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THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OF

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Introduction

Madam Chairman, Ranking Member Fischer, and Members of the Subcommittee, I am pleased to testify today about the progress the Department of Defense (DoD) has made in carrying out a wide range of activities to counter weapons of mass destruction (WMD). We continue to pursue aggressively the President's vision for countering WMD by keeping WMD out of the hands of terrorists and states of concern, locking down dangerous nuclear and biological materials, eliminating chemical weapons, destroying legacy weapons, and building capabilities and conducting operations to prevent acquisition, contain and roll back threats, and respond to WMD crises.

I am pleased to be here today with two colleagues whose efforts are critical to addressing these important issues: Mr. Kenneth A. Myers III, the Director of the Defense Threat Reduction Agency (DTRA); and Ms. Anne M. Harrington, the Deputy Administrator for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation for the National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA). Together, we are supporting a whole-of-government effort to make the United States, and the world, safer from WMD threats.

In my role as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Global Strategic Affairs (GSA), I oversee all Defense efforts to counter WMD, as well as nuclear, missile defense, space, and cyber policies. The great team at GSA develops defense strategies and policies, sets Departmental priorities based on guidance from the Secretary of Defense, and manages interagency and international relationships for the Department in these functional areas. Under the leadership of Mr. Myers, DTRA implements GSA's countering WMD guidance through the management and execution of the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) Program and other non- and counter-proliferation activities. Mr. Andrew Weber, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Defense Programs, provides acquisition guidance and oversight for DTRA's work. Together, we work with the Joint Staff, the Combatant Commands, the Services, national labs, and other implementing partners to execute DoD's counter WMD responsibilities. DoD also works closely in this area with Ms. Harrington and her team at NNSA, as well as other interagency partners.

Our mission is straightforward—DoD is working to ensure that no additional states or non-state actors acquire WMD; those possessing WMD do not use them; and if WMD are used, the effects are minimized. In a constrained fiscal environment, we are focusing our efforts on preventing acquisition and countering the most likely threats. Accordingly, we are emphasizing early cooperative action in order to shape the security environment and disrupt proliferation networks through pathway defeat—deliberate actions taken against actors of concern and their networks to delay, disrupt, destroy, or otherwise complicate WMD-related activities. We are prioritizing capabilities that counter operationally significant risks and that are not resident elsewhere in the U.S. Government, in order to avoid wasteful or duplicative expenditures.

WMD Challenges

The current strategic environment presents a number of WMD challenges stemming from those who possess WMD and those seeking to acquire new and expanded capabilities, including

North Korea, Iran, Syria, and certain non-state actors. Both state and non-state actors who are actively seeking or already possess WMD present a significant intelligence and defense planning challenge. Their strategic intentions, proliferation pathways, decision-making processes, and capabilities are difficult to assess and influence. Their relative risk tolerance and isolation can create further challenges for the United States to dissuade and deter these actors from acquiring or using WMD. For example, North Korea has recently taken a series of provocative and destabilizing actions and Iran continues to defy the calls of the international community for transparency into its nuclear activities and a demonstration that these activities are solely for legitimate, peaceful purposes. Certain non-state actors continue to seek WMD, and WMD technologies.

Technological advances and the availability of expertise, materials, and technology through a variety of networks increase the likelihood that both state and non-state actors will gain access to WMD and related capabilities. Those who provide support—including WMD and related capabilities—to other governments and non-state actors also threaten U.S. security and destabilize the international system. Furthermore, such proliferation increases the likelihood that a recipient may employ WMD independently or as a proxy.

Despite significant progress in securing vulnerable WMD materials, new avenues for access continuously emerge. Fragile or failed states with WMD programs or capabilities are particularly ripe for exploitation. One of our most worrisome scenarios is the prospect of a crisis involving the theft or loss of control of weapons or material of concern that results in the WMD ending up in the hands of hostile actors. Instability in states pursuing or possessing WMD or related capabilities could lead to just such a crisis. The potential convergence of violent extremism, political instability, and inadequate WMD security is also a most troubling scenario. If highly motivated non-state actors determined to obtain and employ WMD took advantage of these types of situations, they would no doubt be difficult, if not impossible, to deter.

Violent extremists are expanding their geographic reach into ungoverned territories. Recent events in Mali involving Al Qaeda and affiliates demonstrate this problem. Such territories could be used to support illicit activities, including undetected and unwarned development and proliferation of WMD-related capabilities. These safe havens enhance adversaries' freedom of action and make our task all the more difficult.

