STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

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MISSILE DEFENSE: A NEW MEDIA CAMPAIGN

BY

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Missile Defense: A New Media Campaign

by

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ABSTRACT

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The ballistic missile threat to the United States (US) is real and growing yet we are currently defenseless against ballistic missile attack. An attack, especially with Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), could cause severe and irreparable damage to the US. We have the technology to deploy an effective ballistic missile defense (BMD) system. We have not fielded a system because of political and financial obstacles. These obstacles are the product of mis-information about the proposed system and our vulnerability to a ballistic missile threat, as well as the failure of the administration to advocate the need for MD. Given the facts, the public and their elected leaders will support if not demand fielding a BMD system. The current marketing plan is inadequate for engendering support for deploying a BMD system. This paper will focus on a new marketing strategy and plan. The arguments of opponents of MD, the threat, and a new strategy will all be discussed.

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MISSILE DEFENSE: A NEW MEDIA CAMPAIGN

> It is the policy of the United States to deploy as soon as is technologically possible an effective National Missile Defense system capable of defending the territory of the United States against limited ballistic missile attack (whether accidental, unauthorized, or deliberate) with funding subject to the annual authorization of appropriations and the annual appropriation of funds for National Missile Defense.
>
> —U.S. Public Law H.R. 4,
> July 23, 1999

The ballistic missile threat to the United States (US) is real and growing yet we are currently defenseless against ballistic missile attack. An attack, especially with Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), could cause severe and irreparable damage to the US. We have the technology to deploy an effective ballistic missile defense (BMD) system. We have not fielded a system because of political and financial obstacles. These obstacles are the product of mis-information about the proposed system and our vulnerability to a ballistic missile threat, as well as the failure of the administration to advocate the need for MD. Given the facts, the public and their elected leaders will support if not demand fielding a BMD system. The current marketing plan is inadequate for engendering support for deploying a BMD system. This paper will focus on a new marketing strategy and plan. The arguments of opponents of MD, the threat, and a new strategy will all be discussed.

BACKGROUND

The events of September 11, 2001 demonstrated that our enemies would go to great lengths to attack our nation, people, and our way of life. While a missile defense system may not have protected the United States from that particular series of events, it will deter other nations or armed groups from attempting missile attacks in the future. As our counter- and anti-terrorism efforts gain success, terrorist groups may choose to use missiles as the weapon of choice. Additionally, in the Cold War regime, deterrence was essentially offensive – Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) – within the framework of rational actors in governments that operated essentially in a consensus framework – even the USSR. MAD was a suicide pact – a strategy of revenge, rather than defense. In today's environment, a rogue state or terrorist group, may not be deterred by offensive MAD but by defensive means – missile defense. Protection of the United States consists of both deterring and defending against capabilities that

our enemies may have and use against us. Sadly, many Americans believe that we already have some type of missile defense system to protect our homeland.

NATION IS DEFENSELESS AGAINST MISSILE ATTACK

"Has the US Government been effective in publicizing the fact that the nation is defenseless to ballistic missile attack?" To answer this question, we need to focus on what the public and does not know. National Missile Defense (NMD) or Missile Defense (MD) as it is now being called, has been and continues to be a very controversial topic. Not only does the public not understand what is at stake, but also our congressional leaders do not clearly understand the risk to the United States or the protection that MD will provide. If they did, there would not be a need for a campaign for MD. The events of September 11, 2001 demonstrate that now more than ever our country needs a MD system capable of deterring any threat aimed at the United States. No longer is there a fear of massive retaliation in attacking the United States. There exists a growing terrorist community focused on using any means available to commit attacks or mass murder against the United States. And now, the United States is committed to defense of the homeland as is stated in our Constitution and the recently published Quadrennial Defense Review.

