

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES
EUROPEAN COMMAND AND UNITED STATES
TRANSPORTATION COMMAND IN REVIEW OF
THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST
FOR FISCAL YEAR 2022 AND
THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM.

Tuesday, April 13, 2021

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1 TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND AND
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5
6 Tuesday, April 13, 2021

7
8 U.S. Senate

9 Committee on Armed Services

10 Washington, D.C.

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12 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m. in
13 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack Reed,
14 chairman of the committee, presiding.

15 Committee members present: Senators Reed [presiding],
16 Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King,
17 Peters, Manchin, Duckworth, Rosen, Kelly, Inhofe, Wicker,
18 Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Cramer,
19 Scott, Blackburn, Hawley, and Tuberville.

1 OEPNING STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM
2 RHODE ISLAND

3 Chairman Reed: Let me call the hearing to order.

4 This morning, the Committee will receive testimony from
5 General Wolters, Commander, United States European Command,
6 EUCOM, and NATO Supreme Allied Commander Europe, and General
7 Lyons, Commander, United States Transportation Command,
8 TRANSCOM.

9 Thank you both for the many decades of military service
10 and please extend our appreciation to the men and women
11 serving under your command.

12 And General Lyons, this is likely your last hearing
13 before the Committee and on behalf of my colleagues, I want
14 to thank you, and your family, for a lifetime of dedication
15 and service to the nation, which continues with your son,
16 who is now a cadet at West Point. So, the tradition goes
17 forward. Thank you.

18 The security challenges in the EUCOM area of
19 responsibility grow more complex each year. Russia
20 continues to subvert the rules-based international order,
21 including using military force to intimidate and coerce its
22 neighbors and to undermine their sovereignty. Russia is
23 also engaged in an ongoing hybrid warfare campaign just
24 below the threshold of conflict that would provoke a
25 military response, including disinformation campaigns

1 targeting democratic processes and fomenting discord,
2 extensive cyber espionage efforts, and the continued use of
3 proxy groups to further Russian interests in numerous
4 countries around the world. Combating the Russian hybrid
5 threat requires a whole of government effort.

6 And, General Wolters, I will be interested to hear your
7 views on the military means required as part of that whole
8 of government effort, as well as what support we can provide
9 our allies and partners as they seek to counter Russian
10 malign influence.

11 Last week EUCOM raised its watch condition level in
12 Ukraine from "possible crisis" to "potential imminent
13 crisis" in response to significant Russian military activity
14 in Ukraine and across Europe. The Committee will benefit
15 from your assessment of the current security situation and
16 an update on EUCOM's engagements with partners and allies in
17 response to the Ukrainian situation.

18 Consistent with the 2018 National Defense Strategy,
19 EUCOM continues to refine the operational concepts, plans,
20 and programs necessary to counter Russia in the strategic
21 competition that defines this theater. The U.S. must ensure
22 a combat-credible military deterrent against Russia's
23 ambitions to threaten the sovereignty of our allies and
24 partners.

25 General Wolters, the Committee would like to hear your

1 views on the posture and investments necessary to attain and
2 maintain deterrence.

3 Turning to TRANSCOM, the men and women of TRANSCOM
4 perform duties that sustain the whole of the Department of
5 Defense, in protecting our nation's security. With the
6 competitive edge in its ability to deploy and sustain
7 America's armed forces, TRANSCOM provides DOD with unique
8 capabilities that we have come to expect and, perhaps too
9 frequently, take for granted. TRANSCOM forces are busy
10 supporting all of the combatant commanders every day, and
11 without them, the United States would be at a significant
12 disadvantage almost everywhere in the world.

13 General Lyons, last year you were adamant about
14 retaining air fueling capability because you felt that
15 TRANSCOM was at the minimum acceptable levels for meeting
16 peacetime demand for tanker capacity. This year, I
17 understand the Air Mobility Command believes that TRANSCOM
18 can rely on some contribution of the KC-46 tankers even
19 though the KC-46 is not able to conduct unrestricted
20 operations. I would be interested in any information you
21 can share on this situation.

22 Our global transportation capability, owned or managed
23 by TRANSCOM, has been one of our asymmetric advantages for
24 many years now. However, we cannot assume that potential
25 adversaries will allow us free rein in this area in the

1 future. Two years ago, the Committee decided that the
2 Department needed to continue the analytical effort to
3 identify requirements because the studies presented at that
4 time did not reflect implementation of the National Defense
5 Strategy. General Lyons, perhaps you could give us an
6 update on where TRANSCOM stands in updating this analysis.

7 General Lyons, you have initiated a program to contract
8 out management of the Defense Personal Property Program
9 (DP3) that handles the movement of household goods for DOD.

10 Under this plan, a contractor team would be responsible
11 for issuing contracts to individual movers and carriers,
12 rather than the U.S Government.

13 After a competition last year, TRANSCOM awarded the
14 contract, but the losing bidders protested the award, and
15 GAO upheld the protest. General Lyons, I would be
16 interested in hearing about the status of this program.

17 Finally, TRANSCOM also faces a unique set of cyber
18 threats because of the command's extensive work with
19 private-sector entities in the transportation and shipping
20 industries. General Lyons, the Committee would appreciate
21 an update on TRANSCOM's effort to improve its cybersecurity
22 posture.

23 Again, thank you both again for being here this
24 morning, and I look forward to your testimony.

25 And before I turn it over to Senator Inhofe, I would

1 just note, for my colleagues, that there will be an informal
2 classified briefing immediately following this session in
3 the Senate Security Building Office in the [inaudible].

4 Senator Inhofe, please?

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM
2 OKLAHOMA

3 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 And I would just acknowledge both of our witnesses as
5 very good friends and I would say to General Lyons, it is
6 not too late to change your mind.

7 As stated, many times before, this committee's top
8 priority is to ensure the effective implementation of the
9 NDS, the National Defense Strategy, which focuses on China
10 and Russia as the primary threats to our national security.

11 That means that we have to ensure that our combatant
12 commands have what they need to address the challenges in
13 this strategic competition. And we are going to be talking
14 about that with both of our witnesses, and you have got to
15 be really, and I am sure you will be, very straightforward
16 with some of the reductions that, as I see, are not going to
17 be desirable.

18 I want to highlight that Russia's recent activities
19 regarding Ukraine are very concerning. At the same time,
20 Russia and China, these threats are converging in Europe
21 with an ever-more aggressive China seeking influence and
22 threatening security through the economic coercion.

23 These growing threats, there are three that highlight
24 the value of our 2018 NDS and, secondly, they illustrate why
25 we should not be reducing defense spending, and, thirdly,

1 demonstrate the critical need for more advanced capabilities
2 like the F-35, to detour Russia, particularly since there
3 have been some controversy over that from some of the
4 leadership of this administration.

5 TRANSCOM is focused on a full-spectrum mobility
6 operations to meet requirements needed to combat both,
7 Russia and China, as well as support any other global
8 engagements, from training to force projection to forward
9 deployed forces.

10 And I encouraged to hear the administration's voice's
11 strong support for NATO, but, you know, the rhetoric is
12 easy. We want to make sure we have the resources to support
13 those statements that are being made.

14 General Wolters, I look forward to hearing about the
15 priorities for the European Deterrence Initiative and where
16 else we need to bolster our defenses to address threats you
17 see growing every day.

18 General Lyons, I would like to know the status of our
19 refueling capability that the chairman has always addressed,
20 as well as, he has addressed the global household goods
21 contacts. We have some specific questions about that.

22 And, finally, whether this morning or in our classified
23 session, I would like to hear from both of you as to how
24 this contested environment impacts mobility operations.

25 General Lyons, you have been a friend for a long time,

1 and as I said, it is not too late.

2 Mr. Chairman?

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

4 Now, let me recognize General Wolters for your opening
5 statement.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL TOD D. WOLTERS, COMMANDER, UNITED
2 STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND/NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
3 SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE

4 General Wolters: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe,
5 distinguished members of the committee, on behalf of the
6 men, women, and families who so I have the nation in the
7 Euro-Atlantic, we want to thank you one more time for your
8 steadfast support. It remains a privilege to serve
9 alongside these patriots and our like-minded allies and
10 partners.

11 It is great to be lying abreast with our distinguished
12 USTRANSCOM commander, General Steve Lyons. He has led with
13 distinction for the last 2 and a half years in his capacity
14 and over the last year, he has been pivotal in not allowing
15 the pandemic to transform into a security crisis, and we
16 thank him for his blood, sweat, and tears to the nation.

17 We would also like to pass our condolences to those
18 impacted by COVID-19. The battle against the virus
19 continues and we must remain vigilant.

20 We are fully aligned with Secretary Austin's priorities
21 to defend the nation, take care of our people, and succeed
22 through teamwork. Via NATO, we work closely with our allies
23 and partners to address the evolving challenges posed by our
24 adversaries to secure peace, and protect our interests
25 abroad. NATO remains the strategic center of gravity and

1 the foundation of deterrence and assurance in Europe.

2 Everything we do is about generating peace. We compete
3 to win. We deter, and if deterrence fails, we are prepared
4 to respond to aggression with the full weight of the
5 Transatlantic Alliance.

6 The United States' relationships with European allies
7 and partners remains a key, strategic advantage and we must
8 defend it. We live in an increasingly complex and contested
9 world. Political uncertainty, energy competition, and
10 diffusion of disruptive technology are stressing the
11 established rules-based international order. Threats and
12 challengers seek to take advantage of these conditions
13 through aggressive action using all instruments of national
14 power and they are backed by increasingly capable military
15 forces. Adversaries amplify these malign activities and
16 foster instability with disinformation.

17 Success in Twenty-First Century warfare demands that we
18 embrace competition and all of its associated activities
19 below the level of armed conflict. This is actually as
20 critical as our preparation for crisis or conflict,
21 themselves. We are in an era of strategic competition and
22 winning in this era is all about ensuring that strategic
23 competition does not morph into a global conflict.

