

Missile Defense Program Update For The National Defense University “Road To Bucharest” Conference



20 FEB 08

**MG Patrick J. O'Reilly, USA
Deputy Director
Missile Defense Agency**



Today's Reality

North Korea Conducts Successful Nuclear Test

DPRK Announcement
October 9, 2006

North Korea Would Sell Nukes To Terrorists: Report Reveals 2005 Statement

Washington Times
February 5, 2008

N. Korea Test-Fires Long-Range Missile

The Washington Post
July 5, 2006

Iran Expanding Its Atom Program, UN Agency Reports

International Herald Tribune
August 30, 2007

Iran Reports 7th Shipment of Russian Nuclear Fuel

Voice of America News
January 26, 2008

Iran Lauds Development of Solid Fuel Missile

Arms Control Today
January / February 2008



Tomorrow's Possibilities

**Iran Successfully Test New
Ballistic Missile: All Europe Now
In Range**

NATO Leaders Alarmed

**The Wall Street Journal
September 5, 2009**

**North Korea detonates nuclear –
tipped ICBM**

Warns U.S. not to interfere in unification
**The Washington Post
June 20, 2009**

**Al-Qaeda Controls Nukes!
Pakistan Admits Missiles Missing!**
**Demands U.S. withdrawal from Middle East or
“Face Wrath of Allah”**

**Washington Times
March 25, 2009**

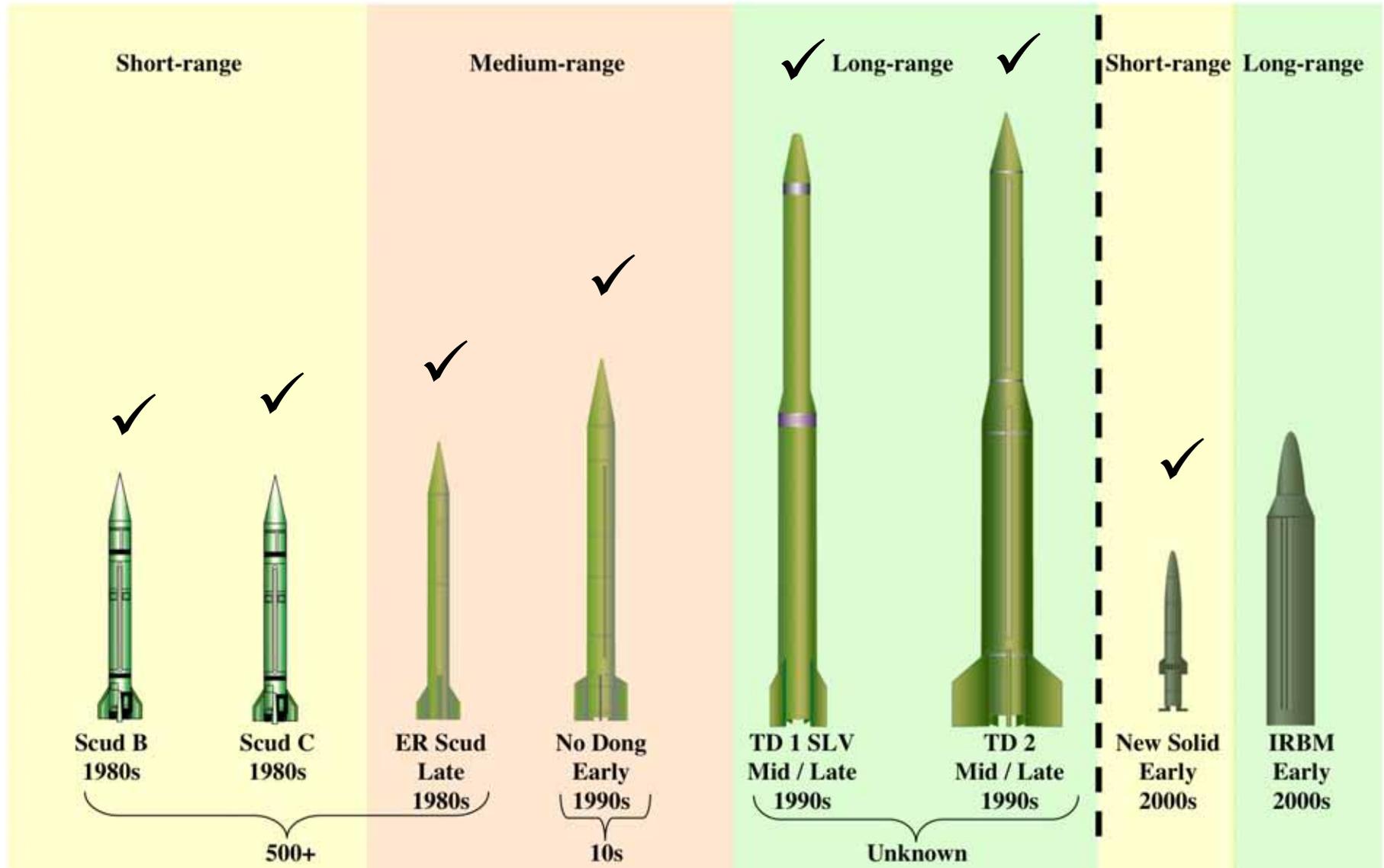
**Iran Announces Successful Space
Launch**