Some of the confusion on MD is due to a misconception by the American people that we currently have a missile defense system. Recent polling data shows this misconception. The old rules of international relations and deterrence that kept nuclear countries in check during the Cold War do not apply any longer. MD needs a new strategy. Both society and politicians need to be targeted with positive but accurate information. First, everyone needs to realize that the threat

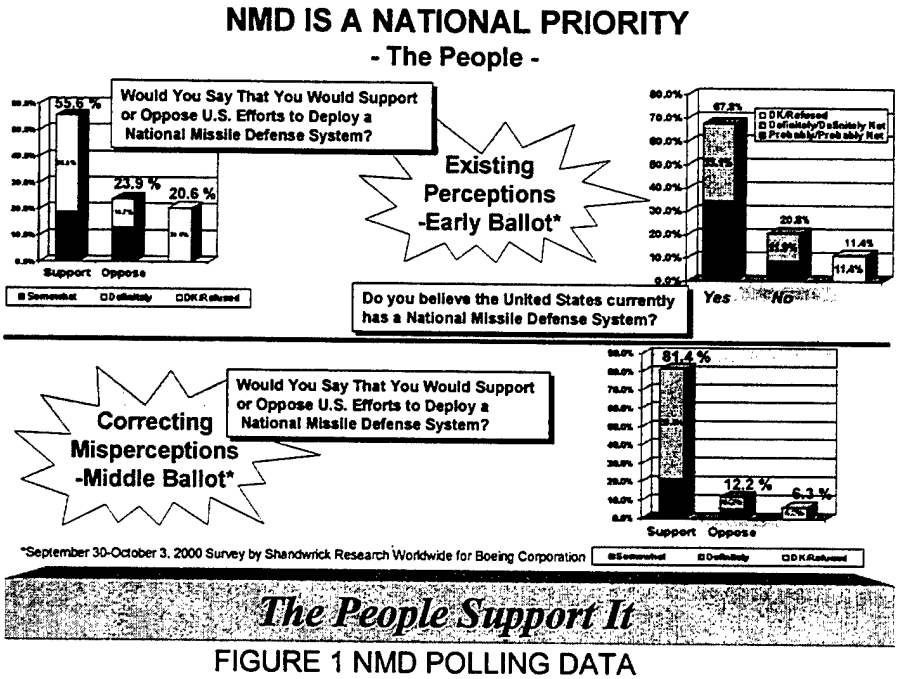

FIGURE 1 NMD POLLING DATA

is here and growing. By the time MD could even be fielded, the threat will have grown significantly. Telling the American people that the threat does not exist today is irresponsible. Again, the events of September 11, 2001 demonstrate the United States' vulnerability.

> ...offensive deterrence through mutually assured destruction and a ban on defensive weapons systems were successful in keeping the peace during the Cold War. But the world has changed dramatically in 30 years in terms of the number of countries that possess nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. More important, it is clear that Osama bin Laden and other terrorist groups, not to mention Iraq, have tried to acquire nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The difference is that these leaders have no regard for human life and care little about the future functioning of their organizations and governments. They have stated, and proven, that they are willing to sacrifice their people and pay any price to inflict immeasurable harm on American and her allies, even if that results in the destruction of their organizations. This is where deterrence breaks down. It is very difficult to stop groups from inflicting widespread damage if they are willing to die to do so, especially when they don't care about world opinion, a retaliatory response, or any other check on the use of force. Critics of missile defense argue that a terrorist nuclear or biological attack on America would happen, if ever, through a suitcase bomb or rudimentary device that missile defense would be incapable of defending against. That may be true. But in the future, these same terrorists may get their hands on more sophisticated weapons or, even worse, overthrow a nuclear-armed state, such as Pakistan, and acquire intercontinental missiles capable of reaching the United States. That seems unimaginable, but so did what happened on September 11, 2001 2001. The United States must have a long-term strategy that is up to date with the realities of an international environment that is neither strategically balanced nor easily defined.[1]

Clearly what must be done is to publicize and accentuate the fact that the nation is defenseless to ballistic missile attack. This is, interestingly, little understood across the country. Most Americans are dumbfounded when they find out we have no missile defenses. Public information on the threat is not understood. In addition, information on the Anti Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty is confusing to say the least.

