

# Union Calendar No. 287

104<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> SESSION

# H. R. 3144

**[Report No. 104-583, Part I]**

To establish a United States policy for the deployment of a national missile defense system, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 21, 1996

Mr. LIVINGSTON (for himself, Mr. GINGRICH, Mr. ARMEY, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. KASICH, Mr. HYDE, Mr. YOUNG of Florida, Mr. HUNTER, and Mr. HOKE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on National Security, and in addition to the Committee on International Relations, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

MAY 16, 1996

Report from the Committee on National Security

MAY 16, 1996

Referral to the Committee on International Relations extended for a period ending not later than May 16, 1996

MAY 16, 1996

Additional sponsors: Mr. BAKER of Louisiana, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. BARR of Georgia, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland, Mr. BARTON of Texas, Mr. BATEMAN, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mr. BLILEY, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. BONO, Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee, Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. CALLAHAN, Mr. CANADY of Florida, Mr. CHAMBLISS, Mrs. CHENOWETH, Mr. CHRYSLER, Mr. CLINGER, Mr. COBURN, Mr. COLLINS of Georgia, Mr. COX of California, Mr. CRAPO, Mr. CREMEANS, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. DELAY, Mr. DICKEY, Mr. DORNAN, Ms. DUNN of Washington, Mr. EMERSON, Mr. EHRlich, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FORBES, Mrs. FOWLER, Mr. FUNDERBURK, Mr. GEKAS, Mr. GILLMOR, Mr. GRAHAM, Ms. GREENE of Utah, Mr. HANSEN, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr.

HAYWORTH, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. HORN, Mr. HOSTETTLER, Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut, Mr. JONES, Mr. KIM, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. KOLBE, Mr. LAHOOD, Mr. LARGENT, Mr. LAUGHLIN, Mr. LEWIS of California, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. LINDER, Mr. LONGLEY, Mr. LUCAS of Oklahoma, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MCHUGH, Mr. MCINNIS, Mr. MCINTOSH, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. MANZULLO, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MICA, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. MYERS of Indiana, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. NEUMANN, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. PACKARD, Mr. ROTH, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. SCARBOROUGH, Mr. SHAW, Mr. SKEEN, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. STOCKMAN, Mr. STUMP, Mr. TALENT, Mr. THORNBERRY, Mr. TIAHRT, Mrs. VUCANOVICH, Mr. WAMP, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. WHITFIELD, Mr. WICKER, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska, Mr. ZELIFF, Mr. BAKER of California, Mr. BEREUTER, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. BUNN of Oregon, Mr. BUYER, Mr. CRANE, Mrs. CUBIN, Mr. DIAZ-BALART, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. DREIER, Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mr. FIELDS of Texas, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. GILCHREST, Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. HAYES, Mr. HEINEMAN, Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina, Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. KING, Mr. LIGHTFOOT, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. MCDADE, Mrs. MEYERS of Kansas, Mr. PARKER, Mr. PORTMAN, Ms. PRYCE, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. SALMON, Mrs. SEASTRAND, Mr. SHADEGG, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. TORKILDSEN, Mr. WALKER, Mr. WALSH, Mr. WOLF, Mr. COMBEST, Mr. COOLEY of Oregon, Mr. ENSIGN, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. FRISA, Mr. HERGER, Mr. HILLEARY, Ms. MOLINARI, Mr. POMBO, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. RIGGS, Mr. ROGERS, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina, Mr. ROHRABACHER, Mr. HANCOCK, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. WELLER, and Mr. SCHAEFER)

MAY 16, 1996

Committee on International Relations discharged; committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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## A BILL

To establish a United States policy for the deployment of a national missile defense system, and for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
 2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION. 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “Defend America Act  
3 of 1996”.

4 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

5 Congress makes the following findings:

6 (1) Although the United States possesses the  
7 technological means to develop and deploy defensive  
8 systems that would be highly effective in countering  
9 limited ballistic missile threats to its territory, the  
10 United States has not deployed such systems and  
11 currently has no policy to do so.

12 (2) The threat that is posed to the national se-  
13 curity of the United States by the proliferation of  
14 ballistic missiles is significant and growing, both  
15 quantitatively and qualitatively.

16 (3) The trend in ballistic missile proliferation is  
17 toward longer range and increasingly sophisticated  
18 missiles.

19 (4) Several countries that are hostile to the  
20 United States (including North Korea, Iran, Libya,  
21 and Iraq) have demonstrated an interest in acquir-  
22 ing ballistic missiles capable of reaching the United  
23 States.