U.S. Worried Over ICBM Implications
**The New York Times
November 8, 2009**



North Korean Ballistic Missiles

✓ *Flown*

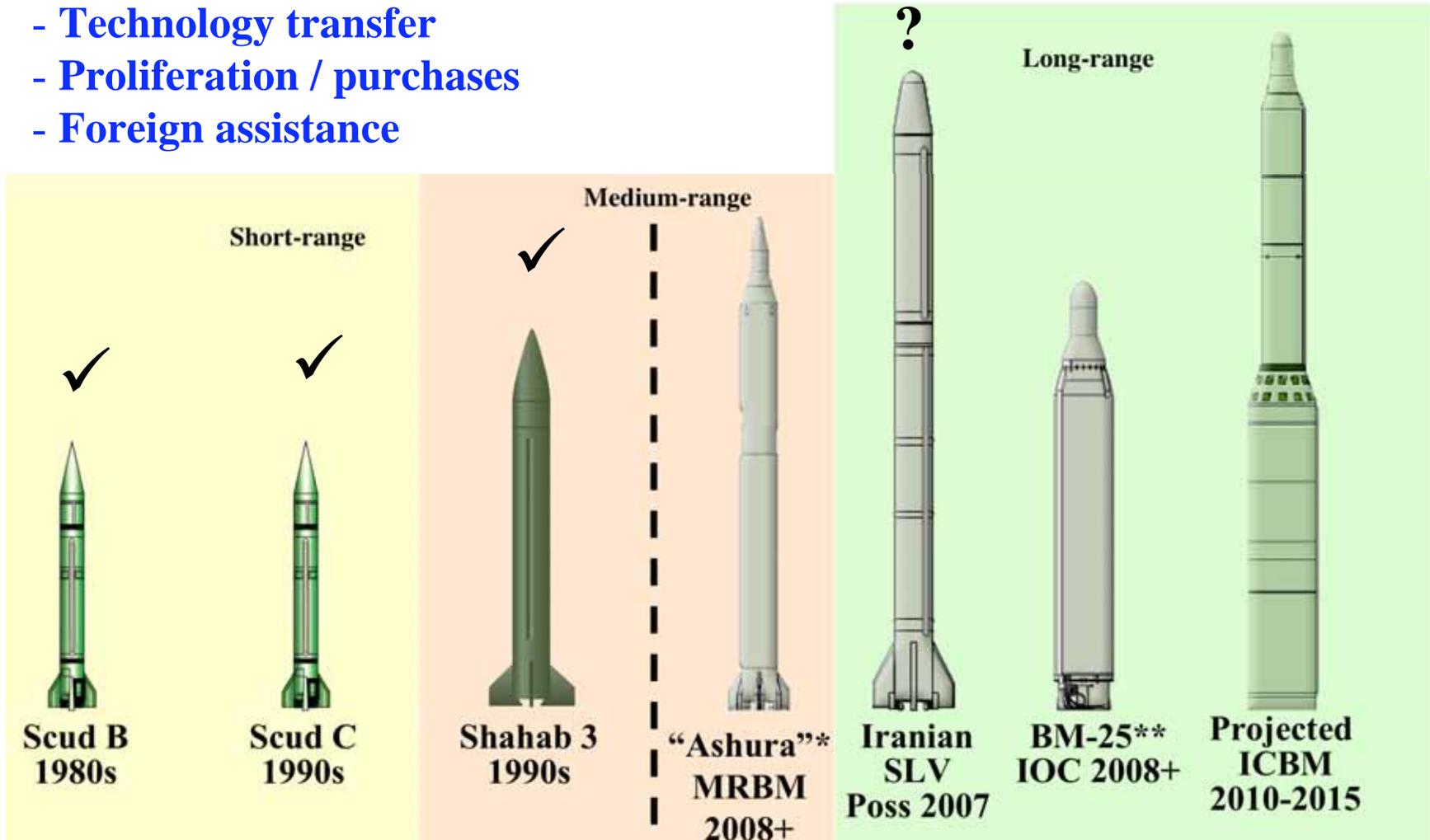




Iranian Ballistic Missiles

✓ *Flown*

- Iranian missile capability likely to accelerate due to
 - Technology transfer
 - Proliferation / purchases
 - Foreign assistance