TREATIES HAVE NOT REDUCED PROLIFERATION OF BMD

Have treaties been successful in stopping the proliferation of BMD? The 1972 ABM treaty was intended to do a number of things. One was to reduce proliferation of BMD. The chief U.S. negotiator of the ABM treaty, Gerald C. Smith, wrote in 1998 that, "the treaty prevented what might have been a ferociously expensive and dangerously destabilizing competition between offense and defense...the real way to reduce the nuclear threat is not to seed space with hundreds of weapons, or ring our nation with radar and rockets. Rather, it is to employ the

nonproliferation regime and sharply reduce the nuclear arsenal left over from the Cold War competition – a task for which continuance of the ABM treaty will be essential."[2]

The ABM treaty has the aim to "curtail the missile defenses of both sides in order to leave them vulnerable to retaliatory nuclear strikes which would thus ensure and codify the strategic mutual assured destruction (MAD) capability...in the early 1970s, huge ABM systems were believed to be unable to defend, in an effective manner, against a massive first strike but these could provide significant protection against a weakened retaliatory strike. This would tip the balance in favor a pre-emptive strike. Also, missile defenses were believed to encourage a destabilizing offensive-defensive arms race and jeopardize nuclear arms reduction agreements."[3]

While nuclear deterrence was alive and well between these two superpowers, the rest of the world took that opportunity to build their own missiles. The number of ballistic missiles produced throughout the world in the last twenty years is staggering. These missiles have been used in great numbers in a number of different conflicts to include Chechnya. "Arms control measures have not worked to keep nuclear arms from proliferating. In fact, the state which we have the strongest and most comprehensive arms control agreements with, Russia is doing much of the proliferation."[4] Rather than exerting a destabilizing influence, in fact, NMD could contribute to maintaining or restoring peace and stability by precluding a "state of concern" from using its ballistic missiles to deter the United States or its allies from intervening in a regional crisis.[5]

Another issue with these treaties is that there is a misunderstanding of what the 1972 ABM treaty proposes.

> National missile defense has an undeniable appeal. In fact, many Americans believe—wrongly—that the United States already has such a system. Costly and ineffective programs in the 1950s and 1960s gave way to the 1972 antiballistic missile treaty, in which Washington and Moscow agreed to forgo large-scale defenses and rely on simple deterrence. President Reagan revived the cause when he proposed to break the ABM treaty and shelter the entire nation with a massive shield, a plan quickly dubbed Star Wars.[6]

While the Soviet Union developed a missile shield around Moscow, the United States developed a system of defense of its ICBM fields in North Dakota that was dismantled in 1974. While Russia continues to disagree with the United States on the abolishment of the treaty, the United States remains vulnerable to ballistic missile attack. Russia's capitol remains protected while our nation's capitol, not to mention our entire country, remains undefended. The 1972 ABM treaty was between the USSR and the United States and is certainly open to interpretation. It

does not apply to any nation other than the US and Russia, rogue or not. The ABM treaty and all other things associated with control of nuclear weapons during the Cold War (Hot Line, etc.) do not apply to North Korea or rogue nations. However, the United States certainly believes it is entitled to protect itself from rogue nations or terrorist attacks. Defense of the United States is a priority for this administration. Subsequent to September 11, 2001 and after announcing the United States' decision to drop the ABM treaty, President Bush stated: "Defending the American people is my highest priority as commander- in- chief, and I cannot and will not allow the United States to remain in a treaty that prevents us from developing effective defenses."[7]

The bottom line is that all the treaties we have signed with the Soviet Union and Russia have not reduced the proliferation of ballistic missiles or WMD. Most people will readily agree with the argument that the threat has changed and the arms control agreements of the past do not control or address the current threats.

DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF WMD

Does our society understand the destructive power of WMD? The attacks on September 11, 2001 were not from a weapon of mass destruction but rather a weapon that caused mass destruction. The devastating effects of the aircraft are not even close to the effects that weapons of mass destruction can cause. If those two aircraft could kill that number of people, think about what a true weapon of mass destruction could do to our population and our way of life. It is not difficult to deliver a weapon of mass destruction. We cannot remain defenseless against this growing threat.