24 One notable example of operations, activities, and
25 investments contributing to competition and deterrence, it

1 is our robust exercise program. This summer, when we
2 execute our Defender series exercises, composed of USEUCOM's
3 Defender Europe, and NATO's steadfast defender, 30,000 U.S.
4 servicemembers, allies, and partners from all warfare
5 domains, will demonstrate their ability to lift and shift
6 massive forces over large swaths of territory at speed, and
7 at scale, from the Atlantic, to the eastern periphery of the
8 European continent. And once our troopers are on station,
9 they will sharpen their responsiveness, resiliency, and
10 lethality.

11 Our current security posture is strong, yet challenged,
12 as evidenced by actions in the vicinity of Ukraine. We
13 possess combat-credible capability across all domains: air,
14 land, sea, space, and cyber. We will maintain and work to
15 hone this capability to deter our adversaries and defensive
16 partners in our interests.

17 The soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, guardians,
18 Coast Guardsmen, and civilians of USEUCOM, appreciate your
19 support to defend the homeland forward and preserve peace
20 for the 1 billion citizens living in the Euro-Atlantic.

21 Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, thank you, again,
22 for this opportunity, and I look forward to fielding your
23 questions.

24 [The prepared of General Wolters follows:]

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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General Wolters.
2 Now, let me recognize General Lyons.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL STEPHEN R. LYONS, COMMANDER,
2 UNITED STATES TRANSPORTATION COMMAND

3 General Lyons: Chairman, can you hear me okay?

4 Chairman Reed: Great. Yes, sir.

5 General Lyons: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe,
6 and distinguished members of the committee, it is my
7 distinct pleasure, once again, to represent the members of
8 the United States Transportation Command that are operating
9 around the globe every day, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

10 I have the privilege today to be joined by our new
11 senior enlisted leader, Fleet Master Sergeant Myrick, and it
12 is great to have him onboard.

13 Let me just say again that our enduring purpose at
14 TRANSCOM is to project and sustain military forces globally
15 at our time and place of choosing. Providing our national
16 leadership with the strategic comparative advantage and a
17 wide range of options to enable the advancement of U.S.
18 national interests, assure our allies and partners, and if
19 necessary, respond with a decisive force to win.

20 Given the unprecedented challenges amid the COVID-19
21 pandemic, I could not be more proud of the men and women of
22 TRANSCOM, who have continued their impressive support to the
23 joint force and support to whole of Government efforts to
24 help American citizens at home.

25 I would particularly like to highlight our air

1 component's rapid fielding capability to move highly
2 infectious patients, which was nation prior to the pandemic.

3 I appreciate the Committee's continued support on
4 important global mobility issues, including sealift
5 recapitalization, aerial refueling, defense personal
6 property, as well as your acknowledgment of the future
7 challenges and logistics operations under all domain
8 persistent attack.

9 Today, I am absolutely honored to join General Tod
10 Wolters and pleased to play a supporting role in his wide-
11 ranging European defense initiatives. Thank you for your
12 leadership and support and for our impressive TRANSCOM
13 teammates, and I look forward to your questions.

14 [The prepared statement of General Lyons follows:]

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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General Lyons.

2 And before we begin the questioning, let me just remind
3 my colleagues, due to the nature of the hybrid format we are
4 using today, we will handle the order of questions by
5 seniority, alternating sides until we have gone through
6 everyone, and if there is anyone we have missed we will go
7 back.

8 And we will use the standard 5-minute rounds. I am
9 going to ask my colleagues to keep a watch on the clock.

10 And, finally, if you aren't engaged, please keep your
11 microphones muted. Thank you very, very much.

12 General Wolters, today, it was reported that Secretary
13 Austin announced an additional 500 troops going into Europe,
14 which seems to be a reversal of the Trump administration's
15 proposals to reduce forces in Europe.

16 Can you comment on this increase in forces.

17 General Wolters: I can, Chairman.

18 We are very expedited. They are part of the previous
19 tranche of forces that were nest underneath DP2, Decision
20 Program 2, and its focus is to deliver a multi-domain task
21 force in a joint-theater spy organization to Wiesbaden,
22 Germany, and that will be approximately 500 soldiers. And
23 that will improve our ability, in all domains, to bring
24 fires from the surface-to-surface dimension to increase our
25 ability to deter.

1 Chairman Reed: From your first review of the proposed
2 budget, do you feel that you will have adequate resources to
3 meet all of your obligations?

4 General Wolters: We do, Chairman, but as you well
5 know, we are always interested in working to increase our
6 competitive advantage. But we do have the adequate
7 resources.

8 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.

9 General Lyons, as I indicated in my opening remarks, we
10 have asked for the mobility requirement study. It is still
11 in the works. When will we see that report and can you give
12 us some initial reactions to date as to what your
13 prognostication is about the report.

14 General Lyons: Chairman, let me first say thank you
15 for your continued advocating and support, as you have
16 directed multiple Mobility Capabilities and Requirements
17 Study. And the 2020 study is due to be delivered in June,
18 mid-June.

19 I can tell you, you know, as a task for the study, it
20 was to assess the program force. We are looking at that in
21 the context of our current demands in terms of war plans,
22 but also in future concepts. As we look at that, there are
23 some areas we see will require some work in some areas of
24 elevated risk.

25 I would just ask for your continued support for

1 example, for sealift modernization, which this Committee has
2 been very supportive in our efforts to do so, thus far.

3 And so, without getting too far ahead of the analysis,
4 because I want the analysis to drive the conclusions, that
5 report is due to you soon, sir.

6 Chairman Reed: Thank you, sir.

7 One of the issues, and it represents the transition
8 from benign areas of operations, particularly for logistics
9 to contested operations, is the problem of potential
10 attrition during wartime.

11 And do you feel that that will be adequately addressed
12 in the study?

13 General Lyons: Senator, we certainly are looking at
14 contested environments. There is no question that we can't
15 assume that we can deploy when we want, and how we want,
16 where we want, perhaps as we have been able to do in the
17 last several decades.

18 But as we look to attrition, per se, in terms of force-
19 sizing, as a departmental policy, we don't include attrition
20 in the force-sizing construct, but we do understand the
21 implications for contested environments on our ability to
22 support a particular COCOM or the Department's priorities,
23 and so, we will see that in elevated risk.

24 I would just offer, though, that and often is the case,
25 the solution may not be in more capacity, in mobility

1 capacity, but may come in better integration of our
2 warfighting functions, like protection, fires, intelligence,
3 sustainment, et cetera.

4 So, as we look to the future, we know we have to move
5 in that direction, and I am very pleased to see the chairman
6 and the Department, you know, identifying that as a major
7 line of effort in our joint warfighting concept.

8 Chairman Reed: Well, thank you.

9 General Wolters and also General Lyons, this goes to a
10 point of our effective connectivity that every part of the
11 operation can talk uninterruptedly and hopefully encrypted.

12 Is that something that you and General Nakasone are
13 working on with others, General Wolters?

14 General Wolters: We are, Chairman.

15 One of our key pillars in our overall campaign to
16 effectively win in competition is to continually improve our
17 command and control and communications, and to do so in all
18 domains. And we are really pleased to report that with
19 General Nakasone being the sole military commander in U.S.
20 military cyber domain, the direction and guidance has been
21 much clearer over the course of the last 24 months and we
22 have been able to make improvements in Europe, with respect
23 to our ability to command and control.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you.

25 And General Lyons, quick comments, please.

1 General Lyons: Yes, sir. I would just reenforce cyber
2 resiliency continues to remain a top priority for the
3 command.

4 General Nakasone, the NSA, CYBERCOM has been
5 extraordinarily supportive; in fact, we are his test bed for
6 Zero Trust principles, and we have taken many other
7 initiatives to buy down cyber risk.

8 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, sir.

9 Senator Inhofe, please.

10 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 General Wolters, I would just like to ask, I have 3
12 questions that I am going to try to get around in this short
13 period of time.

14 In the book, and we have all been talking about this
15 now, ever since 2018 when this came out, the recommendation
16 said it is going to take 3 to 5 percent real annual Defense
17 spending growth to implement the NDS and I really believe
18 that is true.

19 Now, the current budget doesn't even keep even, keep up
20 with inflation. Now, this is kind of an "if" question,
21 General Wolters. If the Defense budget shrinks and the
22 European Deterrence Initiative gets cut, what would be the
23 impact to your efforts in Europe, just off the top, if that
24 happens.

25 General Wolters: Senator, it would slow down our

1 campaign momentum that we have been able to sustain for the
2 last 4 years in improving our indications and warnings, our
3 command and control, and our readiness.

4 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Okay. Thank you very much.

5 Now, General Wolters, I also mentioned, you and I
6 talked about this in my office, it is unfortunate, but a lot
7 of people in this administration are talking about the F-35
8 and some don't think it is worth the resources that it is
9 detracting from other areas.

10 And I am so thankful that I have the memory of what
11 happened back in, actually, it started out when I was in the
12 House of Representatives, on The House Armed Services
13 Committee, on the F-22. The F-22 and the F-35 are the only
14 two vehicles out there in the fifth generation. So, the F-
15 22 was the first one.

16 We started out with, the goal was 700 copies were going
17 to come and they started whittling down. It started,
18 actually, when I was still over in the House side, and it
19 went down to, from 700 to, incrementally reduced to,
20 ultimately, it got down to, what was it, 187 F-22s. And we
21 knew that was a mistake at that time. And the reason I
22 bring that up is that right now we have Russia and China
23 pursuing their own fifth generation programs like the J-20
24 and the Su-57.

25 How concerned are you about our great power

1 competitors' fifth generation capabilities, and how
2 important is the F-35 to deter these threats in Europe?

3 General Wolters: Senator, the F-35 is very important.

4 As I mentioned in my opening comments, our disposition,
5 from the military perspective, is strong, yet challenged,
6 and part of that challenge is the evolution of the Su-37,
7 fifth-generation aircraft, on behalf of the Russians. And
8 we, in the U.S., need F-35s in Europe, which will begin to
9 show up in the fall of 2021, to ensure that we have the
10 competitive advantage necessary to protect our sovereign
11 territory.

