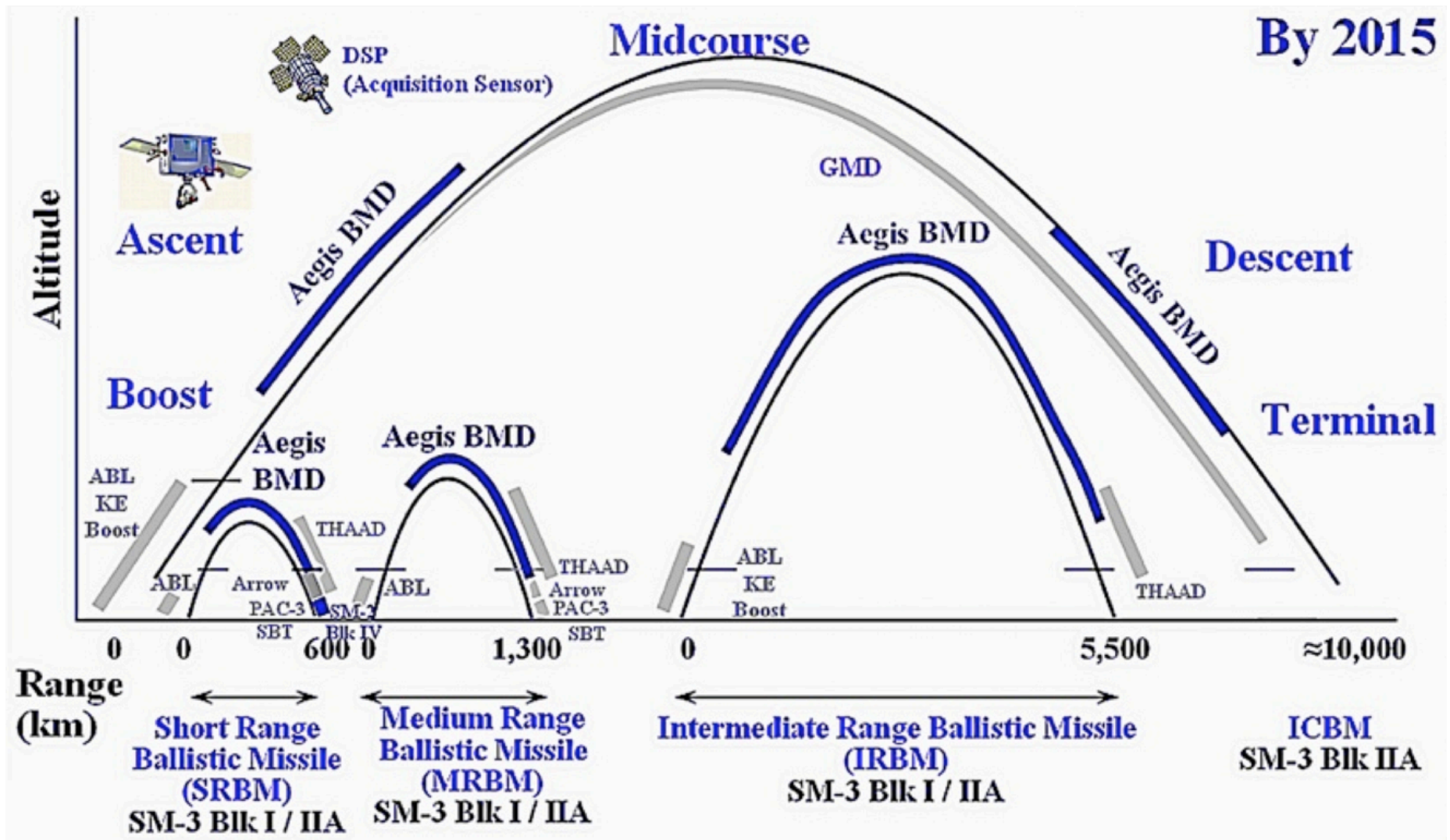
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- D. 80%
- E. 90%

Module 7: Efforts to Defend Against Attacks

Obama's European Midcourse-Intercept System

Obama's Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD



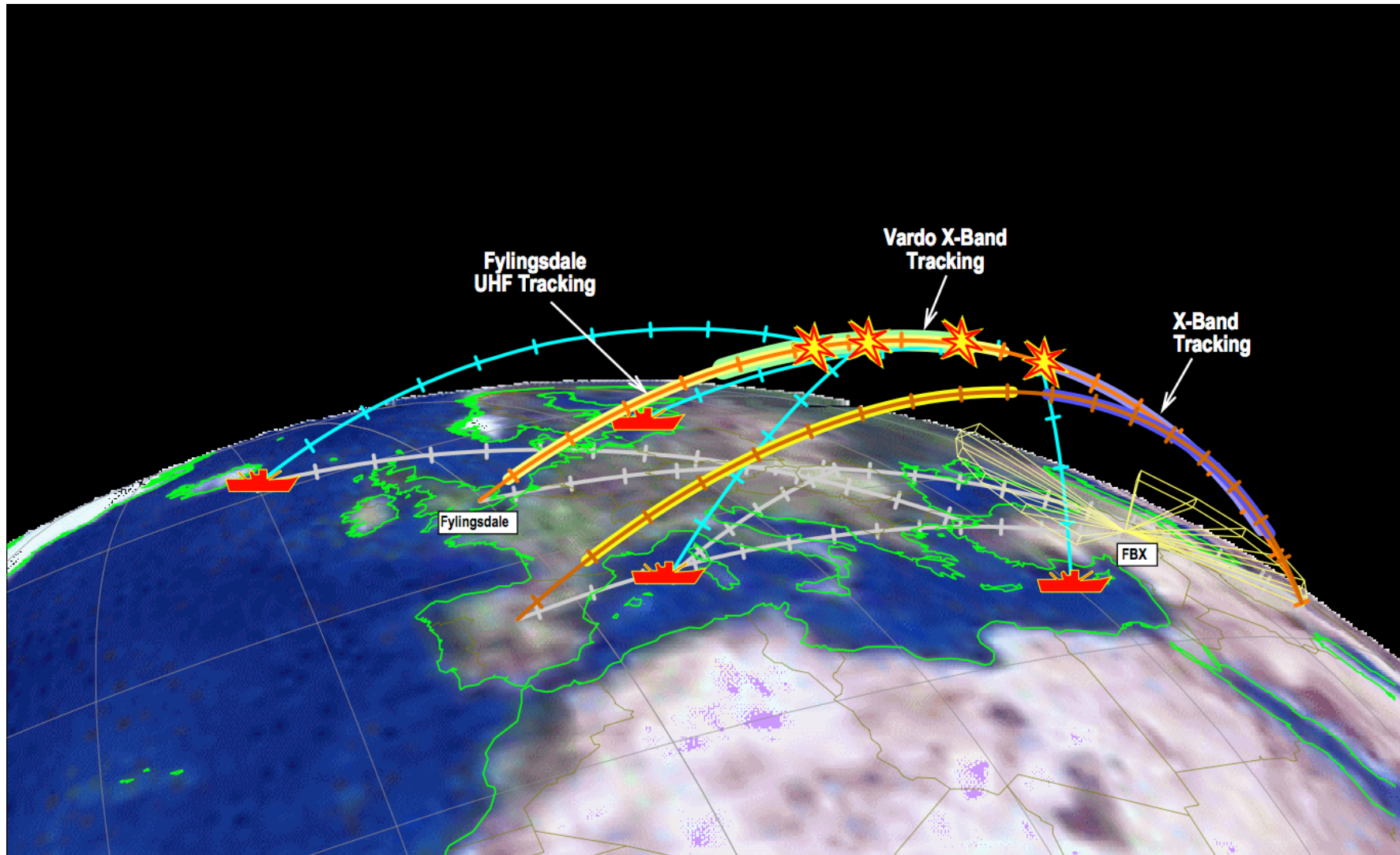
Obama's Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

The European Phased Adaptive Approach (PAA) was presented as a more flexible alternative to Bush's proposed European-based GMD system.