A key component of Preventive Defense is counter proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, essentially preventing the proliferation of WMD by denying access to related technologies and materials, and deterring and defeating proliferators on the future battlefield. Former Secretary of Defense William Perry stressed "Nowhere is preventive defense more important than in countering the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons."[8] Weapons of mass destruction, particularly in the hands of rogue states, regional aggressors, or terrorists with the will and means to use them, pose a significant growing and unpredictable threat to our national security and vital interests at home and abroad. Proliferation of WMD also threatens regional stability and increases the lethality of conflict. Complicating this threat further is the growing elusiveness of potential enemies, the low signature of the threat, technology transfer and smuggling and the impenetrable nature of underground, hardened and covert WMD production and/or storage facilities. WMD also exposes civilian personnel to greater hazards such as deliberate or accidental contamination. Unlike our value system, which seeks to

minimize collateral damage and casualties, many potential adversaries lack the same concerns.[9]

We need to ensure people understand that the destructive power of the World Trade Center (WTC) explosions amounted to .2KT (the Hiroshima bomb was 10KT). Imagine the disruption to the economy, etc. if a missile with a nuclear warhead was used, not to mention the casualties and physical damage. And, the increased counter-terrorism effort will likely drive our enemies to missiles as the weapon of choice.

OPPONENTS OF MD

Does the Union of Concerned Scientists and other opponents of MD have valid arguments against MD? The Union of Concerned Scientists, specifically, Dr. Theodore A. Postol, has consistently stated that the technology for MD is not ready to go any further than research and development.[10] However, with several successful flight tests, it should be apparent that MD is further along than they state.[11] As a matter of fact, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld stated in July 2001 after a successful flight test, "The technology to do so is within our grasp."[12] MD is not at the point that it will destroy every target that it goes up against, but the number of lives that could be saved is worth the risk.

"Hard as it may be to fathom, many of the ABM Treaty's champions believe it more important to protect that accord than our country. Their theological attachment to what President Bush has properly called an 'obsolete' and 'dangerous' agreement appears to have little to do with logic or common sense. Rather, it seems to stem from the fact that entire careers in academe and defense circles have been based on this house of cards."[13]

The most outspoken individual against MD is Dr. Postol, an MIT professor of technology and security policy. For years he has claimed that data was doctored to make the system look as though it performed better than it had. "The whole thing is a fraud," Theodore A. Postol told Newsweek.[14] After every flight test failure, Dr. Postol is everywhere and the negative articles abound. In an interview with writer John Miller, Miller wrote: "...(Postol) thinks Air Force Lt. Gen. Ronald Kadish, who heads the Pentgon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, may be a traitor: "I find it very disturbing that military officers at high levels-I mean Kadish and his people-clearly know they cannot provide the capabilities they've talked about. It is misconduct. There's a disloyalty to the country here."[15] But the fact of the matter is that the technology does work.

> "Missile-defense opponents have made a habit of saying whatever they must to make missile defense look bad, even when this leads them into a hopeless spiral of contradictions. They claim, for example, that missile defense shouldn't be funded for testing because it can't possibly work, and in the next breath suggest

> it can't possibly work because it hasn't been properly tested. At other times they belittle missile defense by saying it wouldn't take much for a foe to overwhelm it in real combat; but they also claim missile defense will destabilize international relations because Russia and China fear its potential to defeat them."[16]

The Council of Concerned Scientists is alive and well in their beliefs that MD is not ready for more than research and development. They continue to claim that previous information provided to the public as well as to their organization has been full of half-truths and inaccurate data, all in an attempt to provide a more positive spin on the capability of NMD.

> "In its 28-page critique, the Union of Concerned Scientists said artificial test conditions such as the use of a single decoy mean that the results will reveal little about the proposed system's ability to operate under real combat conditions. '...We find that the current test program is still in its infancy, and that the United States remains years away from having enough information to make an informed decision on the deployment of even a limited nationwide missile defense system,' the report concluded. 'Hit-to-kill has been demonstrated, but not under conditions that are operationally relevant.'"[17]

Hit-to-kill technology has been proven through Theater High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) program tests as well as MD tests. MD has demonstrated in several flight tests that this technology works. MD opponents want weapon tests that demonstrate the full range of MD's capability. All basic scientific and technical work for a system effective against simple threats is complete with only final systems engineering and production tests remaining. This work can easily be accomplished in the 6-8 years the latest estimates give before our potential adversaries will have the capability to threaten us directly. An active test bed that can be made operational if a threat emerges before final fielding can act as a hedge during final testing.

