

Stenographic Transcript  
Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE DEPARTMENT OF  
DEFENSE MISSILE DEFENSE ACTIVITIES IN REVIEW OF  
THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL  
YEAR 2026 AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE  
PROGRAM

Tuesday, May 13, 2025

Washington, D.C.

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1 TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE MISSILE  
2 DEFENSE ACTIVITIES IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION  
3 REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2026 AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE  
4 PROGRAM

5  
6 Tuesday, May 13, 2025

7  
8 U.S. Senate

9 Committee on Armed Services

10 Strategic Forces Subcommittee

11 Washington, D.C.  
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13 The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 4:45  
14 p.m., in Room SR-232A, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon.  
15 Deb Fischer, chairwoman of the subcommittee, presiding.

16 Subcommittee Members Present: Senators Fischer,  
17 Tuberville, King, and Kelly.  
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1           OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. DEB FISCHER, U.S. SENATOR  
2 FROM NEBRASKA

3           Senator Fischer: I call this hearing to order. I  
4 would like to thank the witnesses for being here today.

5           This Subcommittee has long worked on a bipartisan  
6 basis to strengthen and improve our national integrated air  
7 and missile defense architecture. Our adversaries continue  
8 to improve and diversify their ability to hold the homeland  
9 at risk, including through ballistic, hypersonic, and  
10 cruise missiles. I remain deeply concerned that the status  
11 quo will not suffice in the coming decades, and I look  
12 forward to hearing from each of our witnesses about their  
13 work on the Department's various missile defense  
14 activities.

15          General Guillot, as the Commander of NORTHCOM you are  
16 ultimately responsible for the defense of our homeland. I  
17 look forward to hearing how NORTHCOM is working to enhance  
18 domain awareness to provide a common picture of the  
19 operational environment.

20          Ms. Yaffe, as you stated in your written testimony,  
21 missile defense and the space domain are intrinsically  
22 linked. I look forward to hearing your views on the  
23 evolution of missile defense and how space-based systems  
24 can continue to play an important role going forward.

25          Lieutenant General Collins, I understand the Missile

1 Defense Agency will retain its key role in developing,  
2 testing, and integrating many of the technologies that  
3 comprise our missile defense system, and I look forward to  
4 hearing how we can expect to expand on these efforts in the  
5 coming fiscal year.

6 Finally, I would like to welcome Lieutenant General  
7 Rasch, in his capacity as the Executive Officer of the Guam  
8 Defense System Joint Program Office. I look forward to  
9 hearing from you about the progress being made to expand  
10 and improve the integrated air and missile defense of Guam,  
11 which will protect over 160,000 American citizens living on  
12 Guam.

13 I understand that we are still waiting for details of  
14 the fiscal year 2026 President's Budget Request to be  
15 released, and that the President is in the final stages of  
16 making key decisions about the Golden Dome system. While  
17 this means that follow-on conversations will be necessary  
18 once the Administration provides us those details, I still  
19 expect a robust conversation this afternoon on the future  
20 of missile defense. Thank you again.

21 Senator King, would you like to make some opening  
22 remarks please.

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1           STATEMENT OF HON. ANGUS S. KING, JR., U.S. SENATOR  
2 FROM MAINE

3           Senator King: Thank you very much, Madam Co-Chair.  
4 Can I say that?

5           Senator Fischer: Yes.

6           Senator King: Thank you. This Subcommittee does work  
7 very strongly on a bipartisan basis. We look forward to  
8 your testimony. Very important hearing today with regard  
9 to a very important subject.

10          Ms. Yaffe, I don't expect you to answer these  
11 questions now but I am giving you a preview. One of the  
12 questions is, in light of the multiplicity of threats now,  
13 whether it is standoff cruise missiles, ICBMs, sea-launched  
14 missiles, space-based weapons, is missile defense feasible?  
15 In other words, is it technologically feasible if we face a  
16 serious attack from an adversary that has not several dozen  
17 missiles but several thousand.

18          Mr. Guillot -- or General, I am sorry -- one of the  
19 questions I am interested in is the importance of sensors.  
20 This discussion is often about missiles, but it is also  
21 about knowing what is going on, and particularly in your  
22 AOR I think there are some serious questions that bear  
23 discussion about our situational awareness.

24          And finally, General Collins, I am interested in what  
25 is Golden Dome. In other words, what is the plan? What

1 does it consist of? I did a little AI research this  
2 morning and found out Israel is exactly the same size as  
3 New Jersey. So having a missile defense system in a  
4 limited space, also that defends against pretty small  
5 caliber munitions from the terrorists in the region,  
6 obviously more serious from Iran, but whether that concept  
7 can be transferred to the continental United States is a  
8 question I will be interested in.

9 So I look forward to all of your testimony. Very  
10 important hearing. And I appreciate all the work that you  
11 do and the service you provide to the country.

12 Thank you, Madam Chair.

13 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator King.

14 Now I would like to begin with statements from each  
15 member. Who is going first at this point? Ms. Yaffe?

1           STATEMENT OF ANDREA YAFFE, ACTING PRINCIPAL DEPUTY  
2   ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPACE POLICY, DEPARTMENT  
3   OF DEFENSE

4           Ms. Yaffe: Thank you. I am happy to start out to  
5   provide the policy perspective.

6           Chair Fischer, Ranking Member King, and distinguished  
7   members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to  
8   testify on the Department of Defense's missile defense  
9   posture, on behalf of the Office of the Secretary of  
10   Defense. I am grateful to appear alongside my  
11   distinguished colleagues.