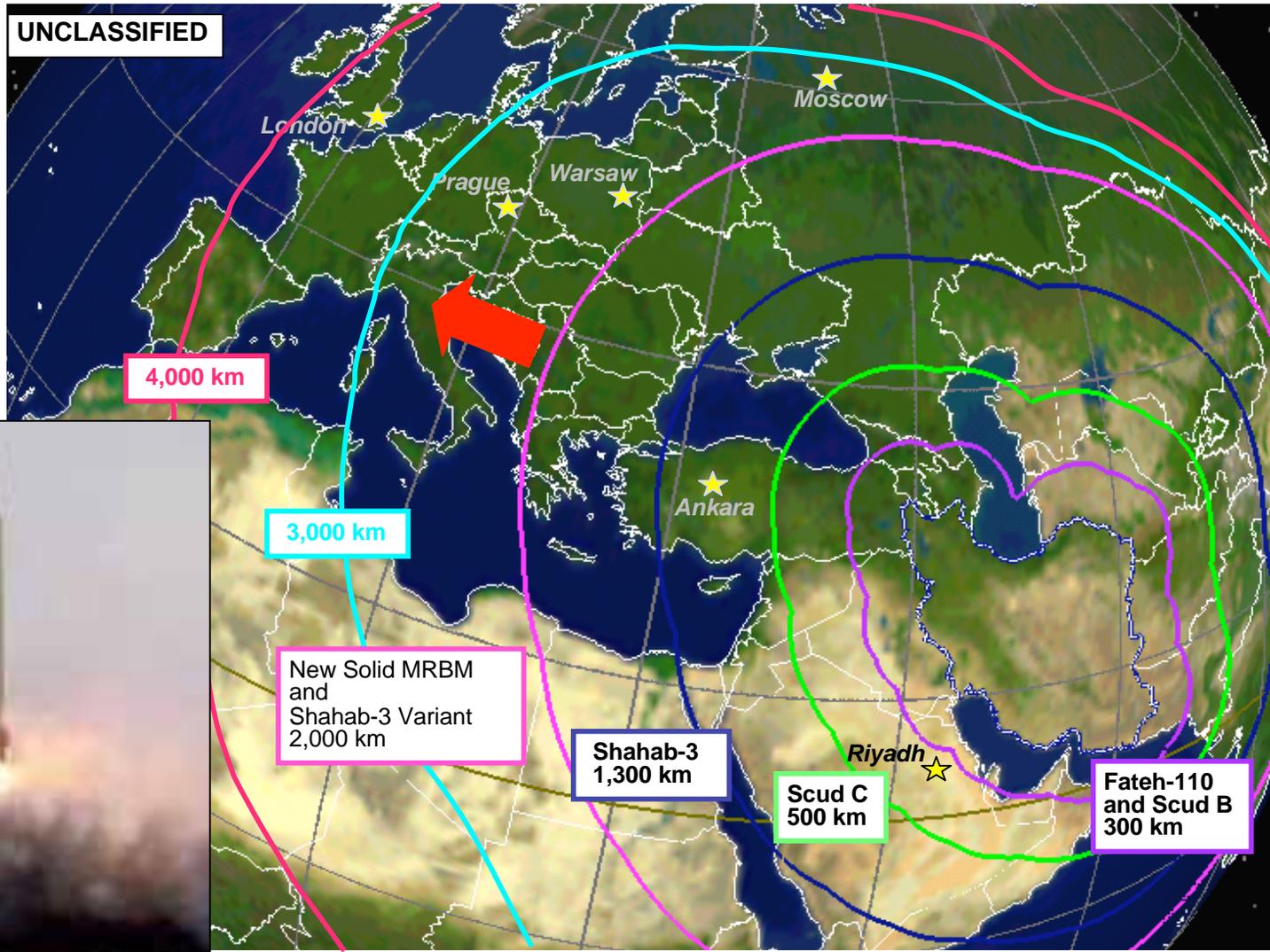
Sources: NASIC B&CM Threat 2006; Jacoby Testimony March 2005; Maples Testimony January 2007

* As reported in Russian newspaper Moscow Agentstvo Voyennykh Novostey on 27 Nov 07