It uses SM-3 interceptors, which are roughly 10X smaller than the 20-ton interceptors of the proposed European-based GMD system.

A system using these smaller and lighter interceptors would be incrementally tailored to the perceived threat over the coming decade.

Obama's Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD



Obama's Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

U.S. Navy photo



A Standard Missile-3 is launched from the guided-missile destroyer USS *Paul Hamilton* in the Pacific Ocean on November 1, 2008.

Obama's Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

- The current system consists of one SM-3 equipped ship on-station in the Mediterranean Sea working in conjunction with the AN/TPY-2 radar based in Turkey.
- NATO plans to announce at its May 20-21 Chicago summit meeting that the EMD system now has “interim capability” to defend against MRBMs.
- Over the next decade, the United States, working with NATO, plans to ramp up the deployment of the mix of sea- and land-based SM-3 interceptors, including next-generation, longer-range interceptors around Europe that would attempt to guard against missiles launched from Iran.

Obama's Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

- The PAA plan calls for more than 500 SM-3 interceptors to be based on 43 ships by 2018.
- The PAA plan calls for SM-3s with increasing capability to be stationed in Romania (in 2015) and in Poland (in 2018).
- The plan is to deploy SM-3 IIB interceptors by 2020. They are advertised as having some capability against longer-range missiles.

Possible Russian Concerns About the Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

- The main concern of cautious Russian military planners would be the capability of missile defense interceptors to simply reach, or “engage”, Russian strategic warheads, rather than whether any particular engagement results in an actual interception, or “kill.”
- Interceptors with a kinematic capability to reach Russian ICBM warheads would be sufficient to raise concerns in Russian national security circles — regardless of the possibility that Russian decoys and other countermeasures might defeat the system in actual engagements.
- Hence even a missile defense system that could be rendered ineffective could still create serious concerns for cautious Russian military planners.

Possible Russian Concerns About the Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

- The last two phases of the PAA – when the higher burnout velocity “Block II” SM-3 interceptors come on-line in 2018 – could create legitimate concerns for Russian military analysts.
- These interceptors could in principle be used to create an integrated continental U.S. missile defense system that could engage Russian ICBM warheads, either in combination with, or independent of, the Ground-Based Midcourse (GMD) system now deployed in Alaska and California.
- This fact introduces the possibility that Russian ICBMs could face many hundreds, or eventually thousands, of SM-3 interceptors, in addition to the 30 or so GMD interceptors already deployed.
- Such large numbers of interceptors, which might in reality have little capability in combat, could be expected to create fears among Russian political and military leaders that the PAA could cause some attrition of Russian warheads.

Possible Russian Concerns About the Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD

