

Prepared Testimony on Ballistic Missile Defense to the Senate Armed Services Committee

By Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Hart Senate Office Building , Tuesday, July 17, 2001 .

Chairman Levin, Senator Warner, Members of the Committee, I don't have an extended opening statement today, but allow me to make a brief comment about events that have taken place since we met last week.

As you know, last Saturday we conducted a successful test intercept of an intercontinental ballistic missile over the Pacific Ocean. This successful test is another step forward on the long road to developing and deploying effective defenses to protect the American people from limited ballistic missile attacks. But it is an important step. It underscores the point General Kadish and I made to the Committee last week: that missile defense is no longer a problem of invention – it is a challenge of engineering. And it is a challenge America is up to.

To build on the success of this test, we will need successive tests that push the envelope even further, that are even more operationally realistic, and to begin testing the many promising technologies which were not pursued in the past, but which have enormous potential to enhance our security.

This inevitably means that our testing and development program will eventually encounter the constraints imposed by the ABM Treaty. We are seeking to build defenses to defend the American people. The ABM Treaty's very purpose is to prohibit us from developing such defenses.

If we are to build on this weekend's accomplishments, we must move beyond the ABM Treaty. We are working to do so on two parallel tracks: First, with a robust research, development and testing program; and second, through discussions with Russia on a new security framework that reflects the fact that the Cold War is over and that the U.S. and Russia are not enemies.

To succeed we need your help in both areas:

First, we need Congress's support to fully fund the President's budget request for further development and testing of missile defense. The ability to defend the American people from ballistic missile attack is clearly within our grasp. But we cannot do so unless the President has Congress' support to expand and accelerate the testing and development program. This weekend's test shows the potential for success is there. Let us not fail because we did not adequately fund the necessary testing, or because we artificially restricted the exploration of every possible technology.

Second, we need Congress' support for President Bush's efforts to achieve an understanding with Russia on ballistic missile defense. The President is working to build a new security relationship between the U.S. and Russia whose foundation does not rest on the prospect of the mutual annihilation of our respective populations. He will meet with President Putin shortly in Genoa, he has invited President Putin to his ranch in Crawford, Texas, and has accepted an invitation visit President Putin in Russia. Secretary Rumsfeld and Secretary Powell are engaged in discussions with their Russian counterparts as well.

So an important dialogue is underway, and we are optimistic about the prospects for reaching an understanding with Russia.

But Congress can have a significant impact on the outcome of those discussions. If Congress shows the same resolve as the President to proceed seriously with development and testing of defenses to protect our people, our friends and allies, and our forces around the world, it will significantly enhance the prospects for a cooperative outcome.

Conversely, Congress should not give Russia the mistaken impression that they can somehow exercise a veto over our development of missile defenses.

The unintended consequence of such action could be to rule out a cooperative solution, and leave the President no choice but to walk away from the treaty unilaterally – an outcome none of us surely wants.

As we proceed with robust testing, we will work to achieve an understanding with Russia to move beyond the ABM Treaty. We have established a process that will identify issues raised by our program at the earliest possible moment.

The Department's ABM Compliance Review Group has been directed to identify ABM Treaty issues within 10 working days of receiving the plans for new development or treaty events. That process is already underway.

The Secretary and I will be informed of whether the planned test bed, use of AEGIS systems in future Integrated Flight Tests, or concurrent operation of ABM and air defense radars in next February's tests are significant treaty problems (I have fact sheets prepared by BMDO on each of these cases which I would like to submit for the record). This process will permit us to take them into account as early as possible as we pursue our negotiations with Russia on a new strategic framework. We will keep Congress informed as the process unfolds.

But if we agree that cooperation in setting aside the constraints of the ABM Treaty is preferable to a unilateral withdrawal from the ABM Treaty, then we need Congress' full support for missile defense research and testing.

We look forward to working with the Committee to build on this weekend's successful test, and to ensure that we can defend the American people, our friends and allies, and our deployed forces, from limited ballistic missile attacks.

Thank you.