12 Senator Inhofe: All right. That is good.

13 And during last year's posture hearing, General Lyons,
14 you testified that the Air Force's divestment of the KC-135
15 and the KC-10 would put TRANSCOM below its minimum
16 requirements, and that is in light of the fact that the KC-
17 46 didn't come out the way we wanted it to, and yet, it took
18 action from the NDAA from 2020 to reverse the number of
19 those divestments to ensure that TRANSCOM has enough
20 refueling capacity to meet the requirements.

21 Now, I would have to say, and you may want to elaborate
22 on this maybe for the record, but I look at this and say,
23 what is wrong with our requirements process when Congress
24 has to step in to ensure they have enough tanker aircraft to
25 stay the mission ready.

1 I mean, your observation was right, that it took us
2 action to make sure that that happened in our fiscal year
3 2021 NDAA.

4 Does anything come to your mind as in terms of why it
5 is necessary for us to do this and why this couldn't have
6 been done before our action was necessary?

7 General Lyons: Well, Senator, first, I want to thank
8 you for your support on the issue of aerial refuel, which is
9 such a critical force element, and basically the lifeblood
10 for the joint force, in terms of our weapon systems.

11 Last year, you asked the question, what was the
12 implications operationally to delay the Boeing KC-46
13 delivery?

14 And based on the retirement profile, the war
15 implications, and the active-duty component to respond to
16 day-to-day crisis, I am happy and pleased to report to you
17 this year that we are in a much better position. We have a
18 very good alignment between the Department, between Air
19 Force, and TRANSCOM. The Air Force has stepped forward with
20 interim capability with the KC-46.

21 We still have a long way to go, but I am very, very
22 comfortable with where we are with the Air Force. The Air
23 Force has really stepped into position.

24 Senator Inhofe: So, you think that that has been
25 corrected?

1 General Lyons: I do, sir. It has been.

2 Senator Inhofe: All right. Thank you very much.

3 Mr. Chairman?

4 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

5 Senator Shaheen, please.

6 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

7 And thank you to both of you, General Wolters and
8 General Lyons, for your service and for being here this
9 morning.

10 General Wolters, I specially appreciated our
11 conversation yesterday, and one of the things you mentioned
12 in your opening remarks that we discussed briefly, is the
13 buildup of Russian forces on the border of Ukraine.

14 Do you have any view about what Russia is doing, are
15 they preparing for potential offenses? Is this consistent
16 with past Russian posturing? What are they doing?

17 General Wolters: Senator, we have categorized their
18 actions into 4 separate categories and I would enjoy the
19 opportunity at a different security environment to be able
20 to address that.

21 But what I can say is, number one, there has been an
22 inject of a very sizable ground domain force on behalf of
23 the Russians, a notable Air Force injection, and a notable
24 maritime force injection. And it is of the size and scale
25 and scope that is of great concern, and it mirrors the size

1 and scope and scale of the infiltration of forces that
2 occurred back in 2014.

3 So, we are remaining very, very vigilant, keeping as
4 many options open as possible, and obviously very concerned.

5 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I look forward to hearing
6 your comments in the classified session.

7 As the administration considers the best way forward in
8 Afghanistan, can you tell us what you think would be the
9 most significant impact of the withdrawal of American troops
10 by May 1 or shortly thereafter. How would that influence
11 both, NATO's role and what we might expect on the ground in
12 Afghanistan?

13 General Wolters: Senator, our number one concern at
14 USEUCOM, and my number one concern with my NATO head
15 [inaudible] is the force protection considerations for all
16 of our U.S. servicemembers and all of our NATO
17 servicemembers in whatever transaction that we engage in.

18 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I would, again, urge NATO
19 and everyone who is part of our mission, to include women at
20 the negotiating table, because we know that has a positive
21 impact on the stability of negotiations.

22 General Lyons, last spring, this is really to follow-up
23 on Senator's Inhofe's comments about the KC-46, because last
24 spring, you expressed real concerns about the retirement of
25 legacy refueling tankers, due to the delays with the KC-46,

1 and you had a brief exchange just know about that. But it
2 sounds like you may begin to assign KC-46 air crews to
3 operational missions as early that has summer.

4 So, what has changed and why do you feel like we should
5 begin doing that as early that has summer?

6 General Lyons: Ma'am, a couple of things have changed
7 since we talked about this last year. The first and
8 probably most important is that Boeing acknowledged and
9 agreed that they had the responsibility to fix the cat 1
10 deficiencies on the jet on the weapons system.

11 So, in that context, the Air Force has gone to work to
12 deliver interim capability. It will be fully operational,
13 but, again, certainly conduct missions. And they have
14 presented that capability over time, so that is important.
15 Plus, with an additional plus-up of Reserve Guard
16 augmentation in a slight adjustment in the retirement
17 profile against the KC-10, I am comfortable that we are in a
18 good position, based on the work the Air Force has done to
19 support day-to-day and crisis operations today.

20 Senator Shaheen: Well, I think that is very good news.

21 That is, obviously, welcomed news to all of the KC-46
22 crews, including those at the Pease National Guard Base,
23 where we were the first recipients of the KC-46. But I want
24 to ask you, because I understand there is an issue that I
25 had not heard about with respect to the transportable

1 gallery lavatory system; essentially, the bathrooms that
2 make missions problematic.

3 Is this a new problem or have we known about this and
4 what is the prospect to fix it?

5 General Lyons: Ma'am, on those kinds of issues, I
6 don't want to get in front of the Air Force. I will defer
7 the program manager.

8 There is a range of category deficiencies that are
9 being worked by both, the Air Force and Boeing. I don't
10 know enough to comment on that particular issue.

11 Senator Shaheen: Will it impact our ability to fly
12 missions with the KR-46 as early as this summer as you are
13 hoping?

14 General Lyons: I am not aware of any impact on initial
15 capability release, but that doesn't mean that there aren't
16 a wide range of deficiencies that still need to be remedied
17 you know, by Boeing, before the jet is fully operational and
18 capable.

19 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

22 Senator Wicker, please.

23 Senator Wicker: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

24 General Wolters, in a question from Senator Shaheen
25 about Russia, you mentioned they were increasing their

1 ground, air, and maritime efforts. In light of that, do you
2 continue to support the additional two destroyers based in
3 Rota?

4 General Wolters: I do, Senator.

5 And as you well know for the last 12 months, the
6 activity of the four destroyers that we have had access to,
7 have been pivotal in securing deterrence.

8 We also see increased maritime activity in the Arctic,
9 in the Barents, to the central portion of the Atlantic
10 Ocean, and the need for two additional destroyers in the
11 area of indications and warnings and command and control, as
12 well as, the lethality that they bring is what we need to
13 continue to work for to have that competitive edge to ensure
14 that we can continue to deter effectively.

15 Senator Wicker: Let's expand on the Arctic.

16 Now, China is an issue for us there, is it not, and can
17 you elaborate on that.

18 General Wolters: They are, Senator. Their investments
19 in ports is significant.

20 Senator Wicker: Do we have the capabilities we need to
21 deter Russia and China in the Arctic presently?

22 General Wolters: They do, and they are adequate, but
23 our growth isn't matching theirs.

24 Senator Wicker: Yeah, I heard you say adequate, in
25 response to Senator Inhofe's question, also, and you

1 mentioned an answer to a question that the recent budget
2 numbers will slow down readiness.

3 Let me just emphasize that we have in front of us the
4 leading expert in this area of the world and that sort of
5 merely adequate response and slow-down readiness is of
6 concern, I think, to members on both sides of the dais here.

7 One more thing. General Wolters, with regard to the
8 Coast Guard, they have a statutory mission, but, also, they
9 are very vital in assisting you with our national defense
10 requirements; is that correct?

11 General Wolters: It is, Senator. And as you know, the
12 Coast Guard actually recently produced an Arctic strategy.

13 And I will tell you as the commander of USEUCOM, there
14 were many identifications in that strategy that were very,
15 very helpful for future security in the Arctic region.

16 Senator Wicker: Thank you very much.

17 Let's, then, shift, General Lyons, to military sealift
18 and let you elaborate on an answer that you gave to Senator
19 Reed. The GAO reported last year that, quote, the U.S.
20 flag, fleet shipyards and workforce have been in decline and
21 the industry, as a whole, faces significant economic
22 sustainability challenges, unquote.

23 Do you agree with this assessment and can you discuss
24 how a diminished maritime industry impacts sealift do you
25 agree both, peacetime and conflict.

1 General Lyons: Senator, thanks for the question, and
2 more importantly, thanks for being a strong advocate for
3 sealift modernization and the acknowledgment of how
4 important sealift is to deliver decisive force.

5 I think you know that 33 of 50 of our roll-on/roll-off
6 ships will reach end of life over the next 10 years.
7 Industrial base is absolutely of critical importance and,
8 you know, we have advocated for an acquired-use strategy,
9 largely based on cost. There is a significant difference in
10 cost differential, but there is also work required in
11 conversion. So, we work closely with the Navy. I think the
12 Navy has got the best pulse on the industrial base with
13 regard to sealift.

14 Senator Wicker: How helpful in your judgment, are the
15 maritime security programs, stipends, and cargo-preference
16 laws in supporting the maritime industry?

17 General Lyons: Senator, I think they are critically
18 important. We must maintain a U.S. flag that is reliable
19 and accessible to support the Defense Department needs. So,
20 those are critical programs.

21 Senator Wicker: Thank you, gentlemen.

22 And, Mr. Chair, I would yield back 23 seconds.

23 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Wicker.

24 We will put that on your account.

25 And now, via Webex, Senator Gillibrand.

1 Senator Gillibrand: For General Wolters, I want to
2 just continue along the questions that Senator Wicker and
3 Senator Shaheen asked about Ukraine.

4 The U.S. began providing lethal aid to Ukraine based on
5 a 2014 authorization, The Support for Sovereignty,
6 Integrity, Democracy, Economic Stability of Ukraine Act of
7 2014. Do you believe that this lethal aid has helped
8 Ukraine to deter Russian aggression and what changes would
9 you make to our current lethal and non-lethal assistance to
10 Ukraine to help further a deterrence?