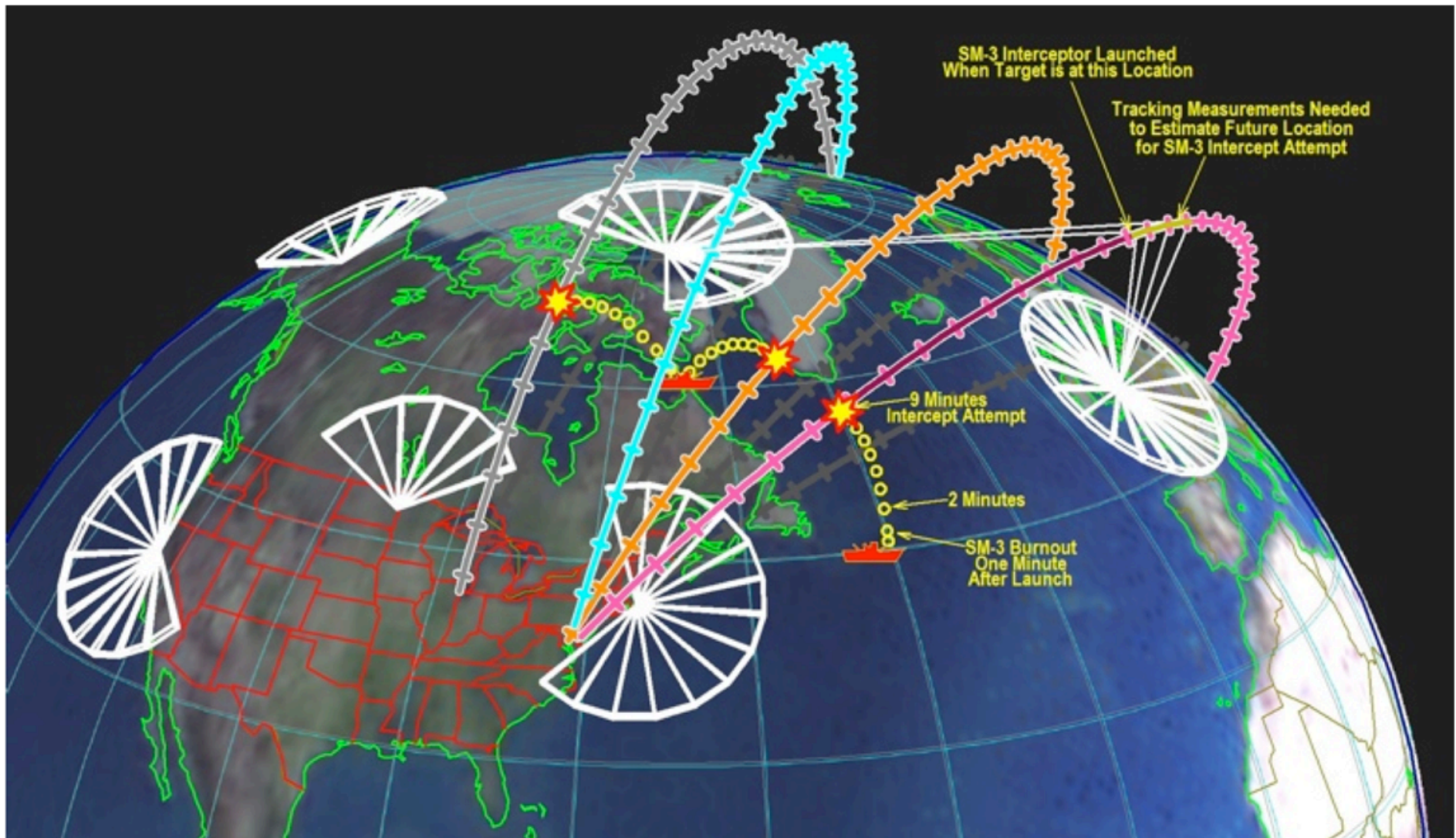
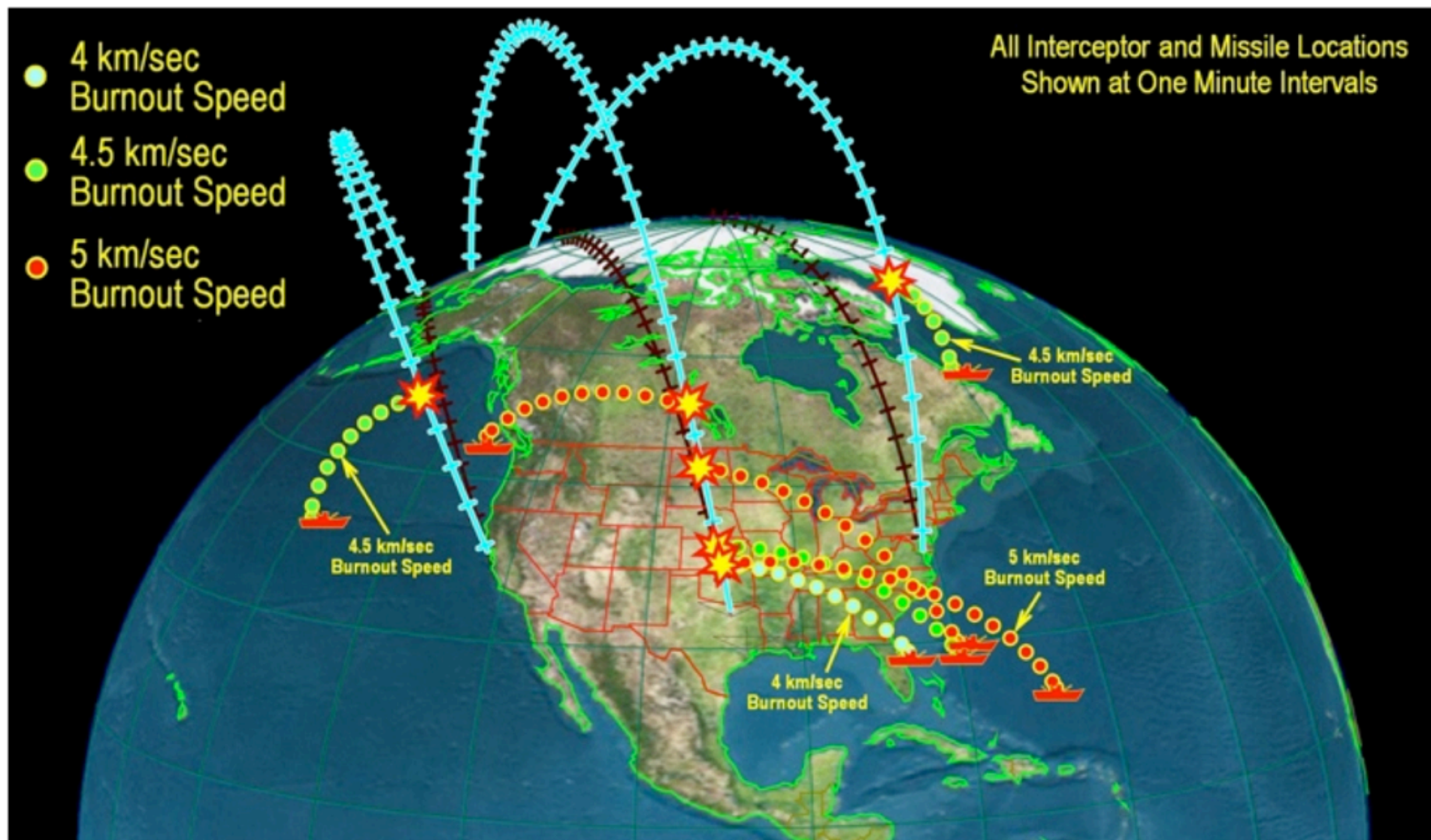
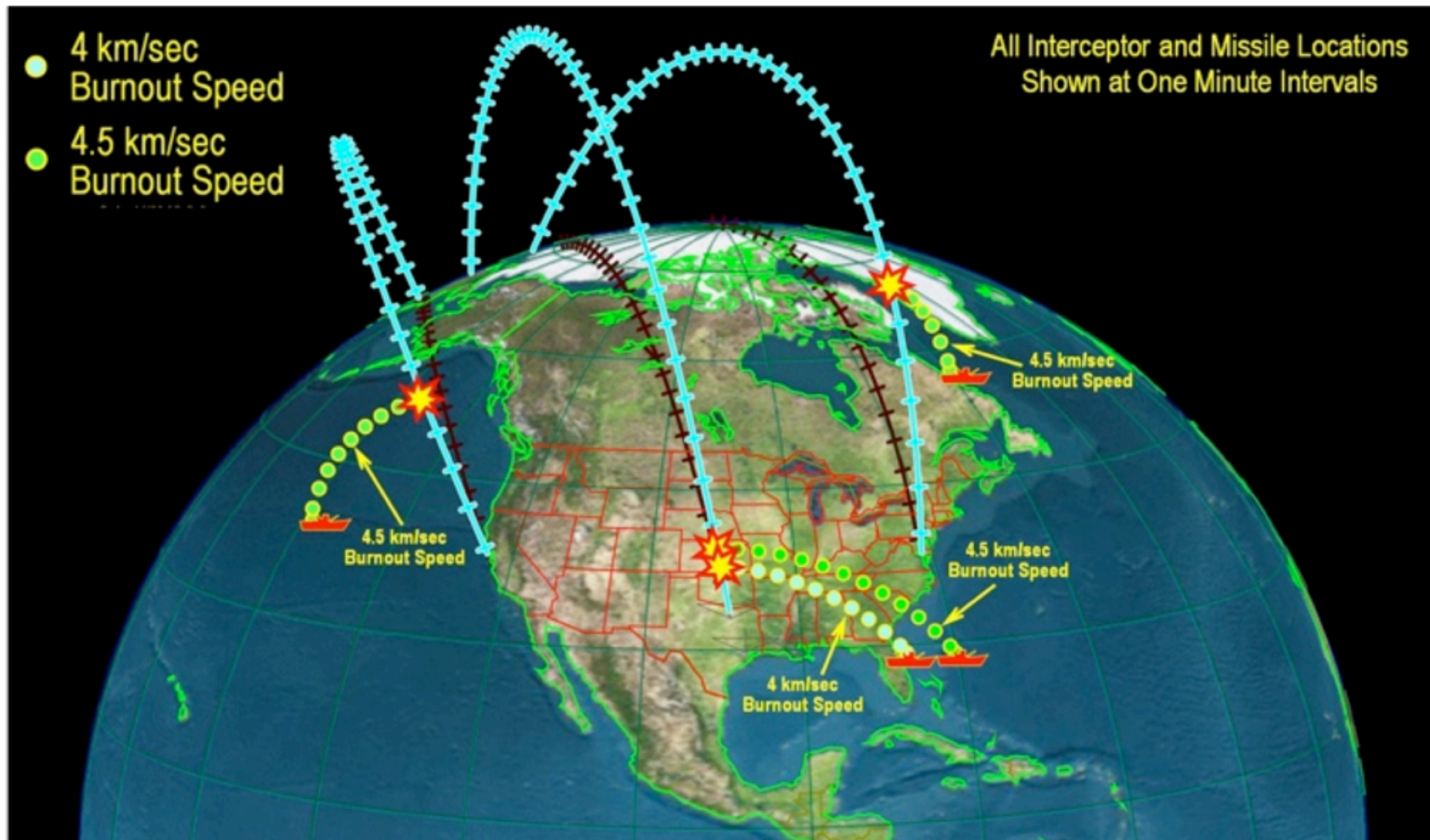


Figure 3: Northwest Atlantic-based SM3 Block II interceptors (with a conservative assumed burnout speed of 4 km/sec) engaging Russian ICBM warheads: each tick on the trajectories marks one minute. Frederick K. Lamb © 2012

Possible Russian Concerns About the Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD



Possible Chinese Concerns About the Phased Adaptive Approach to EMD



Comparison of U.S. Efforts

Missile defense —

In FY10, the Missile Defense Agency received \$7.9 B.

In FY11, the Missile Defense Agency received \$8.4 B.

In FY12, the administration is spending a total of \$10.4 B for missile defense.

For FY13, President Obama has requested a total of \$9.7 B for missile defense, down 6.7% from FY12.

iClicker Question

The interceptor rockets for President Bush's European-based missile defense program:

- A. Were tested about a dozen times
- B. Were tested only 3 times
- C. Were tested only once
- D. Were never even built

Blank

iClicker Answer

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iClicker Question

Obama's proposed European missile defense system will initially rely primarily on what type of interceptor?

- A. Large ground-based interceptor rockets
- B. Small ship-based interceptor rockets
- C. Ship-based lasers
- D. Airborne lasers
- E. All of the above

Blank

iClicker Answer

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Defenses Against Long-Range Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles

Summary and Conclusions

Some Missile Defense Questions (Important)

Two key ingredients in threat assessment:

- Intention
- Capability

Status of the U.S. Missile Defense Program

The technical performance of the current GMD ABM system is dubious.