> "To date, the debate surrounding national missile defense (NMD) has been dominated by political rhetoric. Supporters (usually conservatives) often paint a 'doom-and-gloom' picture, pointing out that the United States is vulnerable to an attack by ballistic missiles. Critics (usually liberals) defend the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty as the cornerstone of deterrence and stability and argue that any defensive deployment would upset the balance between the offensive strategic nuclear forces of the United States and Russia."[18]

We need to get the facts out and take groups like the Union of Concerned Scientists on face to face, exposing their arguments for what they are: political, not scientific, positions. Concurrently, we have to recognize that these groups' audiences are not the public. At any rate, in the current environment the public will discount them if presented a logical argument for NMD.

CURRENT MARKETING EFFORTS

Are current marketing efforts in support of MD effective? In reality, there is no true marketing effort by either the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) or the NMD Program Office. The only marketing conducted is normally defensive to counter the negative attacks usually occurring after a failed missile test. In addition, these defensive sound bites do not include why the system is needed, only why the system might have failed. Most of the press coverage of MD is either the result of a missile test or another fight on Capitol Hill for increased money. Most of the time these are both negative. Missile tests provide approximately eight articles prior to the test and twelve articles after the test. Tests produce news and provide events for the critics to leverage to get attention. The recent failed missile test on 13 December 2001 certainly provided the opponents of MD with more fuel for their arguments.

The only press that the program continues to receive is from Dr. Postol hitting all the major newspapers with more stories about either how the system does not work or how the Pentagon has attempted to silence him. Currently there is little official countering of Postal's and other anti-bodies' arguments. In fact, after Flight Test 6 (IFT-6), the only people that countered the criticism were some scientists trotted out by industry until the Nance press conference on August 6, 2001.

> "But many scientists, arms control advocates and Democratic lawmakers remain either wary of or opposed to the project, questioning whether a national antimissile system can ever work reliably and be build affordably – and whether enough of a threat exists to warrant such a weapon. Even if Russia and our NATO allies end up grudgingly accepting U.S. abandonment of the ABM Treaty, critics fear other adverse consequences. It will, they warn, spur China to add to plans to build up its offensive weapons. It will undermine U.S. attempts to persuade other nations to abide by their international commitments. And it will undercut the credibility of international nonproliferation policies by appearing to presuppose their failure."[19]

PROPOSED MARKETING STRATEGY AND CAMPAIGN

> We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share:..I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth.
>
> —President John F. Kennedy

President Kennedy's vision of a man on the moon became an American campaign to make that a reality. So too must the MD community develop a sound bite that Americans can

visualize and turn into reality. For many years, the phrase "hitting a bullet with a bullet" has done little more than haunt the community rather than ignite the American populace. Truth of the matter is that bullets are "fire and forget" that does not equate in any aspect with the capability that MD has. Hit to kill technology has been proven in a number of flight tests. It would be prudent to espouse this as the MD sound bite rather than continuing to talk about "hitting a bullet with a bullet."

There is no doubt that what MD must do to be successful is difficult. If it weren't difficult, many nations would already have this capability. But we must remain willing to pursue this defensive system. Just like President Kennedy's vision that by the end of the decade we would have a man on the moon, we are very close to having MD technology today. We have bits and pieces of the technology now, despite what the opponents of MD have to say. Marrying two objects up in space is hard...and we've been doing it since the 1960's (required in the Apollo Program for the moon landing).

We need to clean up our own language and myths. The worst is "hitting a bullet with a bullet," which is exactly the wrong analogy. One of the best ideas is to explain that hitting an object in space is not hard. The public will respond to the technology since, unlike most of the pundits (and Congress), they use it every day. The public needs to know that we have the technology now and the threat is real and growing.