Addressing the Challenges

When making strategic resourcing decisions, DoD consistently has protected countering WMD (CWMD) efforts. In today's fiscal environment, however, our goals will be tougher than ever to sustain. We are accepting increased risk in areas where WMD use is less plausible, less feasible, or would have limited effects, allowing us to prioritize more likely scenarios for WMD acquisition and use.

To maximize effectiveness and because this is not a DoD mission alone, we are incorporating our CWMD efforts, as reflected in the broader plans and operations within DoD, across the U.S. Government and with international partners. Partnering serves as a force multiplier: it extends DoD's strategy and capabilities through increased interoperability with other U.S. departments

and agencies, allies and friends, and international bodies. DoD seeks to leverage and enhance, but not duplicate, capabilities resident elsewhere in the U.S. Government or activities best executed by our interagency partners, for which other agencies and departments have lead responsibilities. DoD stands ready to support these other agencies and departments as needed.

Today's complex security environment presents significant challenges that require increased emphasis on early cooperative action to shape the environment and disrupt networks. The dynamic structures of WMD networks present challenges, but they also offer opportunities for exploitation through flexible, innovative, and adaptive approaches that target these networks and their hubs. Understanding, monitoring, and targeting these networks can help deter acquisition, bolster prevention activities, and reduce reliance on measures that carry higher political, military, and humanitarian risks.

Deterrence strategies supported by credible CWMD capabilities will remain an effective approach against many WMD-armed adversaries. Toward that end, the Department equips and trains forces and develops capabilities that can be employed in three broad categories: 1) prevent acquisition, 2) contain and roll back threats, and 3) respond to WMD crises.

1. Preventing Acquisition

To further reduce incentives for WMD acquisition, DoD continues to support the efforts of our State Department colleagues and others to strengthen international treaties, conventions, and regimes, and to implement sanctions. We support discussions among the permanent five (P5) states of the UN Security Council to meet our obligations under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and to make progress under the Action Plan agreed to at the last Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference. In this context, DoD is developing, in conjunction with interagency partners, common approaches to reporting and definitions. Such confidence-building measures, when reciprocated by other members of the P5, increase transparency and stability among nuclear weapon states. DoD also supports efforts to begin negotiating a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT). We support the P5's moratorium on the production of new fissile material for use in nuclear devices, and believe its continuance is part of the foundation that is needed in order to make progress on an FMCT. To meet U.S. obligations under the Chemical Weapons Convention, DoD has destroyed almost 90 percent of our chemical weapons stockpile while continuing to assist other states in the destruction of their stockpiles. We also continue to support U.S. transparency efforts in the context of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC) and to uphold longstanding U.S. commitments under the BWC Confidence-Building Measures by reporting on biodefense research activities taking place at DoD biological facilities.

Another example of our commitment to preventing proliferation of WMD is our support to an interagency effort to develop and implement a U.S. policy for Dual Use Research of Concern (DURC). As was highlighted during national and international discussions in 2012 concerning H5N1 avian influenza research, biological research, while critical for the betterment of the health, welfare, and safety of mankind, also has the potential to be misused. As a federal research funding agency, DoD has now implemented the 29 March 2012 "United States Policy for Oversight of Life Sciences Dual Use Research of Concern," and reviews the life sciences

research it funds and conducts to ensure that dual use issues are adequately addressed from the outset. In addition, we continue to actively engage in interagency efforts to further develop additional policies in this area as our understanding of this challenge evolves.

DoD is raising barriers to the acquisition and proliferation of WMD through both bilateral and multilateral cooperation with partners. This May, our Polish allies will host meetings marking the 10th anniversary of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). Through its exercises and leadership in PSI's operational experts group, DoD has steadily worked with partners to address all aspects of the proliferation threat. Twenty-nine partners participated in our most recent exercise, LEADING EDGE, which was co-hosted by the United Arab Emirates and included full maritime, air, and land interdiction activities. PSI is an activity, not a program, and as such has no dedicated budget. In a time of increasing resource constraints, previous methods of funding PSI activities are becoming less available, and it is time we addressed the need for a dedicated PSI funding line.

DoD is also engaged in what we refer to as pathway defeat activities. These activities seek to identify various pathways that are or could be used to conceptualize, develop, acquire, or proliferate WMD and related capabilities and develop methodologies to deny, delay, disrupt, or destroy these WMD pathways. The pathway defeat work focuses on the specific nodes and linkages in the networks that constitute an adversary's WMD acquisition pathway. By disrupting these networks, we raise barriers to acquisition and enhance efforts to detect, identify, and respond to acquisition attempts, especially those shielded by legitimate activities such as nuclear power generation; chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) defensive programs; biomedical research; and the global chemical industry.