The few tests that have been conducted have not been realistic operational exercises.

Moreover, a very substantial fraction of these tests have resulted in failures, not because of fundamental design flaws but because of insufficient quality control needed by complex systems. The items which failed in these tests had functioned previously.

The target missile trajectories were known beforehand, and no decoys or other means of deceptive tactics to defeat the ABM system were employed.

Technically, such decoys are considerably easier to produce than the missile itself; therefore, any nation capable of ballistic missile delivery against the United States could also employ countermeasures adequate to render the United States ABM system useless.

Some Missile Defense Questions

The material presented in this module shows that the political actions in this area by the U.S. and Russia are not consistent with the scientific-technical realities. What is the reason for this failure?

- Is it insufficient scientific-technical advice reaching the highest levels of governments?
- Is it deliberate disregard of such advice by national leaders?
- Is it simply the inherent conservatism of governments in their inability to change past erroneous decisions?

One fact is clear: scientific-technical realities cannot be overcome by political claims or wishful thinking. Ignoring the scientific-technical realities creates grave risks for our nation.

What Might a Successful Approach Look Like?

North Korea

Three no's —

No more bombs

No better bombs

No export

In return for one yes —

U.S. willingness to address North Korea's fundamental security concerns, including normalization of relations with the United States + energy and economic aid.

Iran

Two no's —

No bombs

No export

In return for one yes —

U.S. willingness to address Iran's fundamental security concerns. This would probably have to include normalization of relations with the United States

Module 7: Defenses Against Nuclear Attack

Supplementary Slides

Defenses Against Nuclear Attack

Many aspects of this problem are counter-intuitive

Very important to distinguish—

- Technical issues (nature cannot be fooled)
- Policy issues (what is the goal)
- Arms race issues (effects on arms races)
- Costs vs. benefits, alternatives, opportunity costs
- Possible threats and threat evolution (number, characteristics, responsive vs. nonresponsive)

Crucial to avoid “the fallacy of the last move”

Consequences of a Nuclear Explosion

A single nuclear explosion can cause unimaginable death and destruction

A “small” (few kiloton) nuclear explosion in a major city would, within seconds to minutes —

- kill hundreds of thousands of people
- reduce many square miles to rubble

A large (100 kiloton – 1 Megaton) nuclear explosion in a major city would, within seconds to minutes —

- kill many millions of people
- reduce a hundred square miles to rubble

Very little can be done before or after a nuclear explosion to lessen the deaths, injuries, and destruction it will cause

Efforts to Defend the United States Against Attack by Nuclear-Armed Ballistic Missiles

Evolution of perceived threats

- Soviet long-range ballistic missiles (1950s – 1990s)
- Chinese long-range ballistic missiles (1960s – today)
- Accidental or unauthorized launch of ballistic missiles (early 1990s)
- *North Korean or Iranian long-range missiles (late 1990s – today)*

History of U.S. main anti-ballistic missile weapon programs

- Nike-Zeus (1950s)
- Nike-X (early 1960s)
- Sentinel (late 1960s)
- Safeguard (1970s)
- Star Wars (1980s)
- Global Protection Against Accidental Launches (GPALS, early 1990s)
- National Missile Defense (late 1990s)
- *Current Missile Defense Program (2001 to the present)*

Goals of U.S. ABM Programs

Some past announced or actual ABM program goals —

- Defend U.S. cities against a massive attack by Soviet ICBMs (1955–1962)
- Support the aerospace industry, defend the Johnson administration against attacks by Republicans, defend the United States against a limited attack by future Chinese missiles (1968)
- Defend some U.S. ICBM silos against a Soviet counter-force attack (1968–1975)
- Make nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete by creating an “impenetrable shield” that would completely protect the U.S. and all its friends and allies (Reagan, 1983–1988)
- Enhance deterrence, defend U.S. missile silos, achieve political advantage, etc. (everyone else, 1983–1988)

Goals of U.S. ABM Programs

ABM program goals (continued) —

- Defend the United States against accidental launches of Soviet ICBMs (1988–1990)
- Defend the United States against an unspecified, emerging Third-World ballistic missile threat (1990–1991)
- Counter the threat of theater ballistic missiles (1991–1998)
- Defend the Clinton administration against attacks by Republicans, defend the U.S. against missile attacks by emerging ballistic missile states with which the U.S. did not have friendly relations (1998–2001)
- Reward Bush supporters, defend U.S. against missile attacks by the “axis of evil” states (North Korea, Iran, and Iraq), or China, or an accidental launch from Russia, or ... (2001–present)

The Patriot Weapon System

Originally an anti-aircraft system (IOC in 1985)

Given some ATBM capability in 1988 (PAC-1)

- Software upgrade
- Specifically designed to counter Soviet TBMs

Given improved ATBM capability in 1990 (PAC-2)

- Faster fuse
- Fragmenting warhead with larger pellets
- Some capability against Soviet Scud missiles
- No capability against Iraqi Al-Hussein missiles

Patriot in the 1991 Gulf War

The system—

- The US had only 3 PAC-2 interceptors in its inventory at the time the Iraqi's invaded Kuwait
- Changes in system software were made hastily after the invasion
- 600 PAC-2 interceptors were manufactured by January 1991
- PAC-2 interceptors were incorporated into all units deployed to the Gulf
- Critical software errors were discovered in the field, one may have caused major US fatalities
- No data was recorded in the field to evaluate the Patriot system's performance

What's Different About Current U.S. ABM Programs Compared to 'Star Wars'?

- Today's defined threat is numerically smaller, but nuclear and chemical or biological warheads still require that the defense meet very high performance standards
- Geographical factors and missile ranges are more diverse
- Defenses against shorter-range (theater or battlefield) missiles are technically easier because of these missiles have lower speeds
- Legacy technologies from the Star Wars program are occasionally helpful, but by-and-large the benefits from this enormous expenditure are small

Technological Challenges of Midcourse Intercept

The technological challenge is formidable, most difficult is “discrimination”

- The system has to confront an attacking missile that is designed to fool the interceptor into going after one of many decoys RVs
- The general performance characteristics of the EKV (com links, sensor suite, agility) will be known to the adversary
- The missile’s payload could be one or more nuclear warheads, or dozens or hundreds of hardened chemical or biological munitions (bomblets)
- The system must identify and track RVs in the face of countermeasures, including decoys and anti-simulation devices

The Welch panel labeled the Bush II GMD program “Rush to Failure”

The system failed many tests. The DoD therefore exempted the system from any further testing until it was deployed.

GAO Report on Missile Defense



GAO-11-555T

April 13, 2011

MISSILE DEFENSE

Actions Needed to Improve Transparency and Accountability

GAO does not make new recommendations in this testimony but emphasizes the importance of implementing past recommendations.

GAO Report on Missile Defense

I am pleased to be here today to discuss the transparency and accountability progress made by the Department of Defense's (DOD) Missile Defense Agency (MDA). MDA has been charged with developing and fielding the Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS), a system expected to be capable of defending the United States, deployed troops, friends, and allies against ballistic missiles of all ranges in all phases of flight. The BMDS is DOD's single largest acquisition program—spending between approximately \$7 billion to \$9.5 billion per year – to develop and field nine elements and supporting efforts. The system's architecture includes space-based and airborne sensors as well as ground- and sea-based radars; ground- and sea-based interceptor missiles; and a command and control, battle management, and communications system to provide the warfighter with the necessary communication links to the sensors and interceptor missiles.