11 General Wolters: Senator, I think those contributions
12 have been very helpful. The other very notable change that
13 has occurred in the environment was the establishment of the
14 Multinational Joint Commission, which provided us an
15 architecture to be able to take an all-domain, whole-of-
16 Government approach to some of the challenge that has
17 occurred in Ukraine. And from that, we were able to
18 establish the Joint Military Training Group Ukraine that has
19 afforded the nations that are signators to the Multinational
20 Joint Commission, and many NATO allies and partners, to
21 contribute military training teams to episodically enter
22 Ukraine and help train some of their forces to better defend
23 their sovereign soil.

24 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

25 In the EUCOM domain and in many other places, we have

1 seen over the last decade, an increase in the strength and
2 engagement with illiberal political forces, including the
3 rise of totalitarianism, authoritarians, increasing pop
4 later of far-right political groups and leaders. And we
5 have seen significant democratic backsliding.

6 How do you see these forces affecting our efforts to
7 effectively deter Russia, strengthen our allies, and protect
8 the values we have shared with our European allies for
9 decades?

10 General Wolters: They are an impact, Senator, and
11 think we have to take a Whole-of-Government, whole-of-
12 alliance, whole-of-nation approach, and I think inside of
13 NATO, we have done a better job with that. Number one, we
14 are responsible, given our support to democratic values to
15 tell the truth and we continue to profess the truth in the
16 information environment and we are gaining campaign momentum
17 with nations that want to be part of the alliance of NATO.

18 Senator Gillibrand: For example?

19 General Wolters: Precisely what is going on today in
20 Ukraine with President Zelensky's open comments with respect
21 to his desire to look westward and assist towards NATO.

22 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

23 General Lyons, I want to ask a question about COVID.
24 In the early stages of the pandemic, some of the early
25 problems were faced were supply chain issues, including

1 getting PPE distribution, early-stage vaccine distribution.

2 Based off your testimony, TRANSCOM has been
3 instrumental in ensuring vaccine distribution was able to
4 ramp-up through a functioning supply chain. As we continue
5 vaccine distribution, what are some lessons learned that we
6 can apply to, improve our success to prepare for another
7 pandemic or other world emergency?

8 General Lyons: Ma'am, thanks for the question.

9 I have to say a large portion of the credit goes to
10 General Perna and the lead at Warp Speed and the Federal
11 Government effort. They worked through most of those
12 issues. We were a supporting effort where they needed
13 additional support.

14 I think there is a task force now, looking from a
15 national security perspective, that supply chain and
16 implications to national security and national defense, and
17 I think that is a worthy effort just to understand the
18 source of many of the critical manufacturing and supplies
19 and where they come from and where that supply chain might
20 be vulnerable.

21 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

22 Another question on supply chain. TRANSCOM is the
23 largest user of oil for the Federal Government and President
24 Biden's interim national strategic guidance lists the
25 climate crisis as one of our primary national security

1 threats. From increased major weather events to migration
2 crisis, due to climate change, fossil fuels should be at the
3 front of our minds for strategic planning.

4 What is TRANSCOM doing to mitigate these massive
5 expenditures of fossil fuels?

6 General Lyons: Well, ma'am, I first stated, to your
7 point, I think the Department clearly understands, we all
8 understand that climate is a driver of instability. And
9 where there is instability, there is potential implications
10 for the Department of Defense and for TRANSCOM.

11 The secretary has been clear. He is focused on climate
12 as a priority and has stood up, a lead in that area. I
13 think most of the efforts, to date, you know, you can
14 appreciate the level at the installation, base level.

15 I think in the operational energy realm, the sheer
16 consumption of liquid energy is going to be a challenge for
17 us, but it is something that we are going to have to take a
18 look at.

19 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Gillibrand.

22 Now, let me recognize Senator Fischer, via Webex.

23 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 And then, thank you, gentlemen, for being here today.

25 General Wolters, as you know, the 55th Wing is

1 headquartered in my state and the [inaudible] 135s and their
2 crews provide a valuable contribution to EUCOM's mission
3 from their base in [inaudible]. These planes provide a
4 unique capability, but I am concerned that our overall
5 demand for ISR is greater than the capability that we
6 currently possess.

7 For that reason, I believe that it is essential that we
8 not only continue investing in new ISR networks, but also
9 that we maintain and modernize the high-end capabilities
10 that we currently have in the RC-135 fleet.

11 In light of that, how does the RC-135 fit into your
12 current need for ISR, and if you could tell me overall what
13 the percentage of EUCOM's ISR requirements are currently
14 being met.

15 General Lyons: Senator, the RC-135 is pivotal in our
16 campaign with respect to indications and warnings and what
17 it does from an intelligence, surveillance, and
18 reconnaissance standpoint to see the environment. And as
19 you pointed out, and we discussed yesterday, I think the
20 concern we all have is when legacy systems go out and new
21 systems come onboard, it has the potential to create a
22 vacuum that the enemy can exploit. And we have to be rock-
23 solid in that transition to ensure that we have the
24 requisite ISR to be successful.

25 At USEUCOM, we have been very, very pleased over the

1 course of the last several years with the improvement of the
2 percentage of ISR that we have received. And a lot of that
3 is due to this committee and the support through the EDI.

4 Right now, we are hovering at about 33 to 35 percent of
5 our requirements being supported and compared to my brothers
6 and sisters in other geographical COCOMs, we are in good
7 shape.

8 Senator Fischer: Okay. Thank you.

9 General Lyons, in prior testimony, you said, quote, we
10 expect power projection will be contested in all domains,
11 end quote.

12 Your mission is uniquely challenging to perform in
13 contested spaces. Given that fact, what steps are you
14 taking to make TRANSCOM more resilient to these threats?

15 General Lyons: Senator, thanks for the question.

16 We fully acknowledge that the way we deployed in the
17 past isn't the way that we will deploy and sustain the force
18 in the future, and that we must be prepared to operate under
19 all domain persistent attack. In that realm, we have looked
20 at a wide range, as we look at the global mobility
21 enterprise, we look at our potential vulnerabilities and how
22 to buy down that risk.

23 One such area, of course, is cyber, but there is a full
24 range of areas. And to my point earlier about the
25 integration of protection and fires and intelligence with

1 the sustainment warfighting function will be critical as we,
2 you know, understand that the homeland is no longer a
3 sanctuary.

4 I have been very, very pleased with joint staff work on
5 the joint warfighting concept. That includes an entire line
6 of effort to elevate the importance of joint contested, a
7 joint concept on contested logistics.

8 Senator Fischer: And do you think it is vital that we
9 a start to rethink or continue to rethink some of the
10 fundamentals that are out there on how we operate logistics
11 support?

12 General Lyons: Senator, I believe that is --

13 Senator Fischer: And, really, if you could continue on
14 with that train on examining the existing platforms and
15 methods that we are currently using and looking at what is
16 needed in the future.

17 General Lyons: Yes, ma'am.

18 I think what is critical as we look to the joint
19 warfighting concept, so the character of warfare, as it
20 changes as we continue to evolve, will drive changes in the
21 character of logistics in the way that we are able to deploy
22 and sustain the force on a global scale. And so, we have
23 got to continuously adapt.

24 As we look at that and we understand those
25 implications, we may find ourselves changing the way we

1 fight, and I think, you know, in an all-domain set, we will,
2 and that will change the character logistics. But we must
3 be able to, as an imperative, to be able to project and
4 sustain the force over global distances as a strategic
5 comparative advantage.

6 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

7 General Wolters, one aspect of the previous
8 administration's realignment plan announced last year was an
9 increase in forces around the Black Sea. I know the broader
10 plan is currently under review, but can you talk about the
11 importance of the Black Sea region and the rationale for
12 increasing our presence there.

13 General Wolters: Yes, Senator. We produced a NATO
14 military strategy that stresses comprehensive defense and
15 shared response in all geographical regions, in all domains,
16 and seeking assistance from a whole-of-Government, whole-of-
17 nation. And in Europe, what we discovered is we have, over
18 the course of the last 3 years, had placed appropriate
19 interests in the vicinity of the Baltics and we needed to
20 make sure that we were giving the same due interest in the
21 vicinity of the Black Sea, because we had to shore up in all
22 geographical areas.

23 So, that has been our approach. It has been successful
24 and we will continue to comprehensively defend with shared
25 response.

1 Senator Fischer: Thank you, sir.

2 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Fischer.

4 Let me recognize Senator Blumenthal.

5 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 Thank you all for your service and thank you for being
7 here today.

8 Let me ask, first, on the topic of vaccines, I want to
9 follow-up on a couple of the questions that have been asked,
10 most recently, Senator Gillibrand. Do you know how many of
11 the men and women under your command, General, have been
12 vaccinated?

13 General Wolters: I do. Senator. We have a Tier 1
14 vaccination plan; Tier 1 constitutes those in military
15 uniform. We are at about 46 percent of that force being
16 completely vaccinated, those that needed two shots.

17 And we are forecasted, based on the arrival of future
18 vaccines, that have the entire Tier 1 force, those in
19 military in Europe, vaccinated by the middle of July.

20 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

21 And have you encountered resistance or hesitancy?

22 General Wolters: I'm sorry, Senator. I didn't catch
23 all your question.

24 Senator Blumenthal: Have you encountered resistance or
25 hesitancy among the men and women in your command, to being

1 vaccinated?

2 General Wolters: We have not. We have the traditional
3 deferral rate that we have seen across all of DOD, but our
4 percentages are within the norms and, actually, slightly
5 less.

6 Senator Blumenthal: Let me ask both of you, as you
7 well know, the Secretary of Defense ordered that there be a
8 review internally of white supremacists and extremist
9 ideology. Could you give us your assessment of whether
10 there is evidence of that impact or influence or adherence
11 among the men and women under your command.