** As reported in French newspaper Agence France-Presse, Berlin on 16 Dec 05

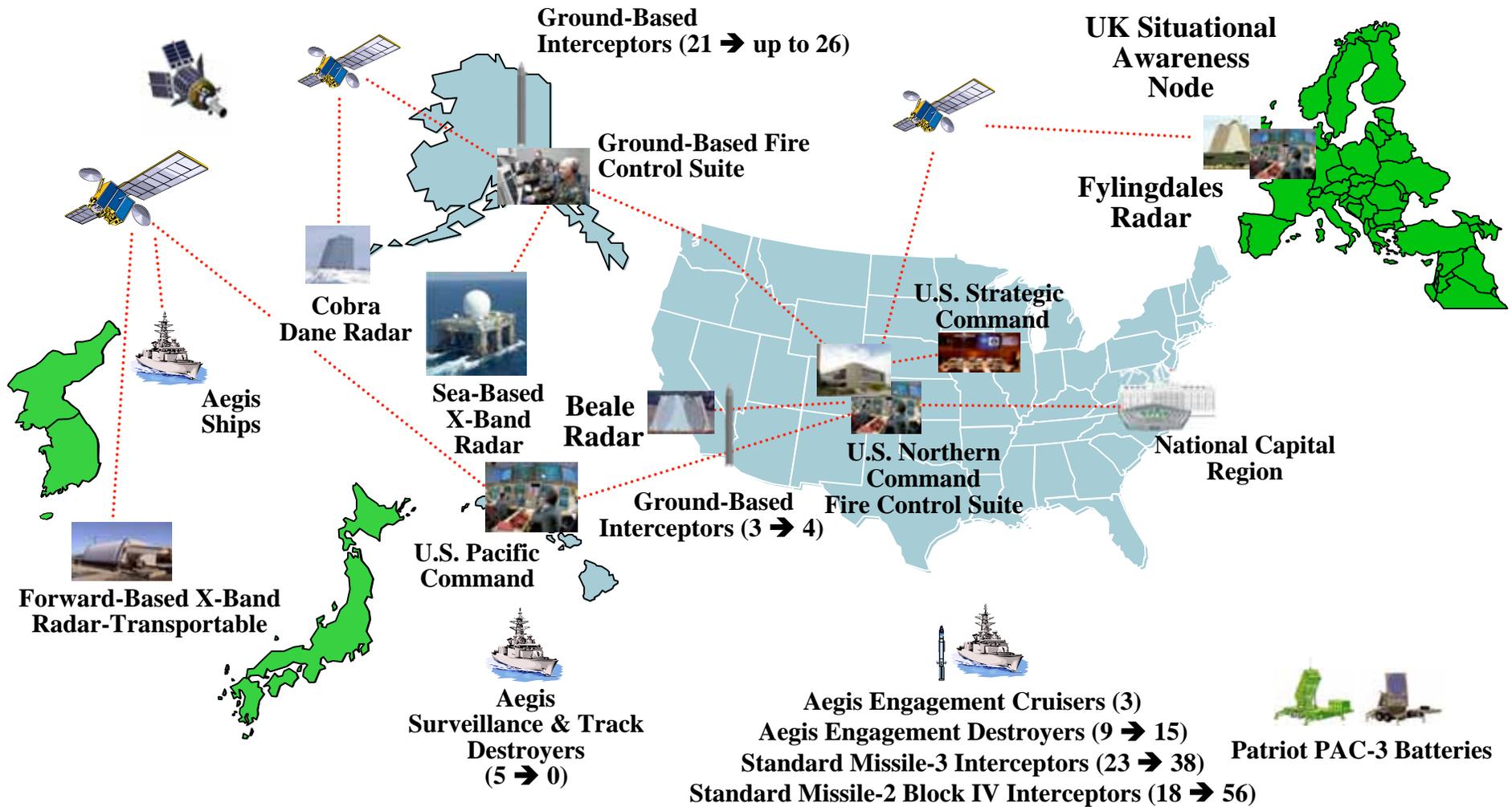


Iranian Ballistic Missile Threat





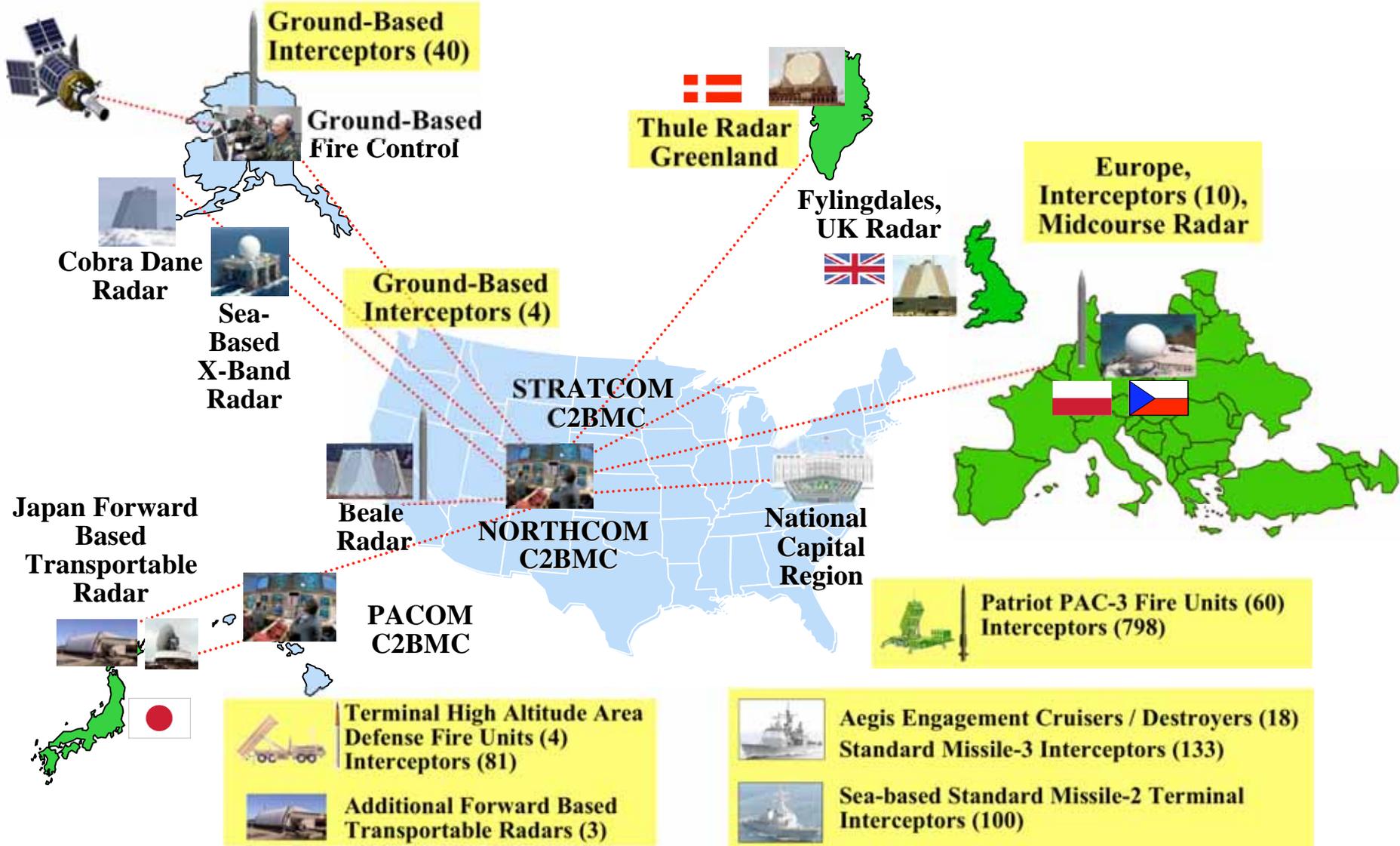
System Configuration February → End 2008