THE THREAT

Does the public understand the threat? It would be dishonest and irresponsible to advocate that all the threats that MD is capable of defeating have already been employed. While there exists a vast number of offensive weapons deployed worldwide, the threat continues to grow. With every year that is lost in not developing and fielding MD, more and more countries are not only increasing the numbers of missiles they have but they are also increasing their range and worsening their effects. "Today, there are 38 countries possessing operational ballistic missiles with range capabilities over 100 kilometers."[20] The Hart-Rudman Commission assesses that, over the next 25 years, the United States "will become increasingly vulnerable to hostile attack on our homeland, and our military superiority will not entirely protect us."[21] The Commission further postulates that: "States, terrorists, and other disaffected groups will acquire weapons of mass destruction and mass disruption, and some will use them. Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers.[22]

The ballistic missile threat is real and growing. A number of reports have been published stating exactly this fact.

"Examined individually or collectively the Rumsfeld Report, the 1999 NIE, and the Cox Report all clearly portray a threat that is growing and that has become more diverse and complex. The President of the United States could single-handedly reduce some of these threats by making a simple policy statement in which he stated, 'it is the policy of the United States to immediately retaliate with nuclear weapons upon any nation that attacks the United States with WMDs.' However, an irrational leader or one that is acting in one final desperate act of defiance would probably be willing to strike out at the United States. John Hamre, the former Deputy Secretary of Defense said in an interview on 18 January 2000 that he believes '...North Korea is capable of an irrational act like attacking the United States, even though it knows that would amount to national suicide.' Secretary Hamre cautions, 'We have to be ready, they could do something terribly wrong, terribly irrational.'"[23]

The Rumsfeld Commission produced a 307-page report in July 1998 that examined the ballistic missile threat to the United States. In addition, the report assessed the asymmetrical ballistic missile deployment options. One option involves the potential use of short-range missiles launched from unique platforms such as submarines, merchant ships or aircraft. Another asymmetrical deployment option involved the use of the territory of a third party to reduce the range required to strike the United States.[24]

The key aspects of the Rumsfeld Commission's work may be summarized as follows:

- Ballistic missiles armed with WMD payloads pose a strategic threat to the United States. This is not a distant threat. Foreign assistance is pervasive, enabling and often the preferred path to ballistic missile and WMD capability.

- A new strategic environment now gives emerging ballistic missile powers the capacity, through a combination of domestic development and foreign assistance, to acquire the means to strike the U.S. within about five years of a decision to acquire such a capability (10 years in the case of Iraq). During several of those years, the U.S. might not be aware that such a decision had been made.

- The threat is exacerbated by the ability of both existing and emerging ballistic missile powers to hide their activities from the U.S. and to deceive the U.S. about the pace, scope, and direction of their development and proliferation programs.

- Therefore, we unanimously recommend that U.S. analyses, practices, and policies that depend on expectations of extended warning of deployment be reviewed and, as appropriate, revised to reflect the reality of an environment where there may be little or no warning."[25]

The Honorable Floyd Spence cited the Rumsfeld Commission report on the threat as "more mature, and evolving more rapidly than the intelligence community had predicted." Additionally, Russia and China have already expanded their strategic weapon delivery systems

to include land- and submarine-launched missiles and long range delivery aircraft. The intelligence community estimates that a possible threat could be accelerated by as many as 15 years.[26]

Clearly one can state that terrorists will seek to attack the United States using any means at their disposal. While we wait to defend ourselves, our enemies continue to refine both warheads and missiles capable of reaching U.S. population centers in less than a decade. To counter that emerging threat, the United States and its allies must start developing effective defenses as quickly as possible.[27] Recently President Bush stated "if terrorists could do the damage they did just by hijacking a few commercial airliners, imagine what might happen if if they ever got their hands on long-range, nuclear-tipped missiles."[28]