12 General Lyons: Senator, I will take that, and I
13 appreciate the question, because I think this is a
14 critically important issue, not just for today, but into the
15 future.

16 Anything, I any, right, that degrades or violates our
17 oath to the Constitution is incompatible with good order and
18 discipline and military service. I think these first steps
19 that the secretary has taken, regarding the stand-down, it
20 may represent a very small percentage, and I guarantee it is
21 a very small percentage, but it is something that we must
22 contend with.

23 And I think the leadership of the Department is
24 concerted and focused to deal with it long term. We are
25 taking early steps now, and I think we will continue to

1 persist on this issue.

2 Senator Blumenthal: How widespread do you think it is?

3 You say it is a small percentage. What is it your
4 evidence?

5 General Lyons: Senator, you know, my evidence is just
6 38 years in uniform and now on the force. I am not at all
7 dismissive of the problem, and I acknowledge that it does
8 exist, but I would not characterize it as prevalent.

9 We have an incredibly talented force of volunteers, the
10 best America has to offer, but even with a small percentage,
11 it is worthy of our leader effort to eliminate it from the
12 force.

13 Senator Blumenthal: What steps do you think should be
14 taken?

15 General Lyons: Well, Senator, as I mentioned, the
16 stand-down, I think, is the first step, but out of that, I
17 know the secretary got briefed just this past week on some
18 of the insights from the services.

19 I think there are other activities in terms of how we
20 do selection and recruitment, how we transition military
21 members out of the military so they are not susceptible to
22 being recruited. I think there is a wide range of
23 activities like that, that will develop over time as
24 concerted lines of effort.

25 Senator Blumenthal: Do you think recruits or enlistees

1 should be taken if they are members of organizations that
2 espouse views associated with white supremacy or violent
3 extremism?

4 General Lyons: Senator, I would say, you know, when
5 you get into some of the finer policy issues, there is a lot
6 there. There is a lot packed in and I will defer to the
7 policy experts on that.

8 I do know clearly though, as a commander in the force,
9 it is not consistent, an extremist behavior activity is not
10 consistent with the values or the good order and discipline
11 of what we need as a warfighting organization.

12 Senator Blumenthal: I agree that it may be a small
13 percentage, under 10 percent, but that is a large percentage
14 in terms of its potential impact on the readiness and
15 capability of our military and public support for our
16 military.

17 And I welcome your focus on it and your
18 characterization of it as a very important issue of policy.

19 So, thank you for being here today and thank you for
20 your continuing work on this issue, as well as so many
21 others. Thank you.

22 General Lyons: Yes, sir.

23 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.

24 Senator Rounds, please.

25 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 Gentlemen, let me begin by thanking both of you for
2 your service to our country, as well as your family's
3 sacrifices. You dedicate your time to our country:

4 I would like to begin by just talking a little bit
5 about the challenge that we see right now, or the possible
6 challenges, with regard to regional conflicts that could
7 occur. And let me begin by just pointing out that most
8 recently we have seen some very aggressive posturing by
9 both, China, their incursions within Taiwan's airspace with
10 larger and larger air groups, and second of all, within the
11 European theater and Russia's aggression that we have been
12 talking about earlier in the Committee meeting.

13 Can you describe, briefly, the impact on the ability of
14 your command in your professional military judgment, to
15 execute its missions, if the United States became engaged in
16 two conflicts and was forced to defend friends and allies in
17 the Pacific and in Europe simultaneously.

18 General Wolters?

19 General Wolters: I can, Senator, and it starts with
20 the appropriate approach. And we have been very aggressive
21 in Europe in making sure we understand the importance of
22 allies and partners in the process, and the importance of a
23 comprehensive approach to regions, and the importance of not
24 getting myopic in one region and forgetting what is
25 happening in another region.

1 And today, when you ask most military members in Europe
2 if they have a concern, for example, about Russia, it will
3 take at least 5 seconds to where the follow-on question is,
4 do you have a concern about China?

5 So, in the military, and in our nations, we have don't
6 to think big and we have to take a whole-of-Government,
7 whole-of-nation, whole-of-alliance approach to the security
8 challenges that we face, and we have to be willing to look
9 up and out of each one of our areas of responsibility.

10 Senator Rounds: General Lyons?

11 General Lyons: Sir, I think there should be no
12 question to our commitment, as General Wolters mentioned, to
13 our longstanding values-based international order, whether
14 that is in the East or the West.

15 From a TRANSCOM perspective, we assess, continuously, a
16 full range of plans and contingencies that we might have to
17 respond to. We look within the construct of the planning
18 guidance and the plans themselves.

19 I would be happy to discuss any of those kinds of
20 questions in a closed hearing if you would like, sir.

21 Senator Rounds: Both of you would agree that prior
22 planning for the appropriate concerns or the different
23 situations is critical, fair enough?

24 General Lyons: Yes, sir. Absolutely.

25 General Wolters: Yes, sir.

1 Senator Rounds: Let's talk a little bit about what
2 happens if we actually do have conflicts with either Russia
3 or China. They would almost certainly attack the ports and
4 the airfields, where we would load and unload troops and
5 equipment.

6 General Lyons, what are the implications of a contested
7 environment on bulk fuel capacity distribution and storage,
8 as well as traditional lines of communication. Are we
9 effectively working contested logistics in our planning and
10 taking into account the attrition into our war games yet?

11 General Lyons: Senator, we have begun that journey and
12 I appreciate the support of this committee on that effort.
13 Again, I am pleased with the joint staff's work,
14 particularly as a concept, a joint concept for contested
15 logistics that is under development to address these kinds
16 of issues that we will then subsequently, you know, shape
17 forces on, enforce capability work down the road.

18 We know that we must be able to sustain and project a
19 force under all domain persistent attack. That is
20 fundamentally different than the way we have operated and
21 integrated logistics in the past.

22 Senator Rounds: General, the way that you answered my
23 question, and I appreciate the way that you positioned your
24 answer, saying that we have begun to look at it, I presume
25 that would suggest there is a concern about the way that we

1 have either done it in the past or that we are improving on
2 our planning for that type of a contested environment.

3 General Lyons: Well, Senator, I think that is
4 accurate. I think, you know, as the character of warfare
5 changes, so should the character of logistics and that we
6 have to adapt to be able to continue to be successful.

7 And what made us successful previously won't
8 necessarily make us successful in the future, so we have
9 work to do.

10 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

11 My time has expired. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Rounds.

13 Let me recognize Senator King, via Webex.

14 Senator King: General Wolters, within the last hour
15 since this hearing has been going on, a story broke about a
16 leading spokesperson for one of the Russians, who is also
17 known as an advisor to Putin saying that war in Ukraine is
18 inevitable. That it will start with a major cyberattack
19 that could extend to this country. And that they have
20 overwhelming conventional forces and that there is no way
21 that they could be repelled from taking over the Donbas, if
22 not, the entire country. I view this situation as extremely
23 concerning.

24 And I guess my first question is, what is your reaction
25 to the assertion that a Russian invasion of Eastern Ukraine

1 would be unstoppable. Do the Ukrainians have the weapons,
2 the manpower, the training, wherewithal to stop such an
3 attempt at annexation?

4 I have got to say, I am mightily reminded of 1938 and
5 the Sudetenland land and the German plans of liberating
6 German-speaking people, and very similar things we are
7 hearing from Russia.

8 Talk to me about the preparation and the readiness of
9 the Ukrainians and our readiness to assist them.

10 General Wolters: Senator, as we discussed yesterday in
11 our phone conversation, we are very concerned in Ukraine and
12 their partners in the region are doing all that they can to
13 improve their posture with each and every second as we go
14 forward. So, if, in fact, an incursion does occur there,
15 their best position for success, not only within their
16 forces, but within their partners within the region.

17 Senator King: But, do you believe they could repel an
18 invasion that started next week?

19 General Wolters: I certainly do, over time, Senator.

20 Senator King: Well, I think they, let me follow-up a
21 moment about the political situation in Eastern Ukraine.

22 There are many Russian-speaking people there. What is
23 the political mood in terms of loyalty to the country of
24 Ukraine versus loyalty to Russia?

25 General Wolters: Senator, I would categorize it as

1 high loyalty to the country of Ukraine.

2 Senator King: So, the claim that Russia would be
3 liberating these people from Ukrainian control would not
4 resonate in that region?

5 General Wolters: I agree, Senator.

6 Senator King: And have we communicated to the
7 Russians, the fact that this, an invasion of this type would
8 be met with a response that would serve as a deterrent?

9 It seems to me the only thing we have right now is
10 deterrence.

11 General Wolters: Senator, I know that our senior
12 civilian leadership has had conversations with their
13 colleagues in Ukraine and at the senior level with Russia.
14 And I am not privy to all of the words that were exchanged,
15 but I know that our senior leaders expressed deep concern
16 about the robust activities in the Donbas and Crimea.

17 Senator King: Thank you.

18 Let me turn for a moment. We mentioned China and
19 Russia numerous times in this hearing. Do you see evidence
20 in our AOR of increasing relationship cooperation, if you
21 will, between Russia and China?

22 Traditionally, at least in the recent past, they have
23 been adversaries, or at least suspicious of one another. Do
24 you see a developing cooperation, which would be inimicable
25 to our interests?

1 General Wolters: Senator, I see cooperation that is
2 superficial at best. I think it is higher at the tactical
3 level, soldier-to-soldier, and I think it is pretty close to
4 phony at the strategic level.

5 Senator King: Well, that is reassuring. I hope that
6 is correct.

7 General Lyons, you and I had an exchange last year
8 about the potential gap in coverage for refueling. You have
9 testified this morning that you feel that that is resolved.

10 I just want to sort of nail that down, that if called
11 upon, whether it is in the next 2 years or the next 5 to 7
12 years, which is, as I recall, the potential gap was
13 identified, that we will have sufficient refueling resources
14 to project [inaudible.]

15 General Lyons: Senator, I am comfortable and aligned
16 with the Air Force's position on this. I think that we have
17 to be clear that Boeing has a long way to deliver a full,
18 operational, capable weapon system. But in the interim, I
19 am confident with the capability that exists to meet day-to-
20 day, competition, and crisis.