2. Containing and Rolling Back Threats

DoD is containing and rolling back WMD proliferation threats by restricting the supply of WMD-relevant materials and technologies, including delivery systems, available for illicit uses. One of the most important tools we use to accomplish this is the CTR Program. The President recently commemorated CTR on its 20th anniversary. He stated, "This is one of our most important national security programs. And it's a perfect example of the kind of partnerships that we need, working together to meet challenges that no nation can address on its own... That's why, over the past four years, we've continued to make critical investments in our threat reduction programs—not just at DOD, but at Energy and at State. In fact, we've been increasing funding, and sustaining it. And even as we make some very tough fiscal choices, we're going to keep investing in these programs—because our national security depends on it." Among other achievements in securing and eliminating WMD materials and in preventing WMD proliferation, the CTR Program can take credit for assisting three former members of the Soviet Union in deactivating and properly disposing of over 13,000 nuclear warheads.

As WMD threats have changed since the end of the Cold War and dissolution of the Soviet Union, so has the CTR Program's focus and partnerships. In support of this geographic and functional expansion, the President has requested \$528.5 million in fiscal year 2014 for DoD CTR activities, an increase of approximately \$9 million over the fiscal year 2013 appropriated level. These funds will continue ongoing partnerships in the former Soviet Union, support new partnerships in Africa, and expand work in the Middle East, South Asia, and South East Asia. It

is important to note that CTR remains a threat-based program focused on supporting DoD's mission. To strengthen our stewardship of program resources, the Department is developing a comprehensive metrics approach to improve program management and ensure investments directly advance strategic threat reduction goals. When fully implemented, CTR Program metrics will track material inventory, training activities, equipment utilization, and major program milestones, such as the completion of transfer of custody. These inputs will help us track project plans against our completed activities in a tailored way. Importantly, this will improve the dialogue between Congress and the Department of Defense when evaluating the success of the DoD CTR Program. Additional information on the CTR metrics will be included in the CTR annual report to Congress, which will be submitted later this spring.

The Secretary of Defense, with the Secretaries of State and Energy, recently approved the expansion of CTR activities to the Middle East. Through enhanced border security and threat reduction train and equip support, CTR will work with partner countries to help mitigate the threat posed by the potential proliferation or use of Syria's chemical weapons or materials and other WMD. With this new authority the CTR Program is working with our regional partners to increase their awareness of the threat posed by the potential proliferation or use of Syria's chemical weapons, materials, or other WMD; build and expand border protection capabilities to prevent illicit transfers of chemical weapons materials; and operate in a potentially contaminated environment. The CTR Program is proving to be exceptionally valuable to our partners and to existing partnerships in the face of this emerging threat. For example, CTR is funding Phase 2 of the Jordan Border Security Project, which will integrate technology and training to increase Jordan's visibility and ability to mitigate proliferation along the remaining 256-kilometer stretch of border with Syria.

Another focus area for the CTR Program is to enhance maritime domain awareness capabilities for maritime surveillance in Southeast Asia, providing the ability to detect illicit transfers of WMD materials and strategic delivery systems. In particular, we are engaging Vietnam to improve maritime law enforcement awareness and security. This program is working to improve logistics and maintenance as well as providing equipment and developing a training center to enable more efficient efforts to thwart illegal smuggling of WMD and related equipment.

CTR is also countering biological threats. CTR's partnerships decrease the vulnerability of biological agents to theft by nefarious actors and increase partners' abilities to detect, diagnose, contain, and report outbreaks of public health and national security concerns. Our hope is that current partners will, in the future, become sources of best practices and resources for other countries looking to improve their domestic biological security, outbreak surveillance, and response capabilities. GSA has briefed this committee in the past on improved biosecurity partnerships in East Africa, and I am proud to inform you that key facilities housing some of the world's most dangerous pathogens are now secure thanks to collaborative efforts among partner countries and the Departments of Defense and State.

But gates and guards are not the only solution. We are also working to enhance the culture of security within the life sciences community. Insufficient security leaves us all vulnerable to misuse of biological material. As new challenges of dual-use and global access to

biotechnologies demand new approaches, we are developing non-traditional partnerships, including collaboration with the World Health Organization (WHO) to leverage their technical capabilities and global networks. While a DoD-WHO partnership may seem counterintuitive to some, we do in fact share many biosafety and biosecurity objectives. The WHO's International Health Regulations specifically call out these areas as requirements and sets guidelines for active and passive biological surveillance, which are the best means for detecting naturally occurring outbreaks and biological terror events. Compliance with these guidelines reinforces DoD objectives and enhances U.S. and international security. Direct and continued engagement with the WHO and similar organizations provides CTR with significantly more opportunities to enhance a culture of security within the existing life sciences communities that can recognize, report and aid in countering the grave threat posed by biological weapons development or use. Further, partnership with such organizations increases the likelihood that CTR-provided investments will be sustained in the future.