The proliferation of WMD remains the greatest threat to U.S. interests. According to Lt Gen Patrick M. Hughes, former Director, Defense Intelligence Agency, 20 to 30 countries are either actively pursuing or currently possess substantial inventories of short and medium-range missiles, and are developing the technology to expand WMD long-range capabilities. The regional threats of prominence are Iraq, North Korea, China, Russia, Iran, India, Libya, and Pakistan.[29] Further, we must work to persuade Russia that it is in both our nations' best interests to amend the ABM Treaty, [...] and to guard against weapons of mass destruction (WMD) from peer competitors or rogue nations."[30] "Many countries view ballistic and cruise missile systems as cost-effective weapons and symbols of national power. Many ballistic and cruise missiles are armed with weapons of mass destruction. In 1999, both India and Pakistan flight-tested new ballistic missile systems. Both countries have longer range ballistic missiles in development, and all of these missiles are capable of being armed with weapons of mass destruction. At least nine foreign countries will be involved in land-attack cruise missile production during the next decade, and many missiles will be available for export."[31]

> " While the end of the Cold War signaled a reduction in the likelihood of global conflict, the threat from foreign missiles has grown steadily as sophisticated missile technology becomes available on a wider scale. The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic and cruise missiles that could deliver them pose a direct and immediate threat to the security of U.S. military forces and assets in overseas theaters of operation, our allies and friends, as well as our own country. We have already witnessed the willingness of countries to use theater-class ballistic missiles for military purposes. Since 1980, ballistic missiles have been used in six regional conflicts. Strategic ballistic missiles, including intercontinental and submarine launched ballistic missiles (ICBMs and SLBMs) exist in abundance in the world today."[32]

Threat information from various sources documents the reality of its existence and our vulnerabilities.

In all this we have to be straight about the threat (credibility is everything). It's not there yet (probably) but considering the time it takes to build the defenses, you do not want to be reactive -- the cost is too great. Also, it's difficult to build a ballistic missile and WMD. Consequently, we will not face a complex threat for some time.

In terms of a strategy, we need several key messages and then a wide variety of media to get them out. The White Paper cited above is a part but the audience is still quite limited. Consequently, a variety of steps will be needed. Since the public will focus on threats at this time, the message should be interlaced with the facts on what we are doing on terrorism and homeland defense. Additionally, as we found in Kosovo and are finding again now in Afghanistan, it's best if we get others to sell it for us. The Europeans and the Russians support -- the fusion of theater and national missile defenses and capabilities works in our favor on this one. One approach would be to sell it to them and get them to sell it back. One other facet we need is an active operation to immediately counter any article, interview, etc., that puts out dis- and mis-information on MD. This has to be done in real time -- and you cannot discount the internet on this one.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

An effective MD is essential to the security of the United States. The technology already exists to field this system today. Ballistic missile defense systems are in testing and are already quite mature. However, many naysayers do not believe that to be the case.

> "What is it about missile defense that has made it so controversial for so long? ... Part of the answer lies in the gravity of what is at stake – namely, survival in an age of nuclear weapons. Since the 1960s, the United States has observed a strategic doctrine that relies on a balance of mutual nuclear terror to forestall a first strike. Called 'mutual assured destruction,' this doctrine is credited with having prevented nuclear war between Washington and Moscow for four decades. So understandably, there is a reluctance among many to tamper with success."[33]

Critics of missile defense wish to focus on policy alternatives because they believe diplomacy, counter-proliferation, and arms control are inexpensive programs that work. Primary proponents of this measure include the Greenpeace Organization, Russian President Putin, and Representative Ike Skelton.[34] These representatives are asking the U.S. government to disregard the threat in the same manner that the Clinton Administration hesitated to modify or cancel any part of the ABM Treaty because it served as "the cornerstone of strategic stability

between the U.S. and Russia"[35] during a Cold War era that has since passed. We do not know if these alternatives would have dissuaded Osama Bin Laden from using missiles if he had had them. It would be better to spend the money to build a system vice betting that a rogue nation or terrorists will not attack one of our major population centers. No city or life is worth the risk.