21 Senator King: I am just about out of time, but does
22 Boeing have, do we have a date for final delivery and
23 deployment of the KC-46?

24 General Lyons: Senator, on that, I will defer to the
25 Air Force from a programmatic perspective. The latest

1 estimate was in anticipation of at least a remedy for the
2 remote visual system, next, which is a [inaudible] sometime
3 in the 2023 time frame, at the earliest.

4 Senator King: Thank you.

5 General Lyons: It would take some time to field the
6 capability after that.

7 Senator King: Thank you, gentlemen, both for your
8 testimony.

9 And I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

10 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator King.

11 And let me recognize Senator Ernst.

12 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

13 And, gentlemen, thank you very much for being here
14 today. We certainly appreciate your commitment, not only to
15 the men and women within your commands, but to the
16 furtherance of our objectives.

17 So, I will start with you, General Wolters. Thank you
18 very much. Let's talk a little bit more about our force
19 posture in Europe.

20 And Senator King had just mentioned Russia and the
21 conventional forces that they have available, but beyond
22 just their human resources, they have other capabilities.
23 They continue to modernize their military. They have a
24 number of advanced capabilities like ballistic and cruise
25 missiles; certainly, sophisticated air defenses, as we know,

1 antisatellite weapons, electromagnetic, and cyberattacks. I
2 could go on and on and on in this area.

3 But these capabilities do pose a challenge to the
4 United States, as well as our allies in that region, and,
5 certainly our partners in the EUCOM AOR.

6 They also continue with their operations, short of open
7 conflict. So, they are operating in that gray zone area.

8 So, how are we adapting our forces to those
9 capabilities, to those challenges to push back on Russia and
10 what they might be able to do in the future?

11 General Wolters: Thank you, Senator.

12 We are maximizing our focus to win in the competition
13 phase and we are doing it through a very deliberate fashion
14 to continue to improve our ability to see the environment
15 with indications and warnings, our ability to respond with
16 solid command and control, and our mission command, which
17 characterizes the readiness of our forces forward being able
18 to conduct all domain operations that take into account the
19 desired effect, at the appropriate time and place of our
20 choosing, to ensure that we can be most effective. And that
21 approach affords us the opportunity to counter many of the
22 issues that you just mentioned.

23 And we are also, in accordance with the National
24 Defense Strategy, working very diligently to increase our
25 competitive edge in the areas of indications and warnings,

1 command and control, and mission command.

2 Senator Ernst: And so, with that deliberative
3 approach, you are working with our allied forces, as well,
4 to make sure that we are nested, and each able to lean on
5 one another, our strengths and for our weaknesses to provide
6 pushback?

7 General Wolters: Absolutely, Senator.

8 The strategic alignment that is required is also
9 outside of the military dimensions, so from a whole-of-
10 Government, whole-of-nation approach, whole-of-ally
11 approach, we are doing the same.

12 Senator Ernst: Great. And one thing, of course, being
13 a National Guard member and being, of course, very aware and
14 supportive of our State Partnership Program, you have
15 mentioned the Baltics, but I was heavily involved in the
16 Balkans with our State Partnership Program with Kosovo. And
17 so, I would just like to hear about how this program has
18 been beneficial through your area of responsibility and how
19 we can maybe further strengthen those partnership programs.

20 General Wolters: Senator, we are very proud of the
21 State Partnership Program, essentially yours in Kosovo. And
22 as you well know, the 632 members of the United States that
23 we rotate into K-4, many come from your state.

24 It is a success area in NATO. The NATO secretary
25 general is very, very fond to ensure that we keep a laser

1 focus on the Balkans. But the biggest challenge that we
2 face, and one that we have achieved a success with, is to
3 make sure that the lanes in the road are perfectly
4 understood between K-4 and the evolving Kosovo security
5 force. And the exist on our Kosovo force has been
6 instrumental in ensuring that we each understand our lanes.

7 Senator Ernst: Yes, very good.

8 And just very briefly, and thank you, sir, General
9 Lyons, I am going to push on the KC-46s, as well. I was
10 able to go out on a flight yesterday in a KC-46 with a
11 number of others in a delegation, and it was a great
12 opportunity to really see this aircraft in motion and work.

13 We refueled some F-15s. We have got some great boom
14 operators that are training a lot of really wonderful airmen
15 out there.

16 This is very important to the Iowa National Guard, as
17 well. We still have the KC-135s. We are anxious to move
18 into the KC-46, as soon as Boeing does a little more work.

19 How important are your planning moves involving the
20 National Guard, are you considering the rotation for the
21 Reserves, the National Guards, their deployments, and so
22 forth, as we move those 46s into those areas?

23 General Lyons: Ma'am, first of all, thanks for taking
24 time out on Andrews yesterday on the ramp there; really, it
25 just acknowledges what an important capability aerial

1 refueling is.

2 I would just say it is largely misunderstood or
3 underappreciated how much the Guard, and the Reserve, but
4 especially the Air Guard, contributes every single day to
5 the output of the aerial refueling force element, whether
6 that be overseas or here in the Continental United States on
7 short script alert, day-in and day-out.

8 I think my own opinion is that the Air Force does this
9 best in terms of total force integration. It is completely
10 integrated today. It is absolutely seamless to me. When I
11 see units out there in the field, I can't tell the
12 difference which component they belong to.

13 Senator Ernst: Fantastic.

14 Gentlemen, again, I appreciate it very much.

15 And, Mr. Chair, I yield back. Thank you.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Ernst.

17 Let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Manchin.

18 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Chairman.

19 And I want to thank both of you for your service and
20 your family's commitment and service to allow you to have
21 the opportunities you have to serve our country.

22 General Wolters, the European Union and Russia have
23 built a strategic partnership in trade, energy, climate-
24 change, research, education, culture, and security. The
25 crisis in Ukraine in Crimea increased sanctions from both,

1 the U.S. and the EU for various violations, but they seem to
2 have limiting effects.

3 So, my question would be, understanding that the EU is
4 Russia's biggest trading partner, and Russia is the EU's
5 fourth-largest, are sanctions in their current forms, a
6 viable solution to shaking Russia's actions?

7 General Wolters: Senator, I certainly agree that they
8 contribute in shaping Russia's actions. I will also say
9 that living in Europe, that there is a high degree of
10 convergence at the strategic level between what the EU does
11 and what NATO does. And for a military member in charge of
12 military operations, I will tell you that the EU
13 contributions in the area of transportation are a
14 significant boost in our ability to effectively deter.

15 Senator Manchin: A threat that I have been essentially
16 concerned with the continuing development of the Nord Stream
17 Pipelines. Not only do they create a further dependence,
18 they inure on Russia gas and oil, but they also bypass
19 transit countries like Ukraine and our former Soviet NATO
20 members, which could hold them hostage.

21 And your thoughts on that?

22 General Wolters: I share your concerns, Senator. It
23 is disconcerting to see what happens with the Nord Stream 2
24 Pipeline and to the countries that it reaches out to, and
25 the fact that several of those countries are going to

1 potentially be put in the position to where their reliance
2 on Russian fuel is far higher than it should be. It is of
3 grave concern to me.

4 Senator Manchin: Do you have any thoughts on how you
5 would see a potential armed conflict playing out with our
6 allies, whose economies are closely tied to Russia?

7 General Wolters: Well, I would promote those nations
8 to do what we do in the United States, which is to store
9 fuel appropriately, and we do with other nations within
10 Europe, to ensure that we have the resources within to be
11 able to execute whatever it is we need to do to effectively
12 deter and defend.

13 Senator Manchin: You all or coordinating with them on
14 that?

15 General Wolters: We are, Senator.

16 Senator Manchin: Thank you.

17 General Lyons, the level of coordination, fleet
18 readiness in response to combatant commanders in light of
19 the COVID pandemic that TRANSCOM provided is nothing short
20 of amazing. You all have done an unbelievable job.

21 The global threat from rational and irrational states
22 and actors is ongoing and the rise of humanitarian support
23 and crisis mitigation is enduring.

24 What are your concerns, if called today, to support an
25 armed conflict, force projection, sustainment, and

1 redeployment in a contested environment, while also
2 potentially called to support humanitarian missions on
3 opposite sides of the world?

4 General Lyons: Senator, thanks for the question.

5 We know that the security environment is changing quite
6 rapidly. We know that the character war is changing quite
7 rapidly, and so should the character of logistics.

8 So, our ability to project the force and sustain the
9 force over global distances is a key strategic comparative
10 advantage that we all understand that we must maintain. And
11 as we look at that ability and we look at it from the lens
12 of a potential adversary and where there might be
13 vulnerabilities, particularly vulnerabilities of
14 consequence, we are, in fact, addressing those and buying
15 down the risk associated with those.

16 I am confident in our ability today to continue to
17 project the force and support the force at our time and
18 place of choosing. But I do acknowledge that we have work
19 to do, too, in anticipation of a more sophisticated
20 adversary.

21 Senator Manchin: Let me follow-up on my final
22 question. General Lyons, you spoke about the success of the
23 DOD's power projection capabilities being contingent on
24 three critical elements: global mobility posture, global
25 transport capacity, and global command and control

1 integration.

2 So, what allied shortfalls currently exist to support
3 these critical requirements if called to surge forces in
4 support of the EU?

5 General Lyons: Senator, I have to say I am very
6 pleased with the enormous constellation of like-minded
7 allies and partners that support the United States security
8 interests abroad. We could not operate the global mobility
9 enterprise successfully without the access, base, and
10 overflight that they provide in the extension of our broad
11 and far-reaching logistics networks. So, I am very pleased
12 with our allies and partners and I am very grateful for
13 their continued support.

14 Senator Manchin: And I know you spoke about Russia's
15 moving on Ukraine and Crimea, again, and everything, and we
16 wish all of our allies and under your all's leadership the
17 most success, because that would be severely critical for
18 all of us if they continue to do what they are doing right
19 now.