GAO Report on Missile Defense

When MDA was established in 2002, it was granted exceptional flexibility in setting requirements and managing the acquisition, in order that its BMDS be developed as a single program, using a capabilities-based, spiral upgrade approach to quickly deliver a set of integrated defensive capabilities. This decision deferred application of DOD acquisition policy to BMDS until a mature capability is ready to be handed over to a military service for production and operation. Because the BMDS program has not formally entered the DOD acquisition cycle, application of laws that are designed to facilitate oversight and accountability of DOD acquisition programs and that are triggered by phases of this cycle, such as the engineering and manufacturing development phase, has also effectively been deferred. This gives MDA unique latitude to manage the BMDS and it enabled MDA to begin delivering an initial defensive capability in 2004. However, the flexibility also came at the expense of transparency and accountability.

GAO Report on Missile Defense

Specifically, a BMDS cost, schedule, and performance baseline does not have to be established or approved by anyone outside MDA. Recent laws have created some baseline-related requirements for parts of the BMDS.⁸ In addition, while most major defense acquisition programs are required by statute to obtain an independent verification of cost estimates, MDA has only recently developed cost estimates for selected assets and plans 1

Since its inception, MDA has employed at least three different strategies to acquire and deploy missile defense systems. Because these changes involved different structures for reporting cost, schedule, and performance data, they have exacerbated transparency and accountability challenges—each time a strategy changes, the connection between the old and new strategy planned scope and resources is obscured.

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As we concluded in a prior report, having less transparency and accountability than is normally present in a major weapon program has had consequences.⁹ The lack of baselines for the BMDS along with high levels of uncertainty about requirements and program cost estimates effectively set the missile defense program on a path to an undefined destination at an unknown cost. Across the agency, these practices left programs with limited knowledge and few opportunities for crucial management oversight and decision making concerning the agency's investment and the warfighter's continuing needs. At the program level, these practices contributed to quality problems affecting targets acquisitions, which in turn, hampered MDA's ability to conduct tests as planned.

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MDA was still transitioning to this new capabilities-based block approach when the Director, MDA terminated it in June 2009. According to MDA, this was done in order to address congressional concerns regarding how to structure MDA's budget justification materials. This termination marked the third acquisition management strategy for the BMDS in the prior 3 years and effectively reduced transparency and accountability for the agency. The agency then began to manage BMDS as a single integrated program but planned to report on cost, schedule, and performance issues by each element within the program.

Changing the acquisition strategy is problematic because each time it is changed, the connection is obscured between the old strategies' scope and resources and the new strategy's rearranged scope and resources. This makes it difficult for decision makers to hold MDA accountable for expected outcomes and clouds transparency of the agency's efforts.

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In 2010, MDA made significant progress in addressing previously reported concerns about transparency and accountability. Specifically, MDA :

- Established resource, schedule, test, operational capacity, technical, and contract baselines for several missile defense systems. It reported these to Congress in its June 2010 BMDS Accountability Report.
- Identified three phases of development where baselines are approved—technology development, product development, and initial production phases—and specified the key knowledge that is needed at each phase.
- Established processes for reviewing baselines and approving product development and initial production jointly with the military services that will ultimately be responsible for those assets.

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GAO also reported last year that MDA extensively revised the test plan to increase its robustness and ability to inform models and simulations for assessing missile defense performance.

While it is clear that progress has been made in terms of implementing new acquisition reviews and reporting detailed baselines, there remain critical gaps in the material reported, particularly the quality of the underlying cost estimates needed to establish baselines. Moreover, GAO still has concerns about realism in test planning and acquisition risks associated with the rapid pace of fielding assets. These risks are particularly evident in MDA's efforts to develop systems to support a new approach for missile defense in Europe as well as the Ground-based Midcourse Defense system.

GAO Report on Missile Defense

Ground-based Midcourse Defense: GMD is a ground-based defense system designed to provide combatant commanders the capability to defend the homeland against a limited attack from intermediate, and intercontinental-range ballistic missiles during the midcourse phase of flight. The GMD consists of a ground-based interceptor—a booster with an Exoatmospheric Kill Vehicle on top—and a fire control system that receives target information from sensors in order to formulate a battle plan. GMD continues to deliver assets

GAO Report on Missile Defense

before testing has fully determined their capabilities and limitations. The Director, MDA testified on March 31, 2011 that he considers the GMD interceptors essentially prototypes. In the urgency to deploy assets to meet the Presidential directive to field an initial capability by 2004, assets were built and deployed before developmental testing was completed. During the ongoing developmental testing, issues were found that led to a need for retrofits. GMD intercept tests conducted to date have already led to major hardware or software changes to the interceptors—not all of which have been verified through flight testing. In addition, manufacturing of a new variant called the Capability Enhancement

GAO Report on Missile Defense

of which have been verified through flight testing. In addition, manufacturing of a new variant called the Capability Enhancement II is well underway and more than half of those variants have already been delivered although their capability has not been validated through developmental flight tests. To date, the two flight tests utilizing this variant have both failed to intercept the target.

According to MDA, as a result of the most recent failure in December 2010, deliveries of this variant have been halted. Again, because of the urgency to deploy some capability, limited work was undertaken on long-term sustainment for the system which is critical to ensure the system remains effective through 2032. In September 2010, MDA finalized the GMD Stockpile Reliability Program Plan, a key step in developing the knowledge needed to determine the sustainment needs of the GMD system.

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Aegis Ashore: Aegis Ashore is MDA's future land-based variant of the ship-based Aegis BMD. It is expected to track and intercept ballistic missiles in their midcourse phase of flight using Standard Missile-3 (SM-3) interceptor variants as they become available.

However, while Aegis BMD has demonstrated performance at sea, these demonstrations used the currently fielded 3.6.1 version of Aegis BMD with the SM-3 IA interceptor, not the newer variant of the Aegis operating system and new interceptor that Aegis Ashore will use. Aegis Ashore is dependent on next-generation versions of Aegis systems—Aegis 4.0.1 and Aegis 5.0—as well as the new SM-3 IB interceptor, all of which are currently under development. Moreover, a series of changes are required to further modify these new variants of Aegis BMD for use on land with Aegis Ashore.

GAO Report on Missile Defense

Changes to those existing Aegis BMD components that will be reused for Aegis Ashore may reduce their maturity in the context of the new Aegis Ashore program, and new features will require testing and assessment to demonstrate their performance. MDA plans to make production decisions for the first operational Aegis Ashore before conducting both ground and flight tests. We concluded in this year's report that it is a highly concurrent effort, with significant cost, schedule and performance risk.

Approach of the APS Boost Missile Defense Study Group

Relied on the threat assessments in unclassified summaries of recent National Intelligence Estimates and Congressional testimony by NIC staff

Considered a range of possible goals for the defense (defending all 50 states, only the largest cities, only one coast, only Hawaii, ...)

Made generally optimistic assumptions about the performance of boost-phase defense systems:

- Assumed the attacker would have only early-1960s technology
- Assumed the defense would be able to deploy the most advanced technology available ten years from now
- Set aside all battle management, communications, command, control, lethality, and reliability issues and countermeasures

Identified system architectures that could work in principle

Constructed computer models of missiles, missile tracking systems, interceptors, and kill vehicles and carried out simulations to determine the performance that would be required for these systems to work

Why the APS Study's Results Differ From Those of Some Other Studies

It considered liquid-propellant model ICBMs based on 40-year-old technology, but did not assume they would have very long (300+ second) boost phases

It considered solid-propellant model ICBMs based on 40-year-old technology

It did not assume the defense is “omniscient” —

- It *did* assume the ICBM's performance characteristics are known exactly (but they may not be)
- It *did not* assume knowledge of the attacker's intent
 - Initial direction of flight and target unknown in advance
 - ICBM's flight path not known in advance

It carefully analyzed kill-vehicle performance required to intercept an accelerating ICBM

It carefully examined the defense technologies likely to be in hand in 10 to 15 years and their implications for interceptor and kill-vehicle performance

Why Solid-Propellant ICBMs Need to Be Considered

The two fundamentally different types of ICBMs (liquid- and solid-propellant) present very different challenges

Although North Korea might initially deploy liquid-propellant ICBMs, recent NIE summaries point to significant transfer of solid-rocket technology among North Korea, Iran, Pakistan, China, and other countries of concern

On the basis of unclassified summaries of the most recent U.S. National Intelligence Estimates and briefings, the Study Group concluded that countries of concern might deploy solid-propellant ICBMs within the next 10–15 years, if they were able to purchase or acquire solid-propellant missiles or technology and the U.S. pursued a boost-phase missile defense

Because it would take at least a decade for the United States to field a boost-phase missile defense, a defense that is effective only against liquid-propellant ICBMs would risk being obsolete when deployed or soon afterward

Whether the Interceptor Rocket Could Reach the ICBM in Time Depends . . .