12          Missile defenses are a vital element of our strategic  
13   force posture, both as a means of deterrence as well as  
14   defending the U.S. homeland and security interests abroad.  
15   As we see nearly every day in conflicts across the world,  
16   offensive missile capabilities are now a central feature of  
17   modern warfare and routinely deployed to coerce and  
18   intimidate opponents, inflict tactical damage, and carry  
19   out strategic campaigns.

20          Our adversaries are investing in the next generation  
21   of offensive capabilities to hold the United States  
22   homeland at risk, coerce our allies and partners, and  
23   threaten our deployed forces.

24          To counter these growing threats we need next-  
25   generation missile defeat and missile defense architectures

1 that can complement our existing nuclear and conventional  
2 offensive capabilities. The President has mandated that  
3 the United States will develop and field a next-generation  
4 missile defense shield to provide for the common defense of  
5 our citizens and the nation and deter, defend against, and  
6 defeat any foreign aerial attack on the homeland. We will  
7 also guarantee our secure second strike capability. This  
8 broad mission set is the task before us today.

9 Missile threats pose a substantial and growing risk to  
10 the American people, U.S. national interests, and our  
11 allies and partners. The growing cooperation and potential  
12 for more coordinated action among China, Russia, North  
13 Korea, and Iran is reflecting a shared interest in  
14 undermining U.S. interests globally.

15 We also see these countries working together to  
16 advance their respective interests. Russia has provided  
17 technical and economic assistance to North Korea and Iran  
18 in return for thousands of munitions, attack drones, and  
19 ballistic missiles. Russia has employed North Korean  
20 missiles in Ukraine, resulting in improvements in their  
21 accuracy and destructive capability.

22 DoD must contend with adversaries possessing a range  
23 of sophisticated technologies, including advanced cruise  
24 and ballistic missiles and maneuverable HGVs, as well as  
25 lower-tier threats like unmanned aircraft systems from both



1 state and non-state actors. These capabilities continue to  
2 evolve and include a wide range of platforms, speeds,  
3 distances, and attack vectors that are easily concealed and  
4 evasive.

5 This is where the value of missile defense, a core  
6 component of deterrence by denial, comes in. Robust  
7 missile defense capabilities raise the threshold for  
8 conflict and introduce uncertainty and complexity into  
9 attack planning, thereby undermining an adversary's  
10 confidence that an attack will be successful. The greater  
11 the cumulative challenges for an adversary, the greater the  
12 likelihood of avoiding an attack in the first place. If  
13 deterrence fails and an attack does occur, missile defenses  
14 limit the damage and assure the means of effective  
15 responses.

16 Moreover, missile defenses provide time and space for  
17 the President to decide how to respond most effectively.  
18 The financial outlays of missile defense and missile defeat  
19 today more than offset the exponentially greater costs that  
20 would be incurred by the lack of defenses in a potential  
21 conflict tomorrow.

22 Missile defense systems also contribute to deterrence  
23 by reinforcing our diplomatic and security posture while  
24 reassuring allies and partners. Should deterrence fail,  
25 the United States, our allies, and partners would need

1 robust missile defense and defeat options, not only to  
2 defend and protect our interests but also to manage  
3 escalation. Integration with our allies and partners  
4 improves our all-domain awareness, redundancy, and shot  
5 deconfliction. The deterrence by denial contributions to  
6 missile defense continue to serve as a complement to the  
7 cost imposition strategies offered by our conventional and  
8 nuclear forces. Together they give our decision-makers  
9 time and credible options to deter aggression, assure  
10 lethality, protect the American people from harm, and  
11 respond to attacks if deterrence fails.

12 The Department of Defense remains committed to making  
13 the necessary investments in our strategic posture to deter  
14 our adversaries and, if deterrence fails, to prevail in  
15 conflict. The missile defense and defeat mission requires  
16 sufficient and consistent funding and support.

17 Thank you for your dedication to our mission and our  
18 servicemembers and for the opportunity to testify to you  
19 today alongside my colleagues. I look forward to answering  
20 your questions.

21 [The prepared statement of Ms. Yaffe follows:]  
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1           Senator Fischer: Thank you very much. General  
2 Guillot, welcome.

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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL GREGORY M. GUILLOT, USAF,  
2   COMMANDER, UNITED STATES NORTHERN COMMAND AND NORTH  
3   AMERICAN AEROSPACE DEFENSE COMMAND

4           General Guillot: Chair Fischer, Ranking Member King,  
5   and distinguished members of the Subcommittee, thank you  
6   for holding this important hearing. North American  
7   Aerospace Defense Command and United States Northern  
8   Command have critical roles in defending the homeland from  
9   missile attack, and your support remains vital to our  
10   success.

11          I would like to start by recognizing the tremendous  
12   work being done by Lieutenant General Collins, ASD Yaffe,  
13   and Lieutenant General Rasch. NORAD and NORTHCOM are  
14   fortunate to have such committed partners in our shared no-  
15   fail mission.

16          Defending the United States from missile threats  
17   remains a top command priority. That mission is more  
18   important than ever as global competitors continue their  
19   rapid development and fielding of advanced missile  
20   capabilities and delivery platforms along with increased  
21   cooperation and technology sharing.

22          To counter these growing challenges, NORAD and  
23   NORTHCOM rely on realistic planning, on-time investments  
24   based on specific threats, and forward-looking policies  
25   that ensure the command's ability to detect, track, and

1 defeat potential threats in all domains.

2 To ensure our ability to defend against missile  
3 attacks, NORAD and NORTHCOM require a layered, domain  
4 awareness network, from seabed to space, to detect and  
5 track threats to North America. That sensing network is  
6 vital to today's ballistic and cruise missile defense  
7 missions and to the Golden Dome concept because we can't  
8 defeat what we can't see.