20 But, again, thank you, both, for your service.

21 General Lyons: Thank you, sir.

22 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Manchin.

23 Now, let me recognize Senator Sullivan.

24 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Gentlemen, welcome. Thanks for your service.

1 I wasn't planning on raising this question, but since
2 it came up from Senator Blumenthal, you know, I just got
3 back from a week in Marine Corps Reserve training. It is
4 great to serve with such fine men and women, but this notion
5 of extremism in the military, which is thrown about as if we
6 know numbers, Senator Blumenthal thought 10 percent.

7 I think that is irresponsible. I have asked from the
8 military, data. I want data before we besmirch the entire
9 military.

10 The under secretary nominee came before this hearing
11 and said he was going to, quote, stamp out systemic racism
12 within the ranks of the military.

13 I asked him, have you ever served in the ranks?

14 No.

15 Sir, we need to be careful with this. I am just going
16 to ask you two generals, who have served your whole career,
17 do you think that we have this giant group of extremists in
18 the military?

19 I think it is one of the best group of Americans who
20 aren't racist. You have knuckleheads in every organization
21 in the world, including the Congress of the United States,
22 by the way, but there is this narrative now that we have all
23 these extremists in the military. I think it is ridiculous
24 and we need to see data before we start throwing out issues
25 like 10 percent.

1 How the hell does he know it is 10 percent?

2 What do you think, gentlemen, do you think you serve in
3 the military with a bunch of extremists?

4 General Wolters: Senator, I concur with you. I don't
5 see a giant portion of the population.

6 Senator Sullivan: It really makes me mad.

7 The Washington Post, U.S. senators besmirching the
8 whole damn force irresponsibly.

9 General, what is your experience?

10 We have bad people, of course, idiots in any
11 organization, but this is getting ridiculous when a U.S.
12 senator is saying 10 percent. Where the hell did he get
13 that number?

14 One in 10, is that your experience, General?

15 General Lyons: Senator, let me be perfectly clear. I
16 think we have the finest military our world has every known.
17 I think we --

18 Senator Sullivan: Me, too. I believe that. And I
19 serve with them. I just got done serving with them.

20 General Lyons: And, sir, I appreciate that.

21 We have the best that America has to offer. There is
22 no question in my mind, after 38 years of service. I
23 believe that in my heart. I know it to be true.

24 A very small, very small, and --

25 Senator Sullivan: Ten percent? Do you think it is 10

1 percent?

2 General Lyons: Senator, I don't think it is 10
3 percent.

4 Senator Sullivan: Not even close, is it?

5 General Lyons: As a matter of fact, I don't think
6 there has been any data on the topic.

7 I can just tell you from experience, it is extremely
8 small. And even though it is extremely small, and it might
9 be less than 1 percent, I don't want to be dismissive of --

10 Senator Sullivan: No, of course, not.

11 General Lyons: -- potential degradation in the ranks.
12 But it should not characterize the joint force.

13 Senator Sullivan: Do you think it is 10 --

14 General Lyons: We have an enormously powerful and
15 professional joint force.

16 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, General.

17 Do you think it is 10 percent, General? Anything in
18 your experience, in your 30, 40-plus years as a general
19 officer in the military?

20 General Wolters: Senator, I certainly agree that
21 number is too high.

22 Senator Sullivan: Yeah. So, here is what I think the
23 Secretary of Defense needs to do. Enough of this. We need
24 data. We need data, okay.

25 And besmirching the whole damn force, reserve or

1 active-duty, whether it is a U.S. senator, the Washington
2 Post, which writes a story on this once a day with no data,
3 or the under secretary, who wants to be under secretary. I
4 hope he is not going to be under secretary for the Pentagon.

5 We need to start using data and not this BS. That is
6 shameful, because I don't even think it is close to 10
7 percent.

8 And you know what we are going to do?

9 This is going to make people not want to join the
10 military. So, anyway, I was not going to even go on this
11 topic, but when I hear a U.S. senator throw out 10 percent,
12 it is ridiculous. Ridiculous. It is really pissing me off.

13 Sorry, Mr. Chairman. I have had enough of this.

14 General, can I talk about the Russian Arctic buildup
15 and what we need to be doing about it. You know, we have
16 this strange scenes of COCOMs.

17 The actions in the Arctic, which is kind of EUCOM, but
18 PACOM owns a lot of the forces. STRATCOM has a big
19 responsibility in the Arctic, as well, with missile defense.

20 What is happening there, it is even more than what has
21 happened recently, and what should we be doing about it and
22 how to think about it?

23 General Wolters: Senator, I think the campaign
24 momentum is traversing in the correct direction with your
25 great work over the source of the last several years, all of

1 the services, U.S., DOD, and the NATO military strategy, and
2 the NATO concept for deterrence and defense of the Euro-
3 Atlantic, specifically, points to the fact that we must have
4 an Arctic strategy of. And nations' militaries are
5 constructing strategies that must include considerations for
6 activities in the Arctic.

7 So, the focus and the architecture and approving the
8 resources are growing. As you well know, through your
9 initiatives, we were able to house P-8s and F-35s at
10 Keflavik for the first time. And most of what they did was
11 contribute to IMW in the vicinity of the Arctic. Getting
12 the NATO nations, not just the ones that are about the
13 Arctic, but all involved in the process, is occurring
14 through the good work of the secretary general.

15 So, I believe that our campaign momentum is going in
16 the correct direction from strategy all the way down to
17 requirements.

18 Senator Sullivan: Great. Thank you.

19 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Sullivan.

21 Let me recognize via Webex, Senator Rosen.

22 Senator Rosen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 I appreciate this hearing, and thank you, gentlemen,
24 for your lifetime of service to this nation. We really
25 appreciate everything that you do every day and to all of

1 the servicemen and women that are under your command.

2 I would like to speak a little bit today about
3 cybersecurity. Our NATO allies, of course, essential to
4 ensuring U.S. cybersecurity. We rely on our allies to
5 Harden our collective defenses against frequent and
6 sophisticated cyber threats.

7 Cybersecurity has increasingly become an area of focus
8 for NATO. They are holding the largest cyber exercise in
9 the world to operating a cyberspace operations center in
10 Belgium.

11 And so, General Wolters, what are the most significant
12 cyber threats that the NATO alliance is facing and can you
13 specifically describe to us the cyberthreat our European
14 allies are facing from Russia.

15 General Wolters: Thanks for the question, Senator. It
16 is a great topic.

17 I will tell you that I excited about the fact that from
18 a U.S. perspective, our force presentation by selecting one
19 military commander to lead military cyber, as General
20 Nakasone, has allowed us to deliver clear direction and
21 guidance to the nations that assist us in the cyber arena.

22 Our manning is much better for all of the organizations
23 and the organizations have continued to perpetuate the
24 nations, the importance of improving the nations' cyber
25 hygiene in the network.

1 As you well know, we still have a long way to go in
2 that area, but nations have to make sure they understand
3 what it takes and how to defend their networks, and then
4 they can start to get into other areas of cyber deliverance
5 of forces. And I am very, very pleased to report that the
6 manning across NATO nations, with respect cyber activity has
7 improved and the focus on improving our cyber hygiene has
8 improved across the European nations.

9 Senator Rosen: That is terrific, because that was one
10 of my next questions. What are you doing to prevent,
11 mitigate, and recover from a the cyberattacks?

12 But how can we help you? How should we be coordinating
13 or what do you think you need to coordinate better with our
14 allies in this realm?

15 General Lyons: In Europe, we have had the opportunity
16 to lead from the front with respect to the U.S.C. 2 in
17 cyber. We have had the opportunity with the assistance of
18 other European nations to educate the masses on the
19 appropriate steps forward in the cyber domain, and we are
20 getting great support from all nations who want to protect
21 their networks.

22 And I think what we have to do is just continue the
23 campaign momentum that we are currently on and continue the
24 advocating from NATO and the EU in the cyber domain.

25 Senator Rosen: Thank you.

1 And General Lyons, I want to kind of continue on this
2 and talk a little bit about cloud migration. TRANSCOM was,
3 of course, the first DOD organization to move its cyber
4 capabilities and command and control applications to a
5 commercial cloud environment.

6 So, General Lyons, can you provide us with an update on
7 the migration to the services to the cloud. Are you
8 experience the benefits and what are you feeling about this?

9 What are your best practices? Again, what do you think
10 you need going forward as you move everything to the cloud
11 and begin to work there?

12 General Lyons: Well, Senator, thanks for the question,
13 and I appreciate the topic here because I think we all
14 acknowledge that cyber is a warfighting domain and the
15 adversary does get a vote, particularly, across a global
16 mobility enterprise. We know we have a very large and
17 sometimes vulnerable attack surface, and so we are working
18 very diligently for that.

19 One of the areas, as you mentioned, Senator, is our
20 digital modernization effort, and part of that is moving to
21 the cloud. We have been able to move well over 20 systems
22 into the cloud. We are still working on virtualization in
23 some of these areas, but we are making progress.

24 And I think the cloud does offer some capability and
25 some security that we don't have today, and so I am pleased

1 with the progress we have started, but we still have a ways
2 to go.

3 Senator Rosen: Thank you. I appreciate that.

4 And I actually would like to move on and talk a little
5 bit about TRANSCOM COVID-19 operations.

6 And so, General Lyons, can you describe the short-term
7 and long-term impacts that COVID-19 has had on TRANSCOM's
8 operations as you are moving forward, and how have you
9 supported DOD's mission to respond to COVID-19?

10 General Lyons: Thank you, Senator. I have to say I
11 couldn't be more proud of the entire TRANSCOM team at the
12 way that they have been continuing to operate throughout the
13 entire past year, despite COVID, while taking the
14 appropriate mitigation measures.

15 You know, early on, we really didn't know what we
16 didn't know, but I am so proud that the folks were able to
17 continue operations. We were able to continue to support
18 the force. Things like Defender Europe continued to a
19 lesser degree, in supporting General Wolters. We were able
20 to support the Whole-of-Government effort. We were able to
21 conduct aerosol testing for commercial aircraft, for
22 example, to determine that the probability for viral spread
23 aboard a commercial airliner with HEPA filtration and high
24 velocity air exchange is extraordinarily low.