I highlight these efforts in particular to note new levels of responsiveness in the CTR Program as it expands. We are advancing our approaches to threat reduction in appreciation of the dynamic threat environment. We have pushed the envelope, and we will continue to do so where we believe it will reduce WMD threats.

DoD will also encourage and support—through direct and indirect assistance—states that have already committed to secure and dispose of WMD and reduce or dismantle WMD programs. In Libya, the CTR Program is working now to increase the safety and security of Libya's recently-discovered chemical weapons stockpile, and we are also working to finalize a destruction agreement.

Indeed, even beyond the projects and partnerships mentioned here, we are considering other, novel applications of the CTR Program. One is to transport vulnerable nuclear and radiological materials to more secure locations for storage or reprocessing. The Departments of Defense and Energy collaborate closely in threat reduction, drawing on each department's respective strengths. The Department of Energy is negotiating high-priority transfers of material to more secure locations for storage or reprocessing, and DoD has specific capabilities and training for secure transportation internationally. We are, therefore, working cooperatively to achieve overall U.S. objectives in nuclear and radiological security.

Touching briefly on the future, DoD's CTR program is at a transition. We are now funding roughly as much work outside of the former Soviet Union as we are inside the former Soviet Union. Based on emerging threats, our aperture has widened substantially and we are increasing the flexibility of the program to be successful as a global effort. Developments in Libya and the Middle East this past year exemplify this requirement. We look forward to engaging with you and your congressional colleagues in the future about how to continue this update to the CTR program and increase its effectiveness.

3. Responding to Crises

DoD works to manage WMD risks emanating from hostile, fragile, or failed states and safe havens. Where hostile actors persist in making significant progress toward acquiring WMD, the

Department is prepared to undertake or support a full range of actions to stop such capabilities from being fully realized. We will convey to fragile states that proliferation undermines security and stability and work with them to enhance WMD security. We must deny non-state actors the means to manipulate and acquire the tools and resources of state actors and prevent them from achieving territorial freedom of action.

The Department is continuing to develop tailored plans and capabilities to deter specific actors of concern, including those who may be serving as proxies, from employing WMD. DoD will also be prepared to locate, characterize, secure, exploit, and destroy WMD. We are seeing immediate successes in this area with the activation of the Standing Joint Force Headquarters - Elimination (SJFHQ-E). In addition to its unique support to the Combatant Commands, this year the SJFHQ-E participated in major exercises jointly with South Korea, France, and the United Kingdom. We are already seeing how this capability is able to address a range of challenges under varying security and political conditions.

Given the prevalence of coalition operations in contemporary military campaigns, helping allies and partners understand WMD risks to develop effective defenses is an important element of our mutual defense. Such practical security cooperation focused on countering regional WMD threats helps partners resist incentives to acquire WMD in response to changes in the security environment. With this in mind, we have active bilateral CBRN defense partnerships with Japan, South Korea, Israel, France, the United Kingdom, and members of other countries as well as with NATO.

The Department is also prepared to sustain operations and support continuity-of-government efforts following a WMD incident. Forces and operational areas must be able to function with minimal residual limitations resulting from chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear (CBRN) exposure or contamination. In support of the warfighter, we will build on the successes of the Chemical and Biological Defense Program (CBDP) by continuing to improve the training of CBRN forces and advisors, developing medical and physical countermeasures, and advancing protective equipment and platforms for physical protection and decontamination. In addition, DoD is prepared to support civil authorities with CBRN response capabilities to mitigate the consequences of events in the homeland and abroad, including through the provision of timely technical forensics to enable strategic decision-making. DoD may also lead or assist in the disposal of residual adversary WMD capabilities until such time that a civilian or international entity can assume these responsibilities.

Conclusion

We are committed to meeting the nation's countering WMD requirements while taking into account a shrinking Department of Defense budget. DoD will continue to pursue CWMD activities that span a range of unilateral and multilateral counter-proliferation and non-proliferation efforts, and we will continue to coordinate our efforts within the interagency and with our international partners to prevent and protect against these most dangerous threats. None of the efforts I have described to you today would be possible without the continuing support of

Congress. I thank you for your support for our fiscal year 2014 budget request and look forward to our continued partnership.