9 Alongside improved domain awareness we must also  
10 improve our capability and capacity to defeat advanced  
11 missile threats. The Next-Generation Interceptor is vital  
12 to countering North Korea's growing ICBM capability. And  
13 innovation investment in advanced defeat mechanisms, which  
14 could include directed energy and boost-phase intercept  
15 will be crucial against cruise missiles, hypersonics, and  
16 other advanced threats.

17 There are significant challenges ahead of us, but  
18 NORAD and NORTHCOM stand ready to deter aggression and  
19 defeat threats to our nation.

20 Again, thank to this Subcommittee and my fellow  
21 witnesses for your continued support, and I look forward to  
22 your questions. We have the watch.

23 [The prepared statement of General Guillot follows:]  
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1           Senator Fischer: Thank you, General. General  
2 Collins, welcome.

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1           STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL HEATH A. COLLINS,  
2   USAF, DIRECTOR, MISSILE DEFENSE AGENCY

3           General Collins: Thank you, ma'am. Good afternoon,  
4   Chair Fischer, Ranking Member King, distinguished members  
5   of the Subcommittee. Thank you for this opportunity to  
6   talk about the Missile Defense agency portfolio.

7           MDA is moving quickly to provide effective defenses  
8   against a dangerous missile threat to defend the U.S.  
9   homeland, our deployed forces, and our allies and friends.  
10   The agency is transforming itself, its enterprise, and its  
11   industry base in order to develop and deliver capabilities  
12   to the warfighter, at scale and speed.

13          As we move with urgency to deliver the next-generation  
14   missile defense system, we intend to leverage the  
15   performance efficiencies found at integrated layered  
16   defenses. We also will continue to integrate and improve  
17   the space domain to support a missile defense posture that  
18   is more effective, resilient, and adaptable, to known and  
19   unanticipated threats.

20          MDA's focus is on the improvement and sustainment of  
21   U.S. homeland and regional defenses. We are enhancing the  
22   performance and capability of the fielded, Ground-based  
23   Midcourse Defense system along with development and testing  
24   of the Next-Generation Interceptor. We are working with  
25   the Navy to improve the Aegis BMD capability and enhance

1   hypersonic defenses, and with the Army to make investments  
2   in the future development of the Terminal High Altitude  
3   Area Defense system, THAAD.

4       Together in support of the nation's missile defense  
5   enterprise and Golden Dome for America, MDA remains focused  
6   on delivering advanced, reliable, and resilient  
7   capabilities on accelerated timelines to meet the  
8   warfighter's needs.

9       I greatly appreciate your continued support for MDA  
10   and for the missile defense mission, and I look forward to  
11   answering your questions. Thank you.

12       [The prepared statement of General Collins follows:]



1           Senator Fischer: Thank you, General. General Rasch,  
2 welcome.

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1           STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL ROBERT A. RASCH, USA,  
2       EXECUTIVE OFFICER, GUAM DEFENSE SYSTEM JOINT PROGRAM OFFICE

3           General Rasch: Thank you, Madam Chair. Chairman  
4       Fischer, Ranking Member King, and distinguished members of  
5       this Subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to appear  
6       before you today to discuss the criticality of defending  
7       the island of Guam. On behalf of the Army Senior  
8       Leadership, we thank you for your continued support of our  
9       soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, Guardians, civilians,  
10      and their families.

11          Guam is an indispensable part of the homeland, and its  
12      defense is not only essential to the security of the United  
13      States but is also a strong deterrence to the ever-evolving  
14      complex threats we face. The fiscal year 2023 National  
15      Defense Authorization Act required the Secretary of Defense  
16      to designate a senior official to oversee the missile  
17      defense of Guam. In February 2024, as directed by the  
18      Under Secretary of Defense, Acquisition and Sustainment,  
19      the Guam Defense System Joint Program Office, JPO, was  
20      established at the Army Rapid Capability and Critical  
21      Technologies Office. Beyond the Department's investments  
22      in Guam's defense, the Under Secretary of the Navy is the  
23      appointed lead senior defense official for all other DoD  
24      efforts in Guam.

25          The Joint Program Office is charged with synchronizing

1 the development, testing, fielding, and sustainment of the  
2 Guam Defense System components and the integration of the  
3 corresponding command and control systems resulting in the  
4 development of a Joint Integrated Battle Manager, and this  
5 Battle Manager will allow current service and agency-owned  
6 components to behave as an integrated and unified system.

7 The Joint Program Office works closely with the Under  
8 Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Sustainment, the  
9 Guam Synchronization Oversight Council, and leadership  
10 across the services and the Missile Defense Agency to build  
11 and sustain an architecture capable of defending Guam  
12 against a multitude of complex air and missile defense  
13 threats.

14 Together, the Department is working diligently and  
15 with urgency to secure the initial capability increment in  
16 2027. This will provide capability well beyond the  
17 currently employed THAAD battery as part of Task Force  
18 Talon. Your continued support ensures that we remain  
19 capable of fighting for and from Guam, meeting the  
20 challenges of today and tomorrow.

21 Thank you again for the opportunity to speak with you  
22 about this critical mission and the joint commitment to the  
23 defense of Guam. Thank you.

24 [The prepared statement of General Rasch follows:]  
25

1           Senator Fischer: Thank you, General Resch, and thank  
2 you all for your opening statements.

3           We don't have too many of us here today so we may have  
4 more than one round of questions. I will begin the first  
5 round.

6           General Guillot, I have appreciated our past  
7 conversations about the need for increased domain  
8 awareness, for we cannot shoot what we cannot see. As we  
9 look towards Golden Dome and the future of missile defense,  
10 what additional improvements need to be made with respect  
11 to domain awareness?