None Of This BMD Capability Existed In June 2004



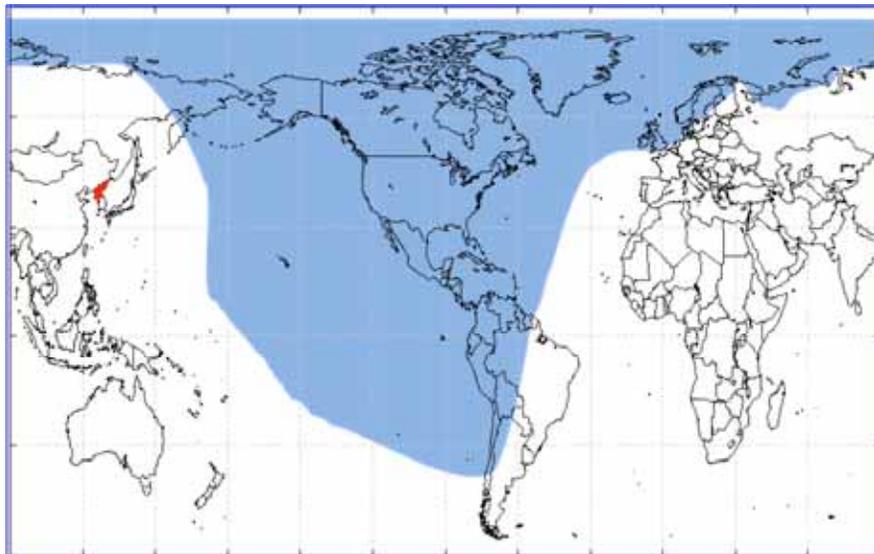
System Configuration – 2013





Ballistic Missile Coverage Against Long-Range Missiles (2013)

