

## Remarks by James J. Quinn Sixth Annual Japan-U.S. Security Strategy Conference



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Thank you all very much for that kind reception. I am delighted to be back in Tokyo and grateful to our Japanese hosts for their hospitality this week. I am honored to have a part in this conference dedicated to the joint security of the United States and Japan.

The U.S.-Japan alliance is one of history's least likely stories, and one of its most inspirational ones. Out of a bitter conflict between our two nations came a shared commitment to democracy and to its defense. America has few partners in the world today as close as this great nation, and few alliances that are as crucial to peace in our world.

When President Bush visited a few years ago, he called Japan "one of America's greatest and truest friends." It is a friendship, he said, based on the values, interests, and responsibilities we hold in common. Common goals are built around common understandings, and shared ways of looking at the world.

All of us here – whether we serve in government or work in defense-related industries – share that same belief in the importance of the U.S.-Japan alliance. We understand as well that the greatest responsibility of both nations is to the over arching security of our people. America and Japan are united by common ideals, and also by common dangers. In December 2004 the U.S. signed a Ballistic Missile Defense Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Japan to expand our cooperative missile defense activities.

In Toyko and in Washington, it was a sobering day in 1998 when the North Korean regime launched a Taepodong missile over Japan. The years since have only brought further reason for concern, alertness, and defensive preparation.

We have learned that North Korean's have as many as 100 Nodong missiles, each with a range of more than 1,300 kilometers. We have learned – from the regime's own boastful admission – that it has converted thousands of nuclear fuel rods into nuclear weapons. We have seen the immense difficulties in trying to negotiate with Pyongyang, from what was viewed during the current six-party talks. Years of endless stalling, evasions, and deceptions by this brutal regime are a constant reminder that diplomacy is essential, but diplomacy alone is not enough to meet the challenge.

As noted during the recent Multinational BMD Conference in Rome, Japan also recognizes the emerging threat of China and its potentially destabilizing effect it has on the Asia-Pacific region.

In dealing with the North Korean regime, the Iranian regime, or any other regime that poses a strategic threat, our governments realize that they must be prepared for the worst. Nothing is more likely to discourage the development of offensive nuclear missiles than the knowledge that our nations can destroy those missiles in the air or in space. Nothing is more likely to strengthen the hand of a U.S. President, or of a Japanese Prime Minister, than to face the threat of nuclear intimidation by some rogue nation's leader. And, in the event of attack, nothing would be more important than the capacity to intercept and destroy any type of threat missile before it strikes its target, causing untold casualties.

The Japanese government understands these threats, because they are not only near, but well-known to your country. The progress Japan has made since August of 1998 is truly remarkable.

This nation is further along than any other U.S. ally in developing a two-layer missile-defense shield – the sea-borne Aegis Standard Missile-3 and the land-based Patriot PAC-3. Japan now invests more than a billion dollars a year in missile-defense, and has begun to adapt its basic policies and constitution to the reality of future ballistic-missile threats. Japan has also begun to revise its rules for collective self-defense in order to allow the export or sharing of technology and information – a vital and welcome change.

These are dramatic steps, all made in just seven years. They compare with some of Japan's greatest feats of industry and technological development. Indeed, of all nations other than the United States, none today are more advanced in its missile-defense program than the Nation of Japan. And none has shown a clearer determination to see this system through to completion.

In past conferences, my predecessor at Northrop-Grumman, Pat Caruana, has stressed the importance of "jointness" in the development of missile-defense systems. That need, too, has only become clearer in recent years.

The urgency of an operational missile-defense system leaves little time for needless duplication in our common efforts. Each nation brings its own special strengths, knowledge, technology, and resources to the task. By building on the strengths and advantages that each has to offer, we will make the best use of finite government funding. And we are moving forward toward the greater goal that we share.

This truth is vividly illustrated by the speed with which Japan is acquiring its initial Phase-I ground based missile-defense architecture. Japan is proceeding with the acquisition of a multilayered BMD system, basing its initial capability on upgrades of its Aegis destroyers and acquisition of the Aegis SM-3 missile. Instead of starting fresh with some entirely new system, it made obvious sense to field an existing capability like

the PAC-III and the Aegis and then upgrade them over time. By following this principle of capabilities-based acquisition, Japan has cut years off the timeline for deployment of an operational missile defense.

The same principle can serve Japan and our mutual allies even better if it elects to establish a Missile Defense Center, similar to the one that Great Britain is creating and similar to the Joint National Integration Center that we currently employ in the United States. Effective missile defenses necessarily involve a highly integrated architecture, requiring interoperability not only among different commands but also different national systems. There are a myriad of “sensors” and “shooters”, each addressing a segment of the missile intercept problem yet all needing to be sufficiently integrated to provide a robust defense against varied and unpredictable threats. From the ground, sea, air, and space, components of the system must work as one – all in a matter of minutes and seconds, and with scant margin for error.