12          General Guillot: Madam Chair, I think that what I  
13 call the domain awareness layer of Golden Dome is the most  
14 critical that we need to have first, for the reasons that  
15 you just mentioned. Any chance of using advanced  
16 interceptors or defeat capabilities would not be possible  
17 if we can't detect and track these threats.

18          I think that it is a seabed-to-space approach. We  
19 need to have undersea sensors to detect submarines that can  
20 now get closer to North America than they could before,  
21 based on improved stealthiness of those ships. And then a  
22 ground layer that can see much further out because of the  
23 advanced standoff weapons that our adversaries can now  
24 employ. We need an air layer, like the E-7, to close the  
25 kill chain with fighter aircrafts or surface-to-air

1 systems, and then a space layer. The space layer would  
2 both track airborne moving targets or aircraft, but also  
3 systems like HBTSS that could track hypersonics, as well as  
4 the warning capability that we need to detect the launches  
5 to begin with.

6 Senator Fischer: Is there anything you can tell us in  
7 this setting about Golden Dome and the options that may be  
8 available on the sensors and the radar systems that would  
9 be used?

10 General Guillot: Madam Chair, I don't know what the  
11 Golden Dome will look like, but I suspect that it would be  
12 able to use a lot of the systems that are already in place  
13 and currently in development, which would give us a full  
14 capability in probably something closer to zero to five  
15 years, as opposed to something, you know, a decade out into  
16 the future. A couple of those systems would be the HBTSS  
17 that I just mentioned for the hypersonics, space-based  
18 AMTI, which we have a number of prototype systems on orbit  
19 now, over-the-horizon radars which are also operational in,  
20 not in the United States, but elsewhere. And then for  
21 instance, the E-7 which many other countries operate.

22 Senator Fischer: So given that, how much risk would  
23 Golden Dome incur if the department was forced to vacate  
24 the lower 3 GHz or a portion of the 7-8 GHz spectrum that  
25 it now has?

1           General Guillot: Madam Chair, it is my assessment  
2   that we would assume an extraordinarily high level of risk  
3   if we lose control of those portions of the spectrum. Many  
4   of the systems that we rely on every day today, much less  
5   in the future, for homeland defense, reside in that  
6   spectrum range.

7           Senator Fischer: Thank you. General Collins, can you  
8   provide us with an update on the Hypersonic and Ballistic  
9   Tracking Space Sensor, or the HBTSS system?

10          General Collins: Yes, Madam Chair, thank you. So,  
11   the Hypersonic and Ballistic Tracking Space Sensor is a  
12   prototype program that MDA pursued to prove out the  
13   technology such that from space we could close the kill  
14   chain on a hypersonic weapon. And the focus of that was to  
15   prove out that the space system could have the accuracy,  
16   the track quality, and get that data into the command-and-  
17   control system fast enough to be able to close that fire  
18   control loop.

19          Those two systems, launched in February of last year,  
20   have gone through two test bed launches where we had a test  
21   bed target launch fly a hypersonic profile, and we have  
22   collected data from the sensors during that. So far, we  
23   have proven out the timeliness, latency of the fire control  
24   loop with those systems, as well as the sensitivity of  
25   those systems to close the loop. We are going back with

1 some algorithm updates into the payload to improve on the  
2 track quality. But we see that closing as well.

3 It has been a very successful prototype program, and  
4 all along, we have worked in parallel with the Space Force  
5 and Space Development Agency. They now have our HBTSS-like  
6 requirements as part of their proliferated warfighting  
7 space architecture. And in the tranches to come in the  
8 follow-on years they will slowly be building up an  
9 operational hypersonic tracking layer for us.

10 Senator Fischer: Thank you. Perhaps in another  
11 setting we can talk about a more definitive timeline when  
12 that would be available. Thank you.

13 Senator King.

14 Senator King: Thank you, Madam Chair. The nature of  
15 my questions may appear to be critical. I am certainly in  
16 favor of defending the homeland against missile attack. No  
17 question. My fundamental question is, is it feasible,  
18 given today's technology and also the cost involved. I  
19 will quote Lincoln: "Your critic is your best friend," so  
20 take it in that spirit.

21 For example, Ms. Yaffe, you mentioned deterrence by  
22 denial. Is that really viable today, deterrence by denial?  
23 Can we realistically say that we could deny a substantial  
24 missile attack from Russia or China, or heaven forbid,  
25 both?

1 Ms. Yaffe: Senator --

2 Senator King: I am a great believer in deterrence. I  
3 am just not sure deterrence by denial is realistic in this  
4 setting. Convince me.

5 Ms. Yaffe: Senator, thank you for the question. This  
6 is meant to be an integrated air and missile defense system  
7 that is intended to send a message to the adversary that  
8 they may not achieve their objectives. What we want to do  
9 is place the burden of escalation on the adversary and  
10 demonstrate that it will be harder for them to achieve  
11 their objectives in an attack.

12 Right now, as you are well aware, we do not have a  
13 homeland missile defense system that is intended to guard  
14 against adversary threats beyond North Korea or rogue state  
15 actor threats. Meanwhile, the threats themselves have been  
16 expanding significantly, with Russia and China pursuing a  
17 breadth of capability --

18 Senator King: Well, that is my point. We have  
19 developed a Missile Defense Agency essentially to defend  
20 against North Korea and Iran and perhaps a rogue, not China  
21 and Russia. Now we are talking about an accelerating  
22 Chinese pursuit of this capability. Russia already has the  
23 largest nuclear stockpile in the world.

24 What level of scaling up would it take to have a  
25 missile defense system capable of providing any realistic



1     deterrent to China and Russia?