North Korea

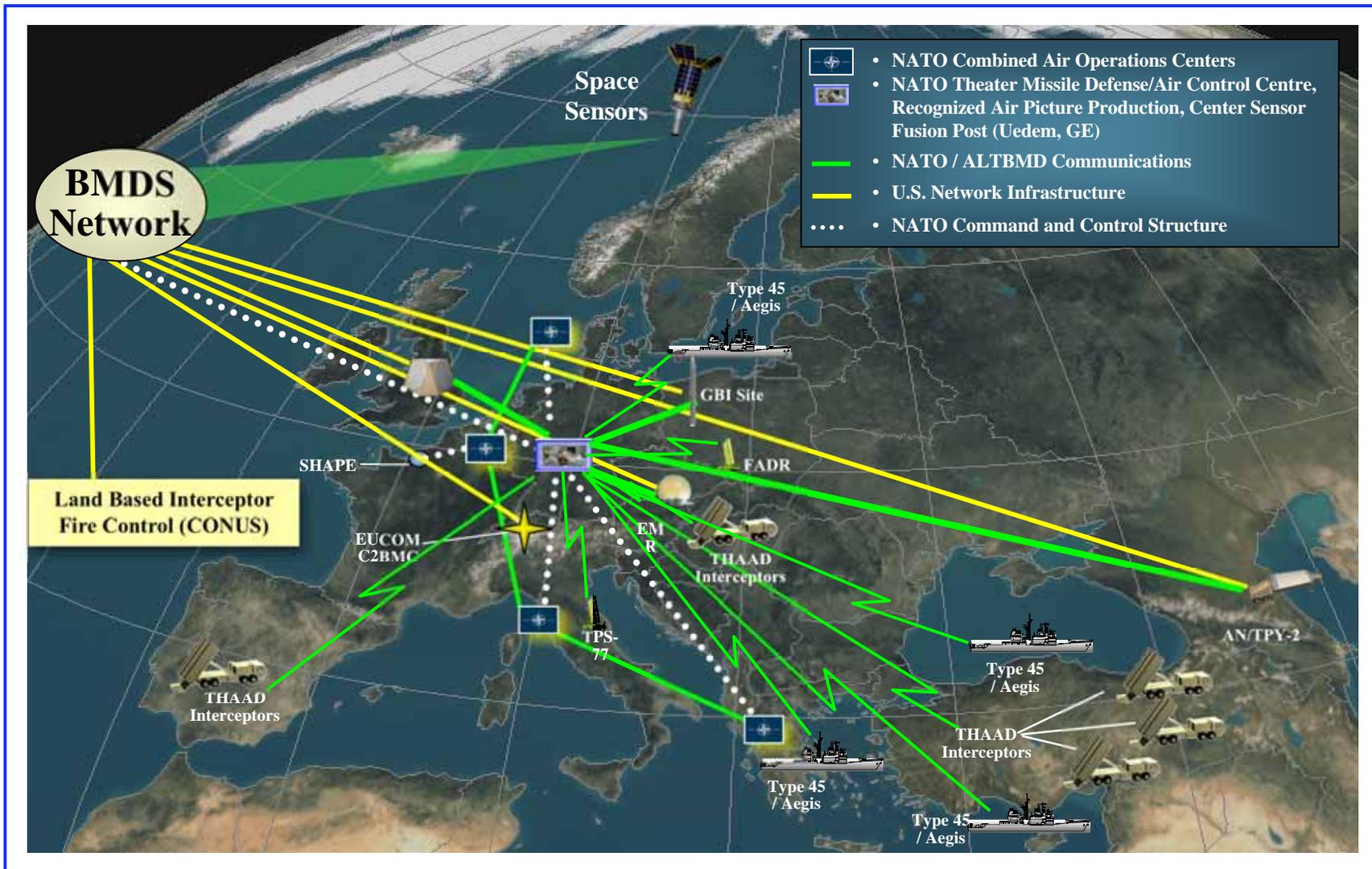


Iran





U.S. And NATO Possible Command And Control Architecture

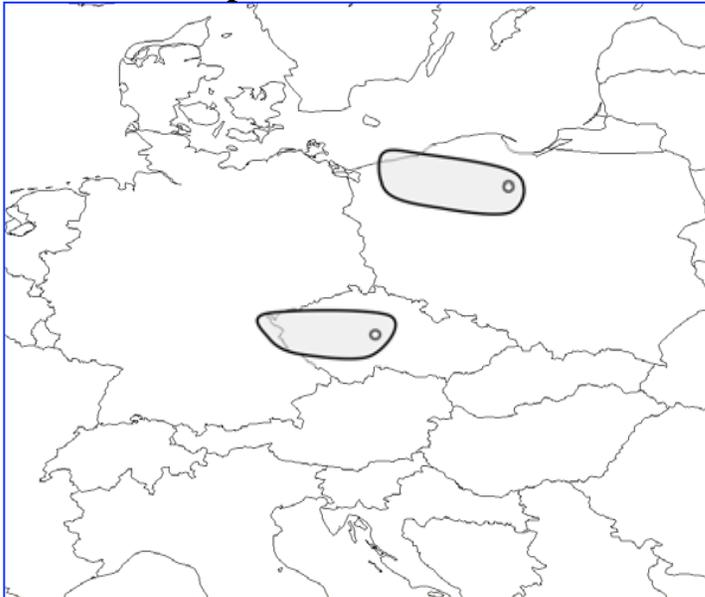




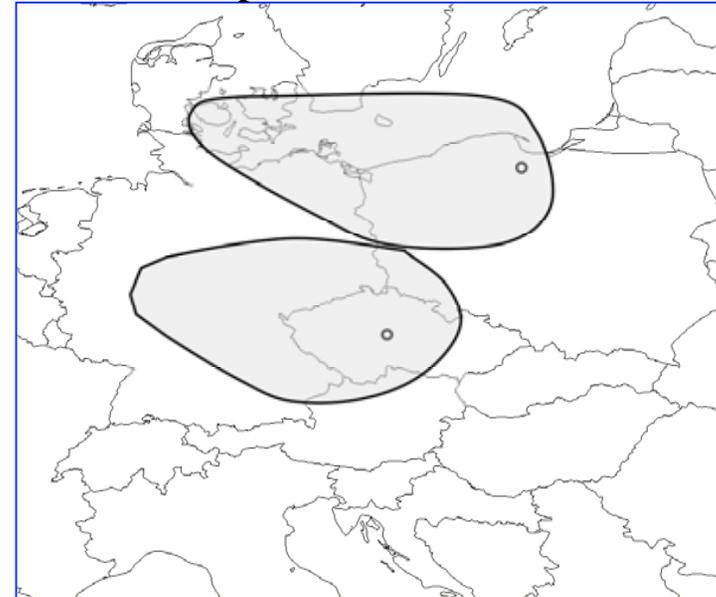
European Midcourse Radar Contribution

– THAAD Weapon System / Notional Locations* –

THAAD Weapon System Without European Midcourse Radar



THAAD Weapon System With European Midcourse Radar



Adversary

- Iranian intermediate range missile under conditions challenging to defend

Architecture

- THAAD Battery in Czech Republic* and Poland *
- European Midcourse Radar at Czech Republic*