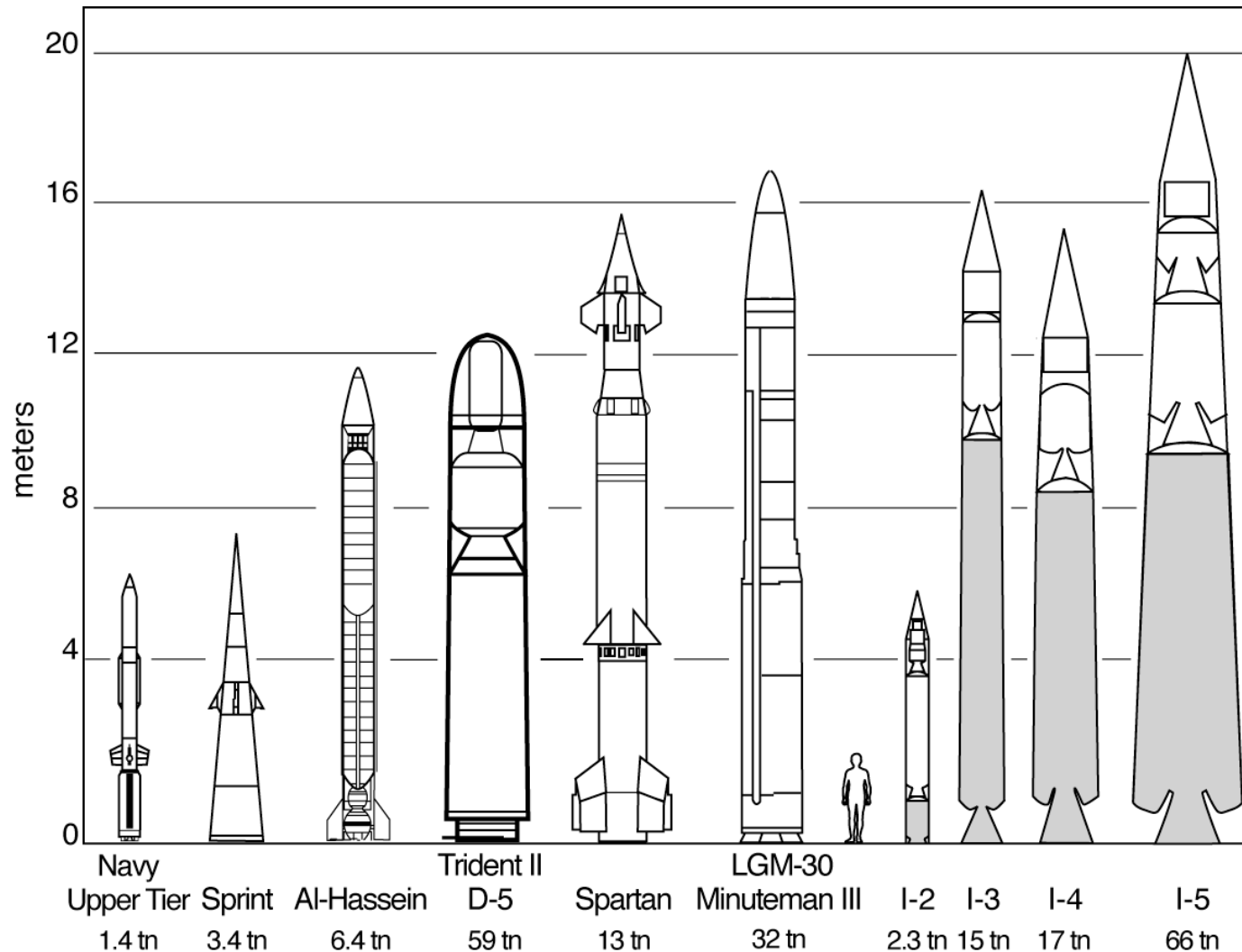
On whether the target ICBM is a liquid-or a solid-propellant missile

The global geography determines how early in its flight the target ICBM must be intercepted

Regional geography determines how close to the target ICBM's flight path interceptors could be based

Generally interceptors must be based far from the intercept point, must fly almost their maximum range (~ 500 km for solid ICBMs or $\sim 1,000$ km for liquid ICBMs), and must intercept the ICBM at the last possible moment

Reaching and Hitting the Target Would Require Large, Fast Booster Rockets



Hitting an ICBM in Powered Flight Requires a Highly Capable Kill Vehicle

The APS Study found no fundamental obstacle to developing adequate kill vehicles, but —

The kill vehicle must have sensors capable of tracking the cool missile body in the face of the bright exhaust plume, which is displaced from it

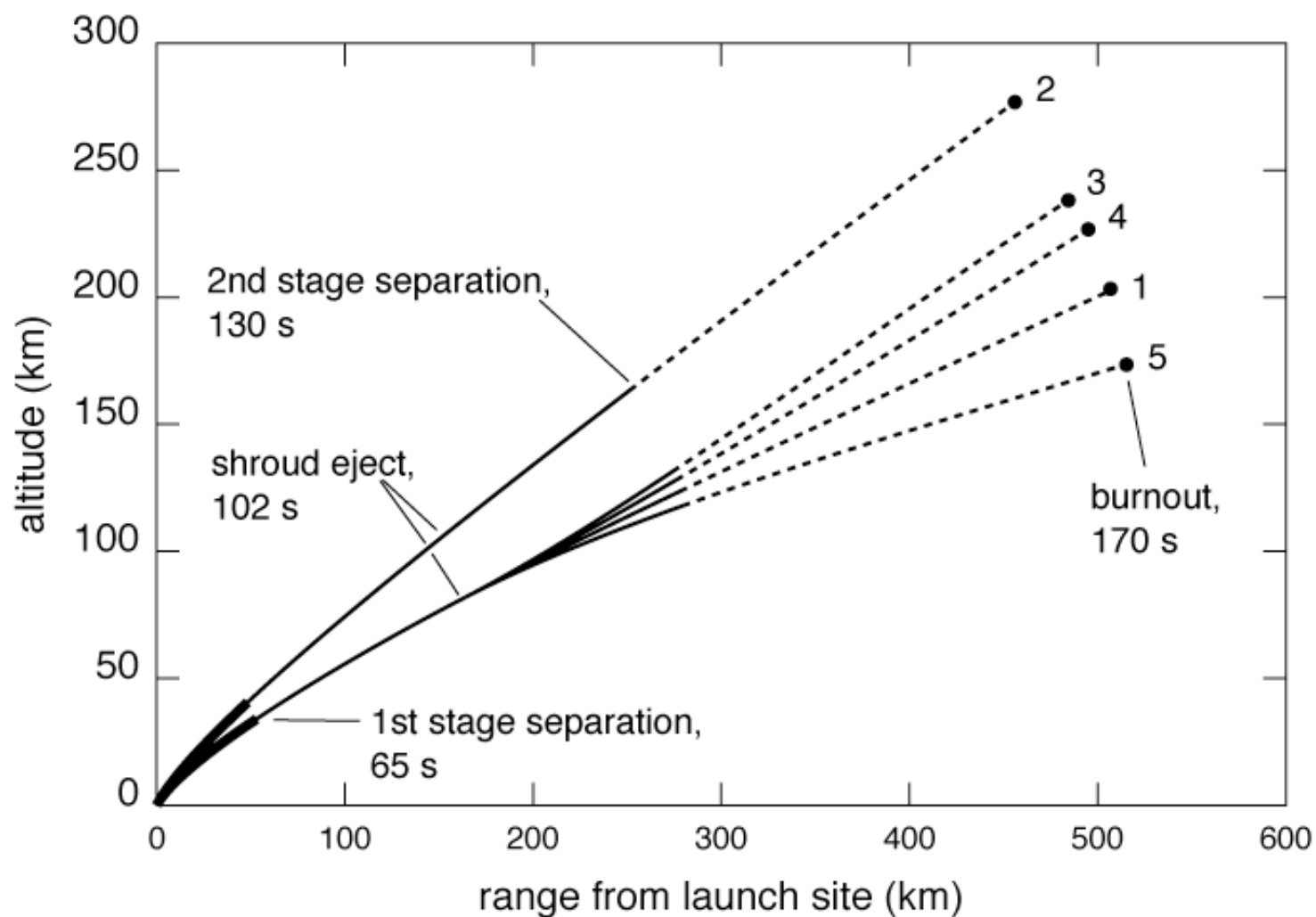
- Passive infrared, optical, and UV sensors
- Active sensors such as LIDAR