2           Ms. Yaffe:   Sir, this is not an answer that will be  
3     deliverable overnight.   However, what the President has  
4     done is challenged us to actually look at what an  
5     integrated air and missile defense system of the homeland  
6     would look like, which is not something we --

7           Senator King:   What does that mean?   Is that 1,000  
8     THAAD batteries around cities?

9           Ms. Yaffe:   Sir, I can't weigh in on what the specific  
10    architecture would look like.   I can't get ahead of what  
11    the architecture decision will be that will come out, I  
12    think, with the budget.   However, it is intended to  
13    leverage new technologies to get ahead -- we have got,  
14    certainly, the lift in the executive order -- but to  
15    leverage some new technologies both to accelerate the  
16    deployment of the HBTSS on the hypersonic side, also to  
17    leverage non-kinetics.   And I know that you are interested  
18    in directed energy to see what directed energy might be  
19    able to help with, to help us change the cost curve.

20           But it should be a mix of new technologies that we  
21    might be able to demonstrate in the next 4 or 5 years,  
22    along with --

23           Senator King:   What is the assumption --

24           Ms. Yaffe:   -- legacy systems.

25           Senator King:   General Collins, what is the assumption

1 of how many GBIs would have to be launched to knock out one  
2 North Korean ICBM?

3 General Collins: Sir, that would be a classified  
4 number. We would have to wait until the closed session to  
5 answer that.

6 Senator King: All right. Well, General Guillot, you  
7 mentioned seabed. Isn't that a critical area where we need  
8 better sensors, better knowledge, and particularly in your  
9 AOR, in the Northwest?

10 General Guillot: Senator, absolutely. It is  
11 critical, the seabed. Detection and awareness of the  
12 seabed and the undersea environment are critical to  
13 homeland defense.

14 Senator King: And the Russians are, in fact,  
15 significantly building up their military infrastructure on  
16 their shore of the Arctic Ocean. Is that correct?

17 General Guillot: That is correct, Senator.

18 Senator King: So that is an area where we have to  
19 have better visibility, and also to the west, as the  
20 balloon incident told us.

21 General Guillot: Yes, sir. All true.

22 Senator King: You mentioned directed energy. The  
23 reason for my question, General Collins -- and I understand  
24 in classified -- but those interceptors are about \$60  
25 million a copy. I can understand maybe that is a

1 reasonable number if you are talking about a limited  
2 capacity of North Korea or Iran, but if you are talking  
3 about between now it is 300, up to 1,000 missiles in China,  
4 I don't know how many, several thousand, from Russia, the  
5 economics don't work. How do you feel about the potential  
6 of directed energy, which is about 75 cents a shot once it  
7 is installed?

8 General Collins: Yes, sir. We are certainly  
9 interested in pursuing directed energy from a missile  
10 defense perspective. At this point in time, we are years  
11 away from having a capability that would be able to have an  
12 effect against an intercontinental ballistic missile. So  
13 for the near future we will still very much rely on the  
14 layered approaches that we have today for ballistic missile  
15 defense.

16 Senator King: Define layered approach. You have used  
17 that term several times.

18 General Collins: Yes, sir. We look to be able to  
19 take multiple engagements on any missile as it is coming  
20 in. So in a perfect world we would try to intercept and  
21 take out the missile when it is still coming out of the  
22 ground and being launched from the enemy territory. That  
23 is the boost phase. While it is in space it is midcourse  
24 phase, and then as it is coming back into the atmosphere it  
25 is the terminal phase.

1           Today we very much focus on the midcourse for  
2     engagements. We would certainly look to be able to try to  
3     bring technology to bear that we could get into the boost  
4     phase preferred, but then we may also have capabilities, an  
5     underlayer of capability, that could be brought to bear to  
6     then have a second shot or a second engagement capability  
7     while it is in terminal.

8           So the layers of defense, or defense in depth, is what  
9     I refer to when I mention layered missile defense.

10          Senator King: I think the prior administration  
11     lowered the directed energy budget by a half over the past  
12     4 or 5 years. I think that was a terrible strategic  
13     mistake. I hope this Administration will remedy that,  
14     because you mentioned it is going to be years. One way to  
15     make it months instead of years is to devote more resources  
16     to the research and development of that capability, which  
17     it seems to me is clearly the technology of the future in  
18     this field.

19          Thank you, Madam Chair.

20          Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator King. Senator  
21     Tuberville.

22          Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Sounds like a  
23     guessing game to me, a lot of things that are going to  
24     happen, and of course, I don't know how many missiles could  
25     reach our mainland that they have right now, but obviously

1 space is going to decide a lot of that, with missiles  
2 coming from space in the near future.

3 But that being said, General, how are we doing on  
4 Guam? We got the Aegis system started, what, about 3 years  
5 ago, maybe a little less? How are you doing? Getting  
6 better?

7 General Rasch: Senator, getting better. Lots of  
8 teamwork across the services and with Missile Defense  
9 Agency, and my hat goes off to General Collins and his team  
10 who really led the Department of Defense in early  
11 implementation, all the legwork for laying the ground  
12 efforts for the military construction that occurred there.

13 MDA demonstrated this last year early Aegis Guam  
14 capability with a flight test that was executed there, very  
15 successfully. That work was really the starting point.  
16 That equipment has stayed on site. It offers a credible  
17 deterrence against potential adversaries, while the Army  
18 then does its planning to come in, in the '27 time frame,  
19 with the next, what we call tranche one of capability for  
20 Guam.

21 It is a lot of consensus building. It is a lot of  
22 teamwork across the Department of Defense. This is the  
23 homeland, so, in in several ways, we are learning a lot of  
24 lessons that we believe can also apply to the Golden Dome  
25 team as they continue that mission set. But very

1 optimistic that the Army is going to meet its mission, that  
2 will have a credible capability on island in the time frame  
3 we lay out.