24 (5) The Intelligence Community of the United  
25 States has confirmed that North Korea is developing

1 an intercontinental ballistic missile that will be capa-  
2 ble of reaching Alaska or beyond once deployed.

3 (6) There are ways for determined countries to  
4 acquire missiles capable of threatening the United  
5 States with little warning by means other than in-  
6 digenous development.

7 (7) Because of the dire consequences to the  
8 United States of not being prepared to defend itself  
9 against a rogue missile attack and the long-lead time  
10 associated with preparing an effective defense, it is  
11 prudent to commence a national missile defense de-  
12 ployment effort before new ballistic missile threats to  
13 the United States are unambiguously confirmed.

14 (8) The timely deployment by the United States  
15 of an effective national missile defense system will  
16 reduce the incentives for countries to develop or oth-  
17 erwise acquire intercontinental ballistic missiles,  
18 thereby inhibiting as well as countering the pro-  
19 liferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruc-  
20 tion.

21 (9) Deployment by the United States of a na-  
22 tional missile defense system will reduce concerns  
23 about the threat of an accidental or unauthorized  
24 ballistic missile attack on the United States.

1           (10) The offense-only approach to strategic de-  
2           terrence presently followed by the United States and  
3           Russia is fundamentally adversarial and is not a  
4           suitable basis for stability in a world in which the  
5           United States and the states of the former Soviet  
6           Union are seeking to normalize relations and elimi-  
7           nate Cold War attitudes and arrangements.

8           (11) Pursuing a transition to a form of strate-  
9           gic deterrence based increasingly on defensive capa-  
10          bilities and strategies is in the interest of all coun-  
11          tries seeking to preserve and enhance strategic sta-  
12          bility.

13          (12) The deployment of a national missile de-  
14          fense system capable of defending the United States  
15          against limited ballistic missile attacks would (A)  
16          strengthen deterrence at the levels of forces agreed  
17          to by the United States and Russia under the  
18          START I Treaty, and (B) further strengthen deter-  
19          rence if reductions below START I levels are imple-  
20          mented in the future.

21          (13) Article XIII of the ABM Treaty envisions  
22          “possible changes in the strategic situation which  
23          have a bearing on the provisions of this treaty”.

24          (14) Articles XIII and XIV of the treaty estab-  
25          lish means for the parties to amend the treaty, and

1 the parties have in the past used those means to  
2 amend the treaty.

3 (15) Article XV of the treaty establishes the  
4 means for a party to withdraw from the treaty, upon  
5 six months notice “if it decides that extraordinary  
6 events related to the subject matter of this treaty  
7 have jeopardized its supreme interests”.

8 (16) Previous discussions between the United  
9 States and Russia, based on Russian President  
10 Yeltsin’s proposal for a Global Protection System,  
11 envisioned an agreement to amend the ABM Treaty  
12 to allow (among other measures) deployment of as  
13 many as four ground-based interceptor sites in addi-  
14 tion to the one site permitted under the ABM Trea-  
15 ty and unrestricted exploitation of sensors based  
16 within the atmosphere and in space.

17 **SEC. 3. NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY.**

18 (a) It is the policy of the United States to deploy by  
19 the end of 2003 a National Missile Defense system that—

20 (1) is capable of providing a highly-effective de-  
21 fense of the territory of the United States against  
22 limited, unauthorized, or accidental ballistic missile  
23 attacks; and

1           (2) will be augmented over time to provide a  
2 layered defense against larger and more sophisti-  
3 cated ballistic missile threats as they emerge.

4           (b) It is the policy of the United States to seek a  
5 cooperative transition to a regime that does not feature  
6 an offense-only form of deterrence as the basis for strate-  
7 gic stability.

8 **SEC. 4. NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM ARCHITEC-**  
9 **TURE.**

10          (a) **REQUIREMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SYS-**  
11 **TEM.**—To implement the policy established in section  
12 3(a), the Secretary of Defense shall develop for deploy-  
13 ment an affordable and operationally effective National  
14 Missile Defense (NMD) system which shall achieve an ini-  
15 tial operational capability (IOC) by the end of 2003.

16          (b) **ELEMENTS OF THE NMD SYSTEM.**—The system  
17 to be developed for deployment shall include the following  
18 elements:

19           (1) An interceptor system that optimizes defen-  
20 sive coverage of the continental United States, Alas-  
21 ka, and Hawaii against limited, accidental, or unau-  
22 thorized ballistic missile attacks and includes one or  
23 a combination of the following:

24                   (A) Ground-based interceptors.

25                   (B) Sea-based interceptors.

1 (C) Space-based kinetic energy intercep-  
2 tors.