The kill vehicle must be able to compensate fully for changes in the flight of the target missile

- Must have adequate total divert capability (2.0 to 2.5 km/s)
- Must have sufficient acceleration for the endgame (15 g)
- Must have fast guidance and control and quick dynamic response (0.1 s or less total lag)

Kill vehicles with these capabilities would be relatively heavy (90–140 kg)

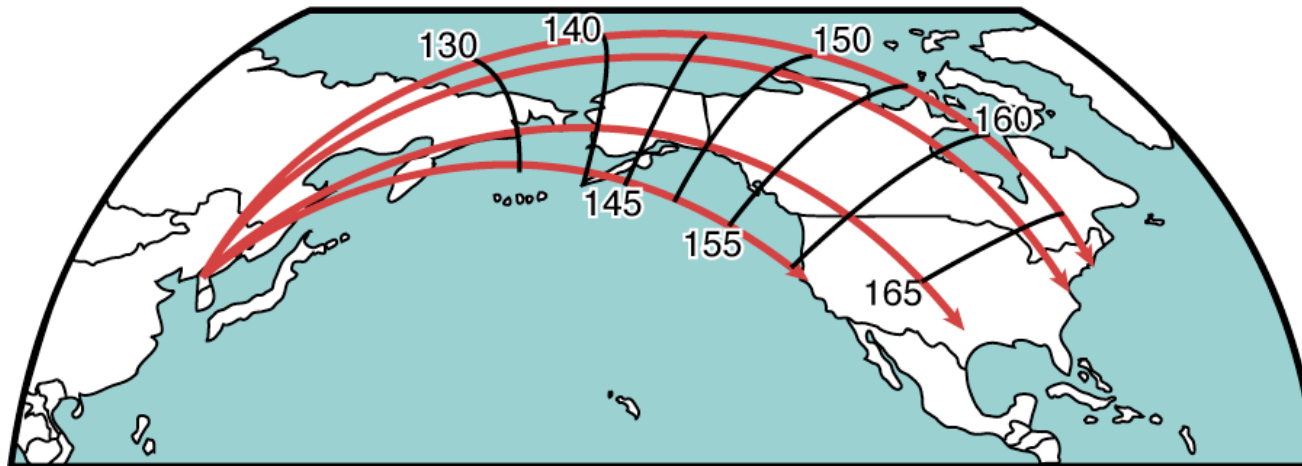
Hitting an ICBM in Powered Flight is Very Challenging



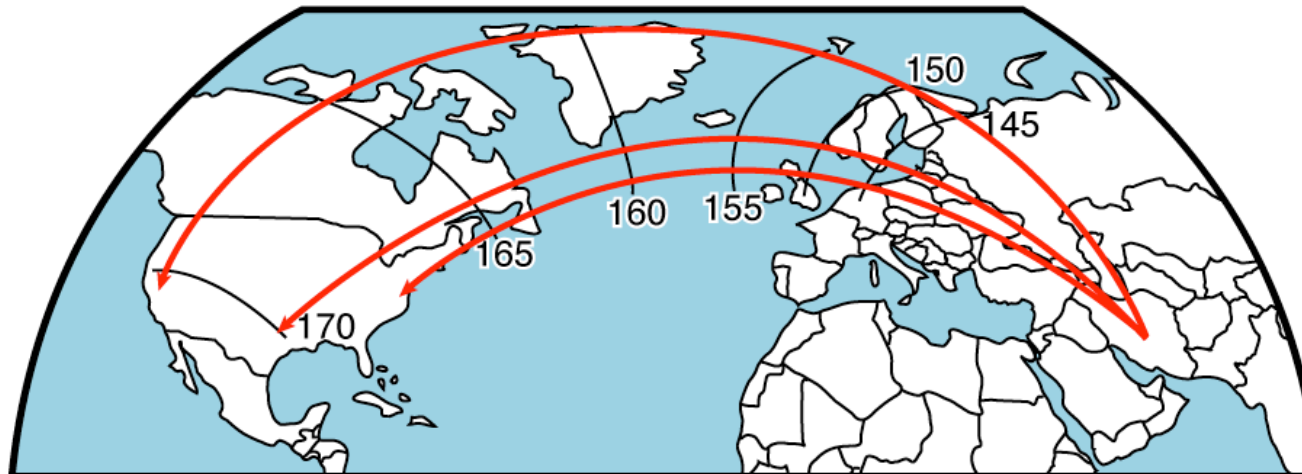
Global Geography Determines How Early the ICBM Must Be Intercepted

These maps show *when* an attacking missile could release its warheads to strike U.S. territory; all warheads would be released *within 500 km* of the missile launch site.

Solid-propellant
from North Korea



Solid-propellant
from Iran



Regional Geography Determines How Close Interceptors Could Be Based



Basing areas for intercepting a solid-propellant ICBM from North Korea to Fairbanks



Basing areas for intercepting a solid-propellant ICBM from North Korea to Boston

Shortfall Would Be Difficult to Manage

The goal of a boost-phase defense is to protect the target by causing the attacking missile's munitions to fall short

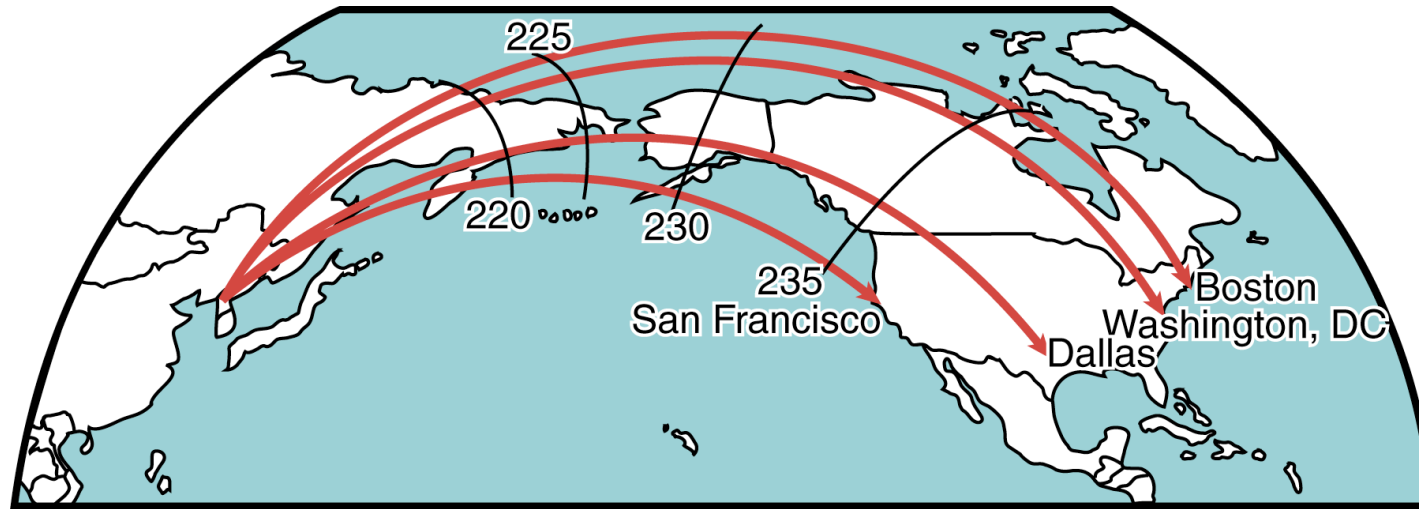
A problem inherent in boost-phase defense is that causing the attacking missile's munitions to fall short could cause nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons to impact other populated areas in the United States or other countries