4 Senator Tuberville: Have we decided who is going to  
5 operate it?

6 General Rasch: Well, that decision, as we build out  
7 the overall command and control capability, the C2 for the  
8 defense of Guam would typically fall to the Air Force to  
9 conduct that overall coordination. But it will be manned  
10 jointly as we have both Navy systems, Air Force systems,  
11 Army systems on the ground. We will have, you know,  
12 servicemen and women from all of those services operating  
13 it typically under an Air Force leadership who will then  
14 report to the combatant commander, Admiral Paparo.

15 Senator Tuberville: Does that include Reserve,  
16 National Guard?

17 General Rasch: Sir, it absolutely can. And even with  
18 the small footprint the Army has had on island today with  
19 the Task Force Talon, which is the THAAD battery, we have  
20 relied heavily on the Guam National Guard who provides a  
21 security force for that unit that is operating away from a  
22 typical Army base. A great job of those soldiers,  
23 supporting that mission truly defending the homeland. And  
24 within the Army, there is talk about potentially expanding  
25 that mission set for the Guard members on Guam. It is

1 still under discussion, so I can't get ahead of those  
2 decisions as they play out. But I believe all things are  
3 on the table at this point.

4 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. I know it is a long  
5 process, a long process. I mean, how many years do you  
6 think we have got left to be fully operational?

7 General Rasch: Senator, I believe we will be  
8 improving this capability forever, and defense never rests  
9 because offensive threat never rests. So, we will  
10 continually evolve. The point of our effort is to try to  
11 get as much capability as soon as possible. And capability  
12 isn't just a thing. It is not just, you know, a launcher.  
13 It is not just a radar. It is not even just a command and  
14 control. It is soldiers, you know, airmen, you know, all  
15 the folks actually manning this equipment, ensuring they  
16 are properly trained. It is ensuring that we have the  
17 proper sustainment tail on island to support it, that we  
18 can sustain it not just for a day, but for years in time.  
19 So, we will be at this for a while.

20 Senator Tuberville: It is like defending a different  
21 offense every week, if you are a football coach. You have  
22 got to change, don't you?

23 General Rasch: Absolutely, Senator.

24 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. General Collins,  
25 thank you for the footprint you have in my state of Alabama

1 at Redstone Arsenal. We are proud of all the work you are  
2 doing. How much of MDA's effort and investment in Golden  
3 Dome do you expect to take place in Huntsville? And do you  
4 expect to request any additional resources for maintenance  
5 or buildings or anything like that in the future?

6 General Collins: Well, Sir, Missile Defense Agency is  
7 really proud of being part of the Tennessee Valley and that  
8 Redstone Arsenal. Certainly, a large contingent of our  
9 workforce is at Redstone Arsenal, and as well as many of  
10 our industry partners are in that area, as well.

11 And so, I can't give you an exact percentage, but  
12 certainly the engineers, the program managers, the  
13 contracting officers, the entire workforce of Missile  
14 Defense Agency and the associated industry members are  
15 going to be very busy and very devoted to making any of the  
16 parts of Golden Dome real.

17 Senator Tuberville: You are building things right now  
18 too, right? You have got things under construction, I  
19 think the last time I was there.

20 General Collins: Yes, sir. We are doing them. We  
21 are in the middle of a ground test facility infrastructure  
22 update, which is a fairly large renovation and construction  
23 project that is going on. And that is going on right now,  
24 to help get us ready for the ground test infrastructure we  
25 need to support next gen missile defense. And as we start



1 digesting and dissolving the Golden Dome requirements,  
2 there may be additional requirements that we need to make  
3 sure we are ready to go.

4 Senator Tuberville: I got one more question, if we  
5 got time here. General Collins, I want to ask you about  
6 our space-based sensors, which is an absolutely critical  
7 component of any effort to develop the next-generation  
8 missile defense capability. Last year, the U.S. put a new  
9 hypersonic and ballistic tracking space sensor satellite in  
10 orbit. Do we have any plans, either as part of the Golden  
11 Dome architecture or independently, to expand that  
12 capability?

13 General Collins: Yes, sir. We, as well, believe that  
14 a very effective and resilient space layer is going to be  
15 critical to the future missile defense requirements of the  
16 homeland as well as our deployed forces. We rely on space  
17 assets today as part of our kill chain for initial tip-off,  
18 and we will continue to do that.

19 The Space Force, Space Development Agency, will  
20 operationalize the HBTSS capability. The relationship we  
21 have with Space Force is we may prototype technology that  
22 is required and prove it out for missile defense. The  
23 Space Force will operationalize that capability as we move  
24 forward, and HBTSS will be foundational. That type of  
25 technology will be foundational to hypersonic missile

1 defense in the future. And we are working on future  
2 prototyping space sensor capabilities, in particular,  
3 discriminating space sensor to help improve ballistic  
4 missile defense in the future as well. We will prototype  
5 and Space Force will operationalize. And so space will be  
6 very key to protecting the homeland and our deployed forces  
7 in the future. Thanks, Senator.

8 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Mr. Chairman.

9 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Tuberville.

10 General Rasch, when you look at the defense that Guam  
11 is going require, you and I, earlier today, we had a  
12 conversation about that and the importance of integrating  
13 those systems -- Army, Navy, MDA.

14 My Co-Chair talked about directed energy and how  
15 important the uses of that could be, and it would be a lot  
16 cheaper. But can you compare the systems that we need to  
17 integrate for the defense of Guam specifically, and some of  
18 the challenges that we face looking at directed energy and  
19 the capabilities it has in some more adverse conditions  
20 that are out there, maybe not always ready, and the  
21 different options it provides you and your soldiers with as  
22 you look towards defending that island?

