

J118(A80)

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Proposal Abstract J118(A80)

1. Arms Control Problem:

Nuclear weapons - mobile ballistic missiles

2. Verification Type:

- (a) Remote sensors
- (b) On-site inspection - selective

3. Source:

Davis, Paul K. "Land-Mobile ICBMs: Verification and Breakout". In Verification and SALT: The Challenge of Strategic Deception, pp. 143-162. Edited by William C. Potter. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1980.

4. Summary:

This paper attempts to discuss arms control problems associated with land-mobile ICBMs and with shell-game deployment systems in particular. Three verification problems are identified:

- (1) Counting the number of ICBM launchers in overt ICBM deployment areas,
- (2) Verifying the absence of ICBM launchers in areas other than overt ICBM deployment areas, and
- (3) Coping with the possibility of "breakout".

Regarding the first problem, designs for shell-game systems are already constrained by SALT's provision preventing deliberate concealment measures which impede verification. However, there is no inherent contradiction between being able to count the other side's ICBM launchers and not being able to see them at all times, witness the counting of SLBM launchers. The proposed MX basing scheme will probably be verifiable for several reasons. First, the MX and its launcher will be built slowly and visibly near its deployment area. By constraints on production and access to the general areas, it will be possible to count the launchers with confidence using NTMs alone. In addition, it would be desirable to have provisions for sampling upon demand. The US could offer on-site inspection without requiring the Soviets to reciprocate providing that they satisfy US verification concerns if they deploy a similar shell-game system. Currently, however, the MX system is being designed for verification by NTMs.

Regarding the second verification problem, the author contends that it seems unlikely that the Soviets would try to cheat by deploying extra missiles in an overt deployment area. Instead, it is more appropriate to focus concern on small highly mobile missiles outside these areas.

Regarding the possibilities of "breakout", Davis briefly outlines several scenarios. In the context of the shell-game MX system there is a possibility of "covert breakout" (i.e. acquiring enough reentry