## **JNIC**

Lacking the ability to test every part, in every possible scenario, we have to simulate. That is the mission of the Joint National Integration Center, referred to as JNIC, in Colorado Springs, Colorado, which Northrop Grumman operates for the U.S. Missile Defense Agency. Through modeling, simulation, and war-gaming, we are preparing commanders for every conceivable situation in the face of every conceivable threat. JNIC is proving to be an essential tool in both designing our missile-defense architecture and preparing commanders to use a fully deployed missile defense. It could serve Japan as well. A Japanese Missile Defense Center, linked to the JNIC and other simulation centers in the U.S. along with other cooperating allies would be an enormous stride forward in the area of global missile defense. We continue to stress this idea to you for your serious consideration.

The Japanese government has recognized that the gathering danger of ballistic missiles requires an investment in sensors capable of tracking hostile missiles in all phases of flight. Moving forward with the investigation and development of space based assets for missile defense is not only a wise, but an essential step in the evolution of the Japanese missile defense architecture.

As the fourth nation to launch a satellite, Japan has considerable experience in civilian-related space technology. And anyone who knows this country has no doubts to the expertise it brings to any technological endeavor. The only questions are: how to do it best . . . how to do it most economically . . . and how to do it quickly. We believe the answers all point to space systems already far along in development, and specifically systems like DSP- Defense Support Program, SBIRS-H Space Based Infrared System High, and STSS -Space Tracking and Surveillance System.

## **STSS Overview**

As an example of the benefits of space based assets, STSS will consist of multiple low-earth orbit satellites, designed for continuous surveillance and tracking. Once deployed, the system helps address an array of problems, both technical and strategic.

From a technological standpoint, this space-based asset far exceeds existing surveillance coverage. Current technologies are capable of detecting and characterizing ballistic missile launches in the boost phase, and tracking and discrimination in the late-terminal phase of flight. This leaves largely uncovered the critical midcourse phase, when a missile can change course or deploy decoys and/or multiple re-entry vehicles.

We liken the problem to that of a baseball outfielder, who can see the ball as it leaves the hitters bat, but then loses the ball in the sun, and then must reacquire the ball to complete the catch. Obviously, his chances are far greater if he can keep his eye on the ball, at every stage of its trajectory, and position himself for the catch. In the same way, our ability to engage and destroy a ballistic missile is greatly increased if we can track it and cue the defensive weapon systems at every stage of the trajectory. SBIRS-H and STSS will give us that critical surveillance and midcourse coverage, and thus improve response times and provide a greater area of coverage in the event of an attack.

### **Defended Area Coverage Increase with Space Based Assets**

You can see from the chart on display that the geographical area defended increases significantly by adding the early warning IR detection capabilities of systems like SBIRS-H and DSP, and the coverage area expands even further when a space system like STSS provides continuous tracking and relays that information to the interceptor, enabling earlier and more frequent shot opportunities.

From an alliance and a strategic perspective, these space-based assets will work best when knowledge is shared, and the information gained is used by different nations operating their defenses in concert. Space systems could serve as a great adhesive, binding our missile-defense forces with interoperable technologies and joint situational awareness. Space based systems with accompanying capabilities would provide a common and continuous picture to all of the components of our missile defense efforts as well as to all allies who cooperate to receive it.

As a further advantage, the STSS system is a classic example of spiral development in action. It drew upon existing satellite and ground systems' hardware and software. Once fielded, it will be highly adaptable to upgrades as missile threats evolve and change. Should Japan choose to cooperate in this system, it can have a fielded tracking and surveillance capability far earlier than would otherwise be possible – and one that would provide a far more comprehensive view of the unfolding situation than practically any conceivable alternative. Japan could participate in a space capability that can be upgraded and refined as threats evolve and technology matures.

In the end, of course, these are matters for the leaders of the U.S.-Japanese alliance to determine. Our own conviction is that time is not on our side, and the high urgency of

the task makes a compelling case for the use of systems already far advanced in development. Should the Japanese government elect to use this system, it will save crucial years and billions of dollars, and we at Northrop-Grumman stand ready to work with you.

Twenty-nine years wearing the uniform of the United States taught me a few things about cooperation – about the spirit that makes men and nations of the world work together in times of danger. I’ve observed some similar things in the last two years, representing Northrop-Grumman in its work on missile defense.

We are all engaged in an enormous, monumental mission. It is one of the most consequential undertakings our two nations have ever begun. In the best case, a missile-defense shield will deter any enemy from attacking, and discourage others from acquiring nuclear weapons and the missiles with which to deliver them. In the worst case, a missile-defense shield will spare humanity from the nightmare of a successful nuclear attack – sparing the lives of tens of thousands or even millions of innocent people.

Either way, an awful lot rides on us. With the stakes so high, we serve more than any one corporation, more than any one nation. Everything will depend on our work now, and also in the years ahead.

With that, I thank you all for your kind attention here today. And I leave you now with a short video presentation entitled “Keeping Our Eye on the Ball.”

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