23 General Rasch: Madam Chair, absolutely, and thank you  
24 for the question. As we spoke earlier, the new thing that  
25 we are doing for Guam is not just putting the individual

1 material systems and programs on island, but really taking  
2 the first step at integrating the command and control  
3 functions. So Air Force has a system, TOC Light. The Navy  
4 has their Aegis system, which will be Aegis Guam. Missile  
5 Defense Agency has C2BMC, and the Army has the Integrated  
6 Air Missile Defense Battle Command System, IBCS. These are  
7 four separate systems that loosely interoperate now, but we  
8 believe that is not good enough in the long term. So we  
9 are integrating these with a layer of decision support on  
10 top of the Joint Integrated Battle Manager.

11 This capability will leverage a lot of the work that  
12 Missile Defense Agency has done to date in that single  
13 integrated air picture arena, of getting a common air  
14 picture with those systems, and then providing a layer of  
15 decision aids on top, so that the decision-making, who has  
16 got a hard decision to make on a potential threat, can  
17 actually do fire direction to the appropriate system that  
18 actually has a killing capability.

19 So that is the new work that we are doing for Guam  
20 from a command and control or fire control perspective.

21 With regards to directed energy, as General Collins  
22 said, the technology is evolving, and the Army, I know, has  
23 invested a lot in ground systems from a directed energy  
24 perspective. We have deployed several of those systems  
25 overseas to get continued operational assessment. And for

1 the defense of Guam there is the potential, as those  
2 technologies continue to evolve, to be integrated in as  
3 part of this architecture.

4 Realizing, though, that directed energy is not a  
5 panacea. As you pointed out, there are days, good days and  
6 bad days, for lasers. Weather can affect their lethality.  
7 It can affect the range. So as we continue to learn about  
8 this technology and what its capability is, we also have to  
9 ensure that we integrate the atmospheric conditions at the time. You  
10 know, as you get closer to the Earth the air is dirtier.  
11 Windy days create dust, which can reflect or refract the  
12 light. Moisture can do the same thing, if it is raining.

13 So having a mix of capabilities, and that the soldiers  
14 that are operating that integrated system understand  
15 basically how good the laser is today. The ranges of those  
16 directed energy systems are not out at the ranges of our  
17 more exquisite and expensive missile systems are.

18 So we have to build that trust with the soldiers, that  
19 if they let a threat getting closer, to allow directed  
20 energy to be the effector, that it is going to work. So  
21 that is something that the Army, I know, was working at  
22 lower powers, necessarily, than we would put on Guam, but  
23 starting down that venture now, and we are looking forward  
24 to seeing where that technology takes us.

25 Senator Fischer: Thank you, General.

1 Senator Kelly, you are recognized.

2 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Madam Chair. General  
3 Collins, so last year Missile Defense Agency proposed  
4 termination of the SM-3, and months after that termination  
5 recommendation that missile was used in defense of Israel  
6 against ballistic missiles. So based on the recent combat  
7 experience with the SM-3, and I am not sure exactly what  
8 the number of rounds that were fired, but what is the  
9 current plan for the SM-3 going forward? Has that plan  
10 been reevaluated?

11 General Collins: Thanks, Senator, for that question.  
12 Certainly in last year's hearing we certainly talked about  
13 the decision, the fiscal decision that was made to  
14 terminate the SM-3 Block 1B line. And since that, you are  
15 very right, it has been a workhorse in the Eastern  
16 Mediterranean, protecting the citizens of the State of  
17 Israel.

18 As we now are planning with the increased focus on  
19 missile defense of the homeland and missile defense in  
20 general, the future decision space within the SM-3 program  
21 is being re-looked at, as part of the deliberations for  
22 Golden Dome, and, as well, with the President's budget that  
23 is in development.

24 What I would also, though, say is through a number of  
25 supplementals we do appreciate the support that has come

1 through supplemental funding that has come back to  
2 replenish the SM-3 1B lots that were expended in the  
3 Eastern Med, and we will continue to track that very  
4 closely with both the Block 1B and the Block 2A's, moving  
5 forward.

6 Senator Kelly: Do you know how many rounds were  
7 fired, SM-3 rounds?

8 General Collins: I do not have the latest but it is  
9 in the dozens.

10 Senator Kelly: And the SM-3 line has not been shut  
11 down at all, so it sounds like, in fact, the rate of  
12 production has increased.

13 General Collins: The rate of production is still  
14 continuing. We still have fiscal year 2024 and fiscal year  
15 2025 plus the supplemental funding that still will go on  
16 contract before the end of this year. So that line will  
17 still remain open for years into the future. It takes a  
18 few years from beginning to end to get those rounds out.

19 The funding decisions, though, are here and now, to  
20 make sure that we continue to keep that line open and  
21 viable as we move forward.

22 Senator Kelly: Go back to last year when the decision  
23 was made to terminate production of SM-3. What was the  
24 plan for the follow-on missile that would perform the  
25 duties of the SM-3?

1           General Collins: Sir, there was not a plan set  
2 forward on a replacement for the SM-3 1B. It was to rely  
3 more on the Block 2A line, which is a larger, more  
4 expensive missile, but the quantity production rates were  
5 lower for that missile. But that was the decision.

6           Senator Kelly: General Rasch, I appreciate all the  
7 work you and your team have done on the Guam defense  
8 system. I am interested in hearing any lessons from Guam  
9 Defense that can be applied to Golden Dome as we come up  
10 with a plan. I know the study has been, well, the timeline  
11 for the 60-day study is complete. But anything that  
12 informed that study from Guam Defense?