The United States must develop a robust program capable of defending against the most obvious threats. Proponents for maintaining the R&D efforts currently in place include the Heritage Foundation and outspoken naval missile defense system advocates Jack Spencer and Joe Dougherty. Those in favor of fully developing and deploying a missile defense program claim that we must abandon the ABM Treaty immediately and develop flexible, mission-oriented land-, sea-, and space-based capabilities. They emphasize that the U.S. has been lulled into a false sense of security and is vulnerable now to a viable threat. Continued limitations would leave the U.S. considerably vulnerable. Proponents of fully funding a missile defense program include Hon. William R. Graham (former Director, White House Office of Science and Technology), Hon. Floyd D. Spence (Chairman, Committee on Armed Services), and Keith B. Payne (noted ORBIS missile defense author).[36]

"Critics of missile defense argue that the technological hurdles are simply too great for the system ever to function reliably. Supporters concede the challenge but insist that significant advances have already been made and that with enough research, the system will be able to defeat a limited missile attack."[37]

The only way the United States will ever be able to protect itself against a growing threat is to deploy a missile defense system against the threats we face, which will require garnering support from the American people in order for them to convey their desires to their elected officials. Another approach would be to sell Congress and get them to bring their constituents along. Either course of action will result in support for MD. Given the magnitude of MD and the high cost involved, it will require support at the highest levels to provide adequate funding to develop and deploy this system as soon as possible. This means that a very positive and accurate media campaign is necessary in order to garner support for such an expensive but worthwhile system.

CONCLUSION

MD is technologically feasible today. A positive media campaign focused on what MD is capable of doing is necessary now. The campaign must be hard-hitting, factual, and believable to the American people. The new strategy must consist of a wide-ranging effort to educate the public and Congress concerning the threat, the vulnerability of the US, and the technical

feasibility of a BMD; active press operations to counter criticism of a BMD program; orchestration of a grass-roots national campaign of support; enlisting international support; and a focused program to push legislation through Congress to deploy a BMD system. The strategy should be executed through a coordinated marketing campaign plan involving administration, government (DoD--military and civilian), scientific, and industry activities (enumerate) and will leverage international support.

President Kennedy believed that we would have a man on the moon by the end of the 1960s when no one else believed. We can have a MD capability within the next five years if we as a country believe this to be feasible and necessary. The time for a "Defense that Defends" is now. Let that be our new sound bite for missile defense. To sum up our campaign strategy, it will focus on the following:

1. We have no defenses.
2. The threat of missile attack, especially with WMD, is real and growing.
3. The treaties aren't protecting us so we need to protect ourselves.
4. The technology works.

RECOMMENDATION

The current administration has already decided to abandon the 1972 ABM treaty. What it also needs to do is to implement the proposed marketing campaign outlined above. In the absence of Congressional support, constituents need to demand from their elected officials defense of our homeland. An immediate, hard-hitting, and accurate media campaign to boost MD development and fielding should be initiated.

If the United States is ever going to protect itself from rogue nations or terrorists, it must have a system in place that will defend and deter against these kinds of attacks. While arguments abound over whether or not nations currently have these capabilities, we continue to sit here vulnerable to attack. The longer we wait to develop and deploy a missile shield, the more time our adversaries have to develop and deploy their offensive weapons. All that has to happen is for another Osama bin Laden to launch an attack without any regard to his own life or the lives of innocent Americans. Only then we will know without a doubt who has a capability and who does not. Unfortunately, for some, it will be too late.

> "In other words, the concerted and sustained campaign to intimidate the United States into remaining within a treaty that prohibited the development and deployment of effective anti-missile defenses is now seen for what it always was: a flim-flam operation whose fraudulent character should have been exposed and

rejected years ago. The upshot of our having failed to do that before now is that this country has been left vulnerable to the real and growing danger of ballistic-missile-backed blackmail and/or attack. The Kremlin's exceedingly muted reaction has left the few congressional Democrats who have publicly assailed Mr. Bush (notably, Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota, Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware and Carl Levin of Michigan) in the unhappy position of being holier than the pope—professing more concern about how badly the Russians would take this than the Russians themselves were actually taking it. The foolishness of this stance may be why so few of the senators' colleagues are publicly following their lead. In fact, after the withdrawal notification was announced, Congress authorized full-funding for the president's missile defense budget."[38]

The time for MD is now. Our citizens must campaign for this capability immediately.

Where there is no vision, the people perish. It is time for a defense that defends.

—Daniel O. Graham, LTG (RET)

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