AEGIS SPY-1 TRACKING A STRATEGIC BALLISTIC MISSILE

Plans and Purpose

- ?? Plans to use an AEGIS SPY-1 radar to track long-range ballistic missiles are currently under development and are only at a preliminary stage.

- ?? The most likely near-term scenario is for an unmodified AEGIS SPY-1 radar to track an outgoing target immediately after its launch from Vandenberg Air Force Base during an ABM intercept attempt at Kwajalein Missile Range.
- ?? This test would provide initial data for assessing the basic capability of the AEGIS SPY-1 radar to track long-range targets that will assist in formulating AEGIS development options.
 - ?? The AEGIS SPY-1 radar may be connected to the test's command, control and data communications backbone.
 - ?? The SPY-1 radar, however, would likely not contribute to the data used to complete the intercept (i.e., it will not help guide the interceptor).

- ?? Future (and currently unprogrammed) plans might include an AEGIS SPY-1 radar:
 - ?? Collecting intercept data at the ABM test range during ABM testing.
 - ?? Providing real-time data to the U.S. strategic early warning system.
 - ?? Providing data to assist an Integrated Flight Test intercept attempt.
 - ?? The AEGIS SPY-1 radar might also participate in testing at the Missile Defense System Test Bed using targets with various ranges and velocities.

- ?? We eventually expect to integrate a modified, more capable version of the AEGIS SPY-1 radar into tests of our boost and ascent phase elements.

SYSTEMS INTEGRATION TEST II (SIT II) COMBINING DATA FROM ABM AND NON-ABM RADARS

Plans and Purpose

- ?? We will conduct a short-range missile defense test beginning next February.
 - ?? Three targets will be tracked by two AEGIS SPY-1 radars, a Patriot PAC-3 radar and the THAAD UOES radar.
 - ?? An ABM radar located at Kwajalein Missile Range will also track each target, but will not communicate with any of the other radars.
 - ?? During the flight test of at least one target missile, a Patriot PAC-3 missile system will attempt an intercept.

- ?? The ABM radar will obtain data supporting all U.S. TMD programs. This is critical information as to how both our interceptor and the threat targets behave, as well as unique information measuring the lethality of the intercepts. Using the ABM radar will significantly improve the quality of the information gained from the test.

THE MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM TEST BED

Plans and Purpose

- ?? Test Bed as a Whole. Allows overall system performance testing to occur using more realistic threat trajectories and allowing more complex engagement scenarios.
- ?? Launchers.
 - ?? Construction at Fort Greely, AK (5 silos) will be in the spring or early summer next year. Once complete, the five silos will allow tests of operational command and control, communications, and the capability of the long haul communications network; rehearsal of maintenance and upkeep processes; and assessment of the adverse effects of Arctic conditions at a potential operational site.
 - ?? The two Kodiak, AK launcher silos to be constructed in the spring/summer of 2003 will allow higher closing velocities, more realistic test geometries, and multiple engagements.
- ?? Radars. At least three large phased-array radars will be part of the Missile Defense System Test Bed: Cobra Dane (Shemya, AK), Beale, CA, and a new X-Band in the mid-Pacific.
 - ?? Cobra Dane currently collects data on ballistic missile launches from Russia and also has the mission of early warning and space track. An upgraded Cobra Dane radar will provide enhanced early warning and may have some ABM radar capability.
 - ?? Initial upgrades are software modifications like those ongoing for the Beale, CA early warning radar. No changes to the radar's hardware are currently planned.
 - ?? Boeing is investigating what additional upgrades to Cobra Dane might be appropriate, and when. Possibilities range from mere software upgrades to significant physical modifications. We will know our options this fall.
 - ?? In any operational system, we anticipate that the X-Band radar at Shemya would be required to provide needed discrimination, even with all possible upgrades to Cobra Dane.
 - ?? Beale software modifications will not raise ABM Treaty issues before FY04.
 - ?? Current plans contemplate constructing an X-Band radar in the mid-Pacific in FY06.
- ?? In-Flight Interceptor Communications Systems (IFICS) to be constructed next spring/summer may raise ABM Treaty issues depending on whether they are determined to be subcomponents of an ABM radar.