

RUSI MISSILE DEFENCE CONFERENCE 2019
ROYAL UNITED SERVICES INSTITUTE, LONDON
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MISSILE DEFENCE AND CROSS DOMAIN
COMPETITION

A DIFFERENT TAKE...

PROFESSOR JULIAN LINDLEY-FRENCH

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I will let Anthony and Brad deal with the technical aspects of MD and cross domain warfare...

...let me focus on the implications for European defence.

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“Covenants without credible missile defence are but words, and of no use to any man”.

Thomas Hobbes,

Leviathan

1651

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THE ESSENTIAL EUROPEAN PROBLEM:

*THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN A RULES-BASED SYSTEM HAVE
NO POWER (EUROPEANS) WHILST MANY OF THOSE WITH
POWER DO NOT LIKE RULES.*

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MY CHALLENGE: MUCH OF THE DEBATE IS ABOUT LEGACY MISSILE DEFENCE. EUROPE'S FUTURE DEFENCE NEEDS A MISSILE DEFENCE COMPONENT AS PART OF A CREDIBLE MULTI-LAYERED DEFENCE THAT UNDERPINS DETERRENCE

MY ASSERTION: WE WILL NEED TO RECONCEIVE MD IN A WORLD IN WHICH THE STRATEGIC SPACE AND THE BATTLESPACE MERGE AND COERCION ACTS ACROSS DOMAINS AGAINST OUR FORCES, RESOURCES AND PEOPLES MORE SYSTEMATICALLY THAN HITHERTO

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MY POINT: THE MDR AND THE END OF INF HAVE PROFOUND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE DEFENCE OF EUROPE. EUROPEANS WILL ONLY ENSURE A RULES-BASED ARCHITECTURE IF THEY HAVE A CREDIBLE DETERRENCE AND DEFENCE ARCHITECTURE

MY SPECIFIC QUESTION: WHERE SPECIFICALLY DOES MISSILE DEFENCE FIT IN THE NEW ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPEAN DETERRENCE?

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*MY AIM: TO RAISE THE THRESHOLD OF COST OF
COERCION OF ADVERSARIES GIVEN THE SCOPE, NATURE,
CAPACITY AND CAPABILITY OF 21ST CENTURY WARFARE...*

...TO MAKE A RULES-BASED SYSTEM TENABLE

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WHY WE MUST RE-THINK MISSILE DEFENCE:

- *Emergence of strategic rule-breakers who see defection as power/coercion.*
 - *A revolution in often civilian technology that is revolutionising the battlespace*
- *A leap forward in the speed of missile/drone technologies that will accelerate the speed of shock*
- *A power vacuum in the West as Europeans retreat from balance of power*

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Strategic consequences:

The centre of triangular gravity between arms control, people protection and power projection is shifting back towards the latter and placing a premium on protection

No protection, no projection!

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PROTECTING AGAINST WHAT?

*SYSTEMATIC 5D WARFARE: DISINFORMATION,
DESTABILISATION, DISRUPTION, DECEPTION &
DESTRUCTION*

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5D DETERRENCE

*DETECTING SUCH WARFARE REQUIRES HARDENING AND
PROTECTION OF HOME BASE AGAINST THE APPLICATION
OF CHAOS AND COERCION*

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*MISSILE DEFENCE AND CROSS
DOMAIN WARFARE*

*MISSILE DEFENCE IS THUS PART OF
THE HARD FOUNDATION UPON
WHICH TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY
PEOPLE PROTECTION AND POWER
PROJECTION STANDS*

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*MISSILE DEFENCE AND CROSS DOMAIN
FUTURE FORCE*

*EFFECTIVE MD WOULD ALSO ASSURE A
EUROPEAN FUTURE FORCE THAT WILL NEED
TO OPERATE TO EFFECT ACROSS SEVEN
DOMAINS OF AIR, SEA, LAND, CYBER, SPACE,
INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE*

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*MISSILE DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC
CREDIBILITY?*

*THE FUTURE FORCE WILL ONLY OPERATE TO
DETERRENT EFFECT IF INFRASTRUCTURES,
COMMAND AND RECOVERY DEMONSTRABLY
HARDENED VIA MULTI-LAYER DEFENCE OF
WHICH MD AN ESSENTIAL LAYER*

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THE KNUB: MISSILE DEFENCE AND CREDIBLE DETERRENCE

MISSILE DEFENCE WILL NEED TO DEFEND AGAINST 21ST CENTURY MISSILE SYSTEMS, INCLUDING HYPERSONIC SYSTEMS, IF DETERRENCE IS TO REMAIN CREDIBLE IN A WORLD IN WHICH THE RULES ARE BEING FLOUTED...

ONLY WITH SUCH A BEDROCK OF POWER WILL RULES AGAIN HAVE A CHANCE OF BEING ESTABLISHED.

ERGO, MDR RIGHT TO CONSIDER EVOLUTION OF STRATEGIC MD

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MISSILE DEFENCE AND THE ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS?

*DO WE AS A COMMUNITY AND AS THE WEST HAVE THE
POLITICAL COURAGE TO RECOGNISE THE WORLD I
DESCRIBE AND THE AMBITION TO PUT THE MULTI-
LAYERED STRATEGIC DEFENCE IN PLACE I DESCRIBE?*

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*MISSILE DEFENCE AND THE ESSENTIAL
QUESTIONS?*

*OR, ARE WE MERELY DISCUSSING THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF A LEGACY SYSTEM
THAT PROVIDES A REASON FOR THE RULE-
BREAKERS TO BREAK RULES AND AFFORDS
NEITHER PROTECTION OR DETERRENCE IN
THE FACE OF EMERGING THREATS?*

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*MISSILE DEFENCE AND THE ESSENTIAL
QUESTIONS?*

*WHAT WOULD THE NEW ARCHITECTURE OF
DEFENCE LOOK LIKE OF WHICH MD IS A PART
GIVEN THE THREATS?*

MISSILE DEFENCE AND ROBERT SCHUMAN

“World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers with threaten it”.

The Schuman Declaration, 9 May 1950