3 (D) Space-based directed energy systems.

4 (2) Fixed ground-based radars.

5 (3) Space-based sensors, including the Space  
6 and Missile Tracking System.

7 (4) Battle management, command, control, and  
8 communications (BM/C<sup>3</sup>).

9 **SEC. 5. IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE**  
10 **SYSTEM.**

11 The Secretary of Defense shall—

12 (1) upon the enactment of this Act, promptly  
13 initiate required preparatory and planning actions  
14 that are necessary so as to be capable of meeting the  
15 initial operational capability (IOC) date specified in  
16 section 4(a);

17 (2) plan to conduct by the end of 1998 an inte-  
18 grated systems test which uses elements (including  
19 BM/C<sup>3</sup> elements) that are representative of, and  
20 traceable to, the national missile defense system ar-  
21 chitecture specified in section 4(b);

22 (3) prescribe and use streamlined acquisition  
23 policies and procedures to reduce the cost and in-  
24 crease the efficiency of developing the system speci-  
25 fied in section 4(a); and



1           (4) develop an affordable national missile de-  
2       fense follow-on program that—

3           (A) leverages off of the national missile de-  
4       fense system specified in section 4(a), and

5           (B) augments that system, as the threat  
6       changes, to provide for a layered defense.

7 **SEC. 6. REPORT ON PLAN FOR NATIONAL MISSILE DE-**  
8           **FENSE SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOY-**  
9           **MENT.**

10       Not later than March 15, 1997, the Secretary of De-  
11       fense shall submit to Congress a report on the Secretary's  
12       plan for development and deployment of a national missile  
13       defense system pursuant to this Act. The report shall in-  
14       clude the following matters:

15           (1) The Secretary's plan for carrying out this  
16       Act, including—

17           (A) a detailed description of the system ar-  
18       chitecture selected for development under sec-  
19       tion 4(b); and

20           (B) a discussion of the justification for the  
21       selection of that particular architecture.

22           (2) The Secretary's estimate of the amount of  
23       appropriations required for research, development,  
24       test, evaluation, and for procurement, for each of  
25       fiscal years 1997 through 2003 in order to achieve

1 the initial operational capability date specified in  
2 section 4(a).

3 (3) A cost and operational effectiveness analysis  
4 of follow-on options to improve the effectiveness of  
5 such system.

6 (4) A determination of the point at which any  
7 activity that is required to be carried out under this  
8 Act would conflict with the terms of the ABM Trea-  
9 ty, together with a description of any such activity,  
10 the legal basis for the Secretary's determination, and  
11 an estimate of the time at which such point would  
12 be reached in order to meet the initial operational  
13 capability date specified in section 4(a).

14 **SEC. 7. POLICY REGARDING THE ABM TREATY.**

15 (a) ABM TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.—In light of the  
16 findings in section 2 and the policy established in section  
17 3, Congress urges the President to pursue high-level dis-  
18 cussions with the Russian Federation to achieve an agree-  
19 ment to amend the ABM Treaty to allow deployment of  
20 the national missile defense system being developed for de-  
21 ployment under section 4.

22 (b) REQUIREMENT FOR SENATE ADVICE AND CON-  
23 SENT.—If an agreement described in subsection (a) is  
24 achieved in discussions described in that subsection, the  
25 President shall present that agreement to the Senate for

1 its advice and consent. No funds appropriated or otherwise  
2 available for any fiscal year may be obligated or expended  
3 to implement such an amendment to the ABM Treaty un-  
4 less the amendment is made in the same manner as the  
5 manner by which a treaty is made.

6 (c) ACTION UPON FAILURE TO ACHIEVE NEGO-  
7 TIATED CHANGES WITHIN ONE YEAR.—If an agreement  
8 described in subsection (a) is not achieved in discussions  
9 described in that subsection within one year after the date  
10 of the enactment of this Act, the President and Congress,  
11 in consultation with each other, shall consider exercising  
12 the option of withdrawing the United States from the  
13 ABM Treaty in accordance with the provisions of Article  
14 XV of that treaty.

15 **SEC. 8. ABM TREATY DEFINED.**

16 For purposes of this Act, the term “ABM Treaty”  
17 means the Treaty Between the United States of America  
18 and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limita-  
19 tion of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, and signed at Mos-  
20 cow on May 26, 1972, and includes the Protocols to that  
21 Treaty, signed at Moscow on July 3, 1974.



Union Calendar No. 287

104<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
2<sup>D</sup> Session

**H. R. 3144**

[Report No. 104-583, Part I]

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## **A BILL**

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