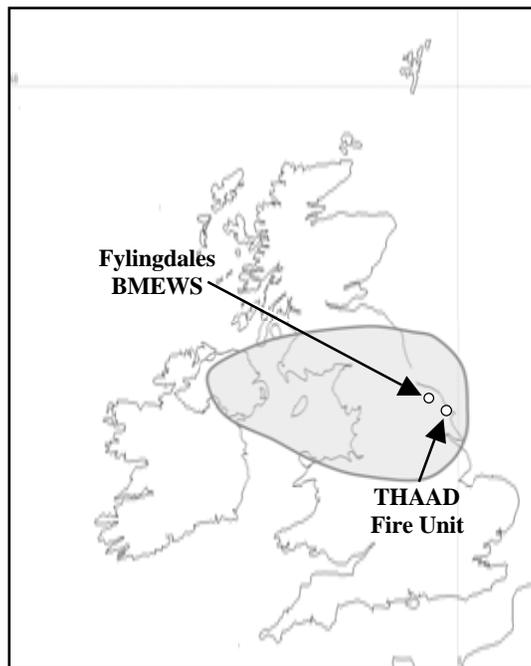
Defended Area Increases Against Iranian Intermediate Range Missile When Using European Midcourse Radar For Launch On Remote



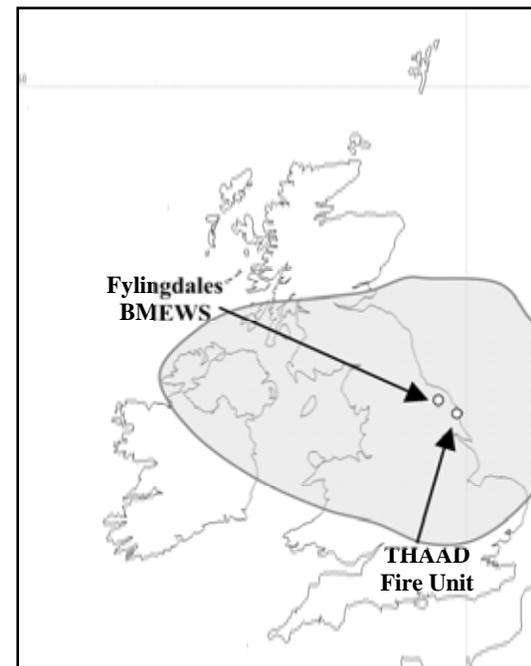
European Midcourse Radar Contribution

– THAAD Weapon System / Notional Locations* –

**THAAD Without
European Midcourse Radar**



**THAAD With
European Midcourse Radar**



Adversary

- Iranian intermediate range missile under conditions challenging to defend

Architecture

- THAAD Fire Unit and Fylingdales radar in England*
- European Midcourse Radar at Czech Republic*

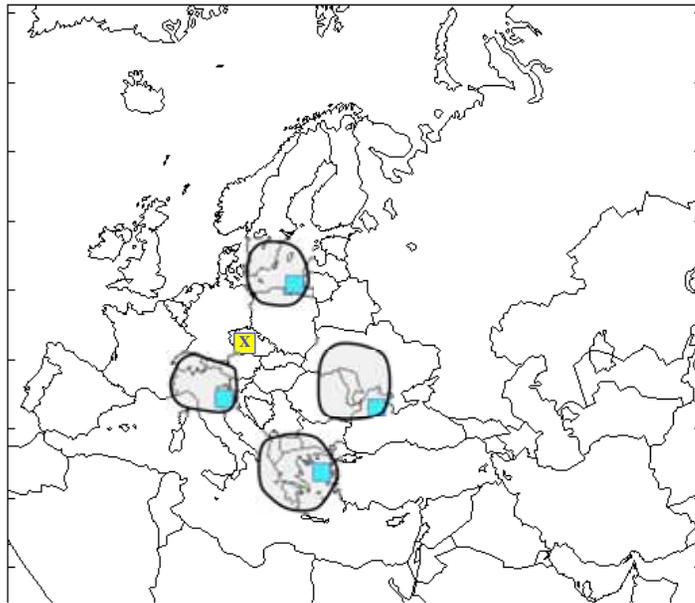
**THAAD Launch On European
Midcourse Radar Expands Defended
Area Over Central England**



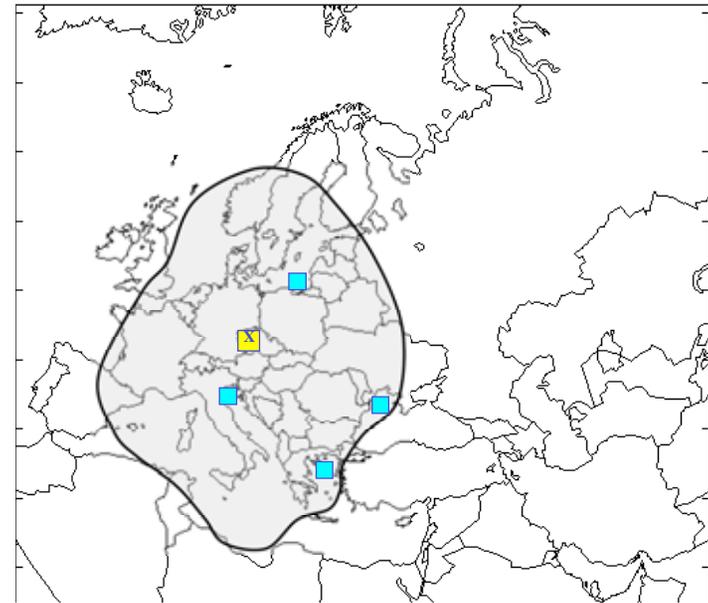
European Midcourse Radar Contribution

– Aegis Ship Weapon System –

Aegis Ship Weapon System Without European Midcourse Radar



Aegis Ship Weapon System With European Midcourse Radar



Adversary

- Iranian intermediate range missile under conditions challenging to defend

Architecture

- Aegis in the Black Sea, Aegean Sea, Adriatic Sea, Gulf of Gdansk
- European Midcourse Radar at Czech Republic