13          General Rasch: Senator, thank you for your question,  
14 and absolutely lessons learned. Guam, being part of the  
15 homeland, provides a lot of the same challenges that we  
16 will have here at CONUS. Interagency cooperation and  
17 coordination will be required. We have certainly learned  
18 that on Guam, so it is not just a DoD venture. It is  
19 bringing in the whole-of-government as far as site  
20 locations, environmentals, everything that we have to do  
21 there. And we have certainly shared that across with the  
22 teammates as they are thinking about the Golden Dome, the  
23 Golden Dome challenge.

24          The other area that I believe is significant is the  
25 integration of our command and control systems. Our

1 services have typically fought the air missile defense  
2 threat as stovepipes, and so our work to do that level of  
3 integration, for at least the land piece of those systems,  
4 from the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and Missile Defense  
5 Agency, to start the integration of that, absolutely should  
6 be a model, or at least a starting point for how we take on  
7 the bigger challenge of developing and air missile defense  
8 capability across the entire continental U.S.

9 Senator Kelly: Ms. Yaffe, on the 60-day study, I know  
10 the report has gone to the White House. I don't know if  
11 the President has signed off on it yet. It doesn't sound  
12 like it. But I want to just hear, if you can speak to what  
13 kind of preliminary activities have been accomplished and  
14 anything you can say about what you have discovered in the  
15 60-day study.

16 Ms. Yaffe: Sir, thank you. I think I can say  
17 broadly, as you know, this executive order really  
18 challenged the Department to take this integrated approach  
19 in a really unprecedented way that would require the  
20 breaking down of silos to be successful.

21 When it came into the building, our office, the Office  
22 of the Secretary of Defense, joining with Joint Staff to  
23 bring together all of the stakeholders and start working on  
24 different design options, we matured them to a place where  
25 the technical experts took over and really refined them



1 into a few different options to bring to the Secretary.

2 My understanding is the Secretary of Defense and other  
3 Department leaders have engaged with the President, and the  
4 hope is that there will be an announcement soon, certainly  
5 tied with the budget. There was a breadth of options  
6 looked at that tied the new and potential ways to  
7 accelerate developmental capabilities to get some  
8 demonstrations with the existing capabilities, so that we  
9 can have an integrated, layered system.

10 Senator Kelly: Okay. Thank you.

11 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Kelly. Senator  
12 King you are recognized.

13 Senator King: General Rasch, I am very interested in  
14 Guam as a test bed, which has been discussed repeatedly in  
15 this hearing. My question is, how much has the development  
16 of missile defense infrastructure on Guam cost?

17 General Rasch: Senator, that is a good question, and  
18 obviously one that gets a lot of interest because there  
19 tends to be a conflating of different costs to support  
20 overall the island of Guam. Obviously still recovering  
21 from a horrible typhoon a few years ago. There are dollars  
22 that the DoD is investing in fixing things that were  
23 damaged.

24 Senator King: No, I understand that. But can the  
25 defense piece that you have discussed here today, be

1 isolated and identified? Somebody must know what it has  
2 cost.

3 General Rasch: Yes, Senator, it can, and we have  
4 estimated that at about an \$8 billion investment. Not new  
5 investment but really it is the cost of the systems that  
6 the services were building already that will now be located  
7 at Guam, approximately \$8 billion across all of the  
8 services when you look through the overall cost of the  
9 individual components.

10 Senator King: I find that concerning because I just  
11 did a calculation there -- 779 cities in the United States  
12 with more than 50,000 people. In fact, Guam is half the  
13 size of San Antonio. So if we are talking about providing  
14 the level of defense that we have on Guam for our citizens  
15 in our country, we are talking about an awful lot of money.  
16 I can't do the math in my head, but 800 times \$6 billion is  
17 a pretty astronomical cost.

18 Again, as you can tell, I am skeptical. I want to be  
19 proven wrong. And I look forward to future hearings and  
20 discussions and seeing how Golden Dome evolves. The  
21 question is, is it the best place to put our money, or  
22 should we be developing our deterrent capability and  
23 accelerating the reconstruction of the Triad as a more  
24 effective deterrent than one that looks like it has some  
25 technical and financial questions.

1 But I think the next time we have this hearing we  
2 probably will have some more answers about what Golden Dome  
3 actually looks like. And don't get me wrong. I am all for  
4 protecting the homeland. It is just a question of how much  
5 will it cost relative to other defense needs and how  
6 effective can it be technologically, given the development  
7 of things like hypersonics, maneuverable missiles that, as  
8 you know, General Guillot, are below the level of  
9 traditional sensors and much more difficult to intercept.

10 I look forward to continuing this discussion, and  
11 certainly I hope, Madam Chair, that as soon as Golden Dome  
12 is more formulated we can have a hearing to discuss its  
13 components.

14 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator King. I agree  
15 with you. I believe Golden Dome is part of the mix and the  
16 options that are out there as we look at the defense of our  
17 homeland, and specifically in the Indo-Pacific with Guam,  
18 as well. We have heard from a number of our panelists at  
19 posture hearings but also in classified briefings that the  
20 Administration has followed previous administrations in  
21 putting the top priority on our Triad, on modernization, on  
22 making sure that the President will have options there, as  
23 well.

24 So I look forward to seeing, with you, how Golden Dome  
25 is going to be able to fit in the mix, along with

1 hypersonics and many other options that are going to be  
2 available in the future.

3 With that I thank the panel for being here today.  
4 Senator King and I need to get down and vote. But we thank  
5 all of you for your dedication, for the time you give us  
6 here in the Senate, and on this Subcommittee especially,  
7 and the information you provide us. Thank you.

8 We are adjourned.

9 [Whereupon, at 5:34 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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