

The Independent Working Group

A Fiscal Year 2012 Missile Defense Agenda

Missile defense has entered a new era. With the initial missile defense deployments, the decades-long debate over whether to protect the American people from the threat of ballistic missile attack was settled – and settled unequivocally in favor of missile defense. What remains an open question is how the American missile defense system will evolve in the years ahead to take maximum advantage of technological opportunities to meet present and emerging dangers. The immediate question is what steps the 112th Congress should take to evolve the system during its consideration of the fiscal year 2012 (FY 2012) defense legislation.

In order to address increasingly complex and multifaceted dangers, the United States must move well beyond the initial missile defense deployments of recent years to deploy a system capable of comprehensively protecting the American homeland as well as U.S. overseas forces and allies from the threat of ballistic missile attack. These priorities necessitate the deployment of a system capable of constant defense against a wide range of threats in all phases of flight: boost, midcourse, and terminal. A layered system – encompassing ground-based (area and theater anti-missile assets) and sea-based capabilities – can provide multiple opportunities to destroy incoming missiles in various phases of flight.

The key step for the 112th Congress, however, is to revive the cutting-edge technologies developed in the 1980s and early 1990s – technologies that produced the most effective, least costly ways to defend the U.S. homeland, its deployed troops, and its international partners from the threat of ballistic missile attack. The most impressive of these initiatives was *Brilliant Pebbles*. By 1992, that initiative – entailing the deployment of a constellation of small, advanced kill-vehicles in space – had developed a cheap, effective means of destroying enemy ballistic missiles in all modes of flight. A second initiative was to evolve the Navy Aegis-based air defense system into a missile defense system. Yet in the early 1990s, *Brilliant Pebbles* fell victim to a systematic eradication of space-based technologies that marked the closing years of the twentieth century and still impedes the development of the most effective missile defense today and the sea-based system was “dumbed down” for reasons having to do with arms control.

Accordingly, the following are the general recommendations of the Independent Working Group to the 112th Congress to strengthen and accelerate the missile defense program as it considers FY 2012 defense legislation:

- Make deployment of a multilayered missile defense an urgent national priority against the growing missile threat from hostile state and non-state actors to the United States, its deployed forces, and allies.
- Develop broad public recognition that this threat encompasses missiles launched against populations and infrastructures as well as nuclear detonations above the earth, resulting in an electromagnetic pulse (EMP).
- Hold public hearings on these threats in Washington and across the country to prepare Congress to undertake legislative steps to counter them.
- Initiate steps to protect the electronic infrastructure and insure its resiliency against EMP effects.
- Build a broadly based national consensus for a robust layered defense that includes sea- and space-based intercept capabilities able to defend against the growing missile threat.
- Ensure that the urgency of the missile threat is reflected in new organizational structures for a missile defense program that breaks the existing bureaucratic mold.
- Raise the national profile of missile defense by building greater bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress.
- Protect encroachment on space-based missile defense options through arms control by requiring that any international agreement entered into by the United States that imposes any limits on development, testing, deployment and operation of space systems be concluded as a treaty subject to Senate advice and consent.

The Independent Working Group's programmatic recommendations for missile defense in FY 2012 are the following:

- Take steps toward completing the GMD sites in Alaska and California by fielding 44 defense interceptors.
- Expand Sea-based defenses under the Obama Administration's Phased Adaptive Approach (PAA) in FY 2012 with the goal of outfitting 38 ships with missile defense capabilities and increasing the number of SM-3 Block IA and Block IB interceptors in the inventory to 436 by FY 2015. Add "engagement on remote" by 2012 to fully exploit the inherent capability of SM-3 Block IA and IB to counter ICBMs.
- Begin to counter the EMP threat almost immediately with the already deployed SM-3, which can intercept a ship-borne *Scud*-type missile launched off the U.S. coast in the ascent phase of flight, before it can detonate a nuclear warhead for the purpose of generating EMP.
- Expedite development of an Aegis Ashore version of the SM-3 for deployment at military bases along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.
- Mandate the evolution of the Standard Missile interceptor by establishing the goal of increasing its speed by incorporating a lighter and smaller kill vehicle into the missile, based on the *Brilliant Pebbles*-era light-weight Advanced Technology Kill Vehicle (ATKV) and making the necessary upgrades in software and changes in command and control arrangements to intercept intercontinental-range missiles.
- Assign responsibility, authority, and necessary resources to the U.S. Navy to develop, deploy, and operate the sea-based missile defense system and its associated Aegis Ashore system, while directing the Missile Defense Agency to cooperate with the Navy in assuring that the Navy systems have unfettered access to off board (offsite) sensor data from the broader missile defense system.
- Combine and extend the existing DoD and NASA test range assets to provide an East Coast test range for missile defense testing of BMD-capable *Aegis* ships currently being deployed in the Atlantic Ocean, thereby implicitly providing a limited defense against ballistic missile threats to the East Coast. The West Coast test range already provides such an inherent defense to our West Coast. This would also be an early counter to the EMP threat.
- Start to put in place a space testbed for developing space-based interceptors, with the intention that the interceptors would be integrated into U.S. Strategic Command's global architecture in three to five years under a streamlined development program building on *Brilliant Pebbles* (and advanced technologies produced since then) for space-based interceptors for boost-phase, midcourse, and terminal-phase interdiction and ultimately by using an event-driven procurement strategy, deploy one thousand *Brilliant Pebbles* interceptors with the goal of an initial capability within five years of a decision to move forward. This should be managed by a special task force, perhaps within the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA).
- Strengthen missile defense collaboration with allies by developing missile defense capabilities based on a suitable U.S.-allied division of labor, especially in sea-based and space-based missile defense, while insuring maximum interoperability, flexibility, adaptability, and affordability.
- Fund the missile defense program, across MDA and the services at no less than \$11 billion in FY 2012.
- Enact legislation to extend the requirement that arms control agreements be concluded as treaties to ones that limit space operations. This will serve to cover agreements called "codes of conduct" or "rules of the road."

The recommendations provided here by the Independent Working Group are designed to serve as an agenda that concisely sets forth what the Congress should do now and in the future if the United States is to deploy the robust, layered missile defense that will be essential for our national security in the years ahead. The Independent Working Group also recognizes that Congress cannot do this alone and stands ready to assist in any way it can. The Independent Working Group also recognizes that the missile defense program will succeed only if it receives the support it deserves from state and local officials, including Governors, state legislators, Adjutants General and homeland security officials. Thus, it is prepared to work at the federal and state and local levels to ensure that United States is protected against ballistic missile attack.