Defended Area Increases 140% / Ship (560% Total) Against Iranian Intermediate Range Missile When Using European Midcourse Radar For Launch On Remote



A Hypothetical Scenario A In 2015

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

Offense

- Iran deploys Shahab-3s and Ashuras; Scud Cs
- Iran has tested (in partnership with North Korea) and fielded mobile nuclear-capable Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missiles (3,500 – 4,500 km range)
- Iran has publicly announced a weaponized nuclear payload
 - Iran had a clandestine nuclear weaponization program (with foreign assistance) – how many warheads?
 - Iran has had for ten years a very active uranium enrichment program

Defense

- Long-range U.S. ballistic missile defenses do not cover Europe
- Some mobile sea-based and land-based missile defenses available to NATO countries against short-range threats – these forces have not been integrated



Scenario A: “Iran Blockades Straits Of Hormuz”

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

- Iran declares *“the Persian Gulf is no longer open to free passage”*
- Iranian warships deploy to the straits to enforce the policy
 - Iran must approve all oil tankers passing through straits
 - Foreign naval ships are forbidden passage
 - The price of oil has sky-rocketed to \$250 a barrel
- Iranian-led terrorist groups lead riots in Baghdad, Madrid, Paris, London
- U.S. and NATO warships on alert following Tehran’s threat to *“turn Europe into a sea of fire if provoked”*
- Tehran warns Israel that any act of aggression will result in a nuclear barrage





Scenario A: Defensive Reaction

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

- **No defensive protection for many European capitals (including, London, Paris, Madrid, Brussels) against an Iranian IRBM threat**
- **NATO deployed short-range forces inadequate to cover all points in southern Europe**
 - **Aegis BMD ships to protect Rome, Athens**
 - **Standard Missile-3 can engage only up to medium-range (no long-range sea-based interceptor yet available)**
 - **PAC-3s deployed to Ankara**
- **NATO missile defenses are autonomous (less effective, less coverage)**
- **Lack of confidence in defenses**
 - **Many politicians in Europe argue for accommodation with Tehran, new negotiations to respond to Iranian grievances**
 - **Preemptive actions are evaluated by military leaderships in Europe and the United States – estimate “at best” a 50% success rate and the preemption option is removed from consideration (not all capitals agree with this decision)**



Scenario A: What's At Stake?

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

- **Freedom of decision and action is constrained**
- **Conduct of U.S. and NATO foreign policy and exercise of regional influence is in question**
- **Alliance cohesion and defense collaboration falter**
- **Protection of populations and economic way of life (activities and infrastructures) is uncertain**



Scenario A: What Could Happen With Missile Defense?

- Missile defense could preclude this by dissuasion and deterrence
- Missile defense would provide U.S. and NATO leaders options other than preemption or retaliation
- Missile defense would help buy time for a potential diplomatic resolution
- Missile defense would augment offensive capabilities available for the protection of population centers and critical assets in event of hostilities



A Hypothetical Scenario B In 2015

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

Offense

- **Al Qaeda has taken possession of three freighters**
- **Intelligence community confirms Al Qaeda possesses nuclear-capable Scud Cs (locations unknown) and associated launch equipment**
- **Intelligence community confirms a significant stockpile of enriched uranium was clandestinely transferred by North Korea to an organized, non-state paramilitary group**

Defense

- **Some mobile land-based missile defenses available to NATO countries against short-range threats – these forces have not been integrated**
- **Aegis BMD ships are not deployed in the Atlantic with several ships in the Mediterranean to protect portions of Europe**



Scenario B: “Al Qaeda Threatens European Capitals”

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

- Al-Jazeera shows video of Bin Laden announcing: *“three container ships operated by Al Qaeda are somewhere off coast of Europe”*
- Bin Laden: *“We will punish the West for the invasion of Muslim holy lands.”*
- Bin Laden: *“At 0400 zulu, infidels across Europe will be incinerated”* – threatened assault hours away
- Some protection afforded Rome, Madrid, London
 - All other capitals are vulnerable (Berlin, Paris, Brussels, ...)





Scenario B: Defensive Reaction

– If European Long-Range Integrated Ballistic Missile Defense Not Deployed –

- No missile defense protection for most population centers
- NATO forces cannot identify Al Qaeda ships with certainty, cannot strike preemptively
- NATO offensive forces have no response
 - Deterrence is a non-factor
 - Cannot threaten retaliation (against what targets?)
- A public attempt at communication with Bin Laden fails
- Warnings go out to European cities to prepare civil defenses
- Panic spreads across London, Paris, Madrid and west/central Europe
- Panic causes Asian markets to dive



Why 2015 Matters In 2008

The Decisions We Make Today Will Shape The Future