Some or all of these weapons could be live when they impact

Timing intercepts accurately enough to avoid causing this would be very difficult, if it's possible at all

An alternative would be to design the interceptor to destroy all warheads or submunitions, but this is likely to be difficult

Munitions from North Korean Missiles Could Impact Russia or Canada

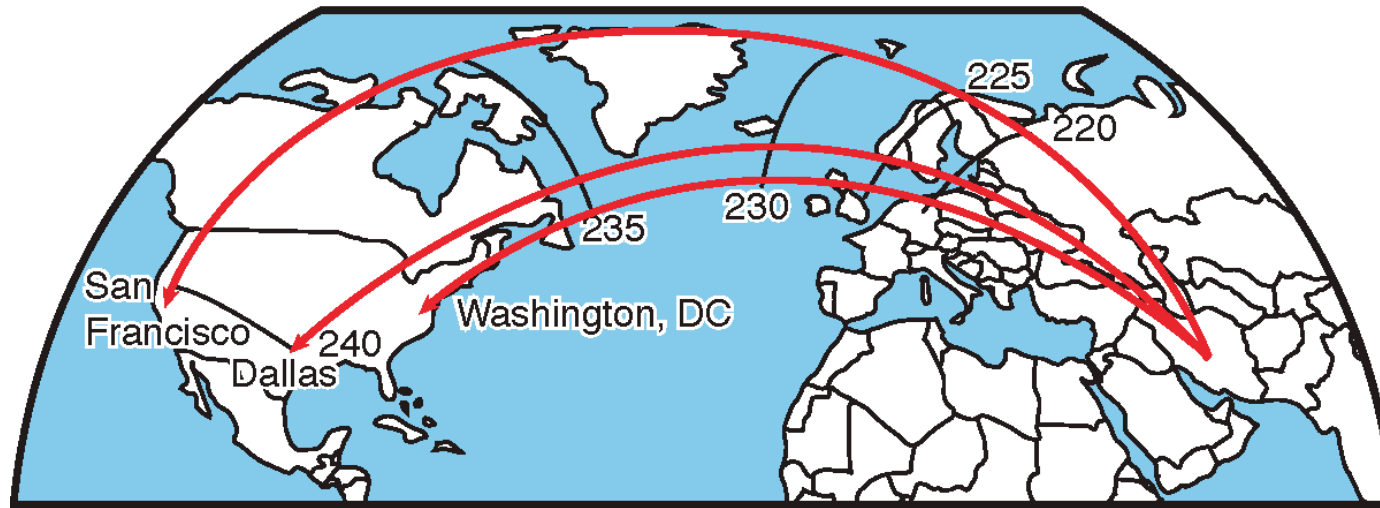


If launched against a target in the central United States, this particular missile would have to be intercepted in a small window between about 225 and 230 seconds after launch, to avoid dropping warheads on Russia or Canada

In reality, the performance characteristics of attacking missiles and their targets are unlikely to be known exactly in advance

Hence timing intercepts accurately enough to avoid causing possible live munitions to fall on Russia or Canada would be very difficult, if it's possible at all

Munitions from Iranian Missiles Could Impact Western Europe



If launched against a target in the central United States, this particular missile would have to be intercepted in a small window between about 225 and 230 seconds after launch, to avoid dropping warheads on Russia or Canada

In reality, the performance characteristics of attacking missiles and their targets are unlikely to be known exactly in advance

Hence timing intercepts accurately enough to avoid causing possible live munitions to fall on Russia or Canada would be very difficult, if it's possible at all

Summary of the Findings of the APS Study of Boost-Phase Missile Defense

Hit-to-kill interceptors could potentially defend the United States against liquid-propellant ICBMs launched from some countries

Boost-phase defense against solid-propellant ICBMs is unlikely to be practical during the next decade, when all factors are considered

A boost-phase defense against short-or medium-range missiles launched from platforms off U.S. coasts appears feasible

A space-based boost-phase intercept system appears infeasible until the masses of kill vehicles can be reduced substantially

The ABL's range is likely to be too short for it to be useful except against liquid-propellant ICBMs from North Korea

Countermeasures are possible and should be expected

Test of the Aegis Ship-Based Anti-Missile System

Global Security Newswire

by National Journal Group

Daily news on nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, terrorism and related issues.

U.S. Readies Key Ballistic Missile Interceptor Test

Friday, April 8, 2011

The United States is readying for its initial trial of a ship-based antimissile system against an intermediate-range ballistic missile target, Reuters reported on Thursday (see **GSN**, March 2).

The April test is likely to affect Obama administration assurances that it can meet a self-imposed schedule for establishing a missile shield to defend Europe against potential Iranian missile attacks.

Missile Defense Agency spokesman Richard Lehner said the test would involve a ship-based Aegis antimissile system developed by Lockheed Martin and a Raytheon-produced missile interceptor. The vessel will be located in the south central Pacific and the missile target is to be fired from the Marshall Islands in the central Pacific.

Test of the Aegis Ship-Based Anti-Missile System

Earlier ship-based tests have targeted mock enemy missiles with more restricted flight ranges. This month's test would be the first to involve an intermediate-range target that can travel from 2,000 to 3,500 miles. Such a range would put European capitals Berlin, Paris and London within striking distance of missiles fired from Iran's western edge.

The forthcoming test is "to demonstrate a capability against a class of ballistic missiles, and is not country-specific," Lehner said told Reuters by e-mail.

"During [the test] Aegis BMD (ballistic missile defense) will demonstrate for the first time its capability to negate the longer-range threats that must be countered in Phase 1" of the Obama missile defense plan for Europe, Defense Department operational test and evaluation chief Michael Gilmore told Congress in March.

Summary

The technical performance of the U.S. ABM system is dubious.

None of the few tests has been realistic operational exercises.

Moreover, a very substantial fraction of these tests have resulted in failures, not because of fundamental design flaws but because of insufficient quality control needed by complex systems. The items that failed in these tests had functioned previously.

The target missile trajectories were known beforehand and no decoys or other means of deceptive tactics to defeat the ABM system were employed.

Technically, such decoys are considerably easier to produce than the missile itself; therefore, any nation capable of ballistic missile delivery against the United States could also employ countermeasures adequate to render the system useless.

Missile Defense Conclusions

The current defense of the United States against nuclear weapons is seriously unbalanced.

We have spent more than \$300 billion on defenses against nuclear armed long-range ballistic missiles and are currently spending \$10 billion per year.

But nothing stemming from this effort enhances the real security of the United States.

As one example, relative to defenses against ballistic missiles, the effort to improve the security of the vast foreign stockpiles of nuclear weapons and critical nuclear weapons usable material has been less by about a factor of 10.

But this effort is the principal way we can prevent clandestine delivery of nuclear weapons against this the United States.

Module 7: Defenses Against Nuclear Attack

End of Module