25 So, we have been able to work a wide range of things to

1 include trading capability to move highly infectious
2 patients. So, I really am incredibly grateful for the team
3 to be able to face that level of adversity and just continue
4 to drive on.

5 Senator Rosen: Thank you. And I yield back.

6 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rosen.

7 Senator Cramer?

8 Senator Cramer: Thank you, Senator.

9 Thank you, Generals, both for being here, for your
10 service, of course.

11 And right up front, let me just associate myself with
12 the statements and the questions from Senator Sullivan, and
13 I appreciate your direct responses.

14 It is time for members of this committee and leaders
15 throughout our government, as well as, well we can't expect
16 much from the media, but to start being accurate in
17 representing that you represent the best of us, not the
18 worst of us, the absolute best of us, and that is my
19 observation with the vast, vast majority of the military men
20 and women that I encounter. So, thank you for your service.

21 I will pass on asking you, General Wolters, about ISI.

22 I appreciate your previous response to that. I have some
23 concern about the gap being created between the legacy and
24 new programs. I want to be a part of the solution, so I
25 appreciate your previous [inaudible] answer.

1 I will ask you about our outstanding nuclear deterrent
2 and its role currently, as well as going forward. We know
3 that our credible deterrent is our Triad and it is the
4 backstop for most of our operational plans around the world.

5 And so, my question for you is, if the United States
6 didn't have this credible, nuclear umbrella, would that
7 change Europe's conventional and nuclear posture?

8 General Wolters: Yes, Senator. I think that it would.

9 Senator Cramer: And what could be the ramifications of
10 them not feeling safe under our umbrella?

11 General Wolters: I think that is the precise issue.
12 We are not certain to the degree that we would be
13 compromising safety and security.

14 Senator Cramer: And if that happens, could we see, as
15 they changed their posture, you know, the build-out of more
16 allies, of course, I guess?

17 General Wolters: That is possible, Senator.

18 Senator Cramer: All right. Then, I am going to shift
19 gears to a question of energy and ask you, specifically, do
20 you believe that completion of Nord Stream 2 would affect
21 the leverage that Russia has over our allies in Europe?

22 General Wolters: Yes, Senator.

23 Senator Cramer: Because one of the other peripheral
24 issues that we sometimes get into around here, besides our
25 military and posture and lethality and readiness is climate,

1 and these aren't unimportant issues. I don't want to make
2 the case that they are.

3 But I want to give you just one example that concerns
4 me a little bit. And I have asked many of your peers about
5 the monitoring, for example, of Iran's tankers and the
6 movement of energy, fossil energy in unsafe parts of the
7 world.

8 But in Europe, we know of a situation a few months ago
9 where ENGIE Power in France, it made a large contract of
10 liquid, natural gas from the United States. The French
11 Government intervened in that.

12 And the French Government used to be a wholly-owned,
13 the sole owner of ENGIE Power, now they are just like a 49
14 percent owner, but they intervened and said, no, we want to
15 continue buying natural gas from Vladimir Putin. And I am
16 not sure that a lot of people around here grasp the
17 magnitude of a decision like that.

18 Now, your issue, of course, is national security, as is
19 our committee's but for those people who want to sort of
20 transfer their climate guilt to other parts of the world,
21 they should know that Vladimir Putin's natural gas, sent by
22 pipeline, to places like France and other European countries
23 and allies of ours, emits about 40 percent more greenhouse
24 gases than liquid natural gas produced and shipped from the
25 United States of America.

1 So, I guess what I would just request, and you give
2 very good, direct answers to questions, but we need to help
3 our public better understand the ramifications of climate
4 change, globally, and the ramifications of hurting America's
5 domestic production of fossil fuels that are in high demand
6 around the world, and not let our allies, much less
7 adversaries, be dependent more on not as clean, and
8 certainly not as secure energy resources as the
9 alternatives, the American, clean, good energy is.

10 So, with that, I thank you and yield back.

11 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Cramer.

12 Let me recognize via Webex Senator Hirono.

13 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 General Lyons, I have a series of questions for you
15 regarding sealift recapitalization. In your statement to
16 the committee, you point out that 33 of our 50 roll-on/roll-
17 off sealift ships are scheduled for retirement in the next
18 10 years.

19 In last year's NDAA, Congress took steps to bolster the
20 Government's ability to purchase additional, used foreign
21 vessels currently on the market to augment the ready reserve
22 force.

23 First question. How do you assess the progress of
24 recapitalizing our sealift fleet?

25 General Lyons: Senator, thanks for that we.

1 We spent a lot of time on this issue with the Secretary
2 of Defense over the last year and, in fact, the CAPE issue
3 team was formed around this specific issue. I think we are
4 headed in the right direction. We have got good alignment
5 on the strategy. We have good support here on The Hill with
6 the authorizations, and we have some money in the program by
7 the Navy.

8 We are, quite frankly, about a year behind where I
9 wanted to be. Where I wanted to be is, at the end of last
10 fiscal year, to be able to buy the first two authorized
11 ships. Those ships that were authorized by the NDAA a
12 couple of years ago.

13 So, due to some GAO protest issues with the Maritime
14 Administration, that has been delayed a little bit, but they
15 are on track for the end of this year to deliver those first
16 two ships.

17 Senator Hirono: Same question, General.

18 Do the current sealift recapitalization plans
19 sufficiently address the potential for attrition during a
20 conflict with a near-peer competitor like China or Russia?

21 General Lyons: Senator, as we work through the
22 Mobility Capabilities and Requirements Study, as directed by
23 Congress, one of the things that we are doing is we are
24 considering the future joint concepts, as well as the
25 contested environments that we know in the future that we

1 will face. And we were able to assess and do assess some
2 level of elevated risk in terms of our ability to deliver
3 the force on the timelines that the combatant commanders
4 desire, and so we are evaluating that now.

5 By policy, we don't force size based on attrition, but
6 we do acknowledge the significant implications of attrition
7 in any environment and the need to mitigate that largely
8 through the integration of more warfighting effects.

9 Senator Hirono: Therefore, is your answer that the
10 assessments that you are doing currently address the
11 attrition issue that I asked you?

12 General Lyons: Senator, we do. We address losses. We
13 do.

14 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

15 The last question for this series, Section 3511 of last
16 year's NDAA provided authority to establish a tanker
17 security program, subject to the results of a mobility
18 requirements study.

19 Do you have sufficient results from the study to
20 determine whether the tanker security program needs to be
21 implemented?

22 General Lyons: Ma'am, we do. We have looked at this
23 as, again, a congressionally directed study in concert with
24 some other agencies.

25 We do support, and I appreciate the congressional

1 interest initiative here to create a tanker security
2 program. We think there is value in that. We think it is
3 important that we have assured access to U.S. flag tanker
4 capacity in the event we have to surge the mobility
5 enterprise and the liquid energy enterprise.

6 Senator Hirono: Again, General Lyons, I have a
7 question relating to the fact that TRANSCOM is working
8 closely with industry partners like SpaceX on the viability
9 of using space-based vehicles to rapidly deliver time-
10 sensitive logistics anywhere in the world.

11 Now, this technology is a potential game changer,
12 especially in the Indo-Pacific AOR where commanders are
13 confronted with the [inaudible] of distance and time when
14 moving people and parts from one location to another.

15 General Lyons, can you provide me with a general
16 overview of the progress being made in space mobility and
17 what additional authorities you need from Congress to help
18 you accelerate this technology.

19 General Lyons: Thank you, ma'am, for highlighting
20 this. We are working closely with a couple industry
21 partners to include SpaceX, as well as the Air Force and the
22 Space Force on this particular issue.

23 If you think about the possibility, and it is a real
24 possibility, to be able to take a C-17 load, let's say 18
25 short tons, and lift it off and deliver it anywhere on the

1 face of the global in less than 60 minutes, that is a real
2 possibility in the near term.

3 Senator Hirono: Uh-huh.

4 General Lyons: While we can't scale that to the entire
5 requirement of the mobility enterprise, to your point,
6 Senator, it offers us great flexibility and I think it
7 creates a powerful dilemma for potential adversaries to move
8 very, very rapidly.

9 Senator Hirono: You will let us know if you need
10 further support or authorization to move us on this use of
11 this, development of this technology?

12 General Lyons: I will, ma'am. And we do not at this
13 time but thank you for that.

14 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator.

16 Let me recognize Senator Scott, please.

17 Senator Scott: Thank you, Chairman Reed.

18 General Lyons and General Wolters, thank you for your
19 service. Thank you for your willingness to defend the
20 integrity of the men and women that put on the uniform and
21 defend the freedoms of this country.

22 General Wolters, while my primary concern is our
23 military's readiness to deal with the threat of Communist
24 China I remain, of course, concerned about Russia's attempt
25 to destabilize NATO, harbor allies, harm the U.S. through

1 cyberattacks, and catch up to some advanced weaponry, like
2 hypersonic weapons.

3 I am also aware of the potential for Communist China
4 and Russia to cooperate to try and harm us.

5 How ready do you believe your command is to deal with
6 these threats and do you have all that you need, and are you
7 concerned, as I am, about a potential cut to the Defense
8 budget under President Biden?

9 General Wolters: Senator, we are concerned about all
10 of those threats. I would certainly agree with every one of
11 the categories that you pointed out.

12 And as a traditional commander, I will tell you that I
13 have a force that is getting faster every day and is better
14 postured every day, but I am never satisfied with our speed
15 and posture. So, in that light, our current resourcing is
16 adequate to continue the campaign momentum to improve our
17 indications and warnings, our command and control, and our
18 readiness.

19 With a reduction in those resources, from a monetary
20 perspective, there would be a corresponding degradation in
21 our capabilities in those areas, but as we speak, it is
22 adequate and my suspicion going forward is we will have
23 adequate resources to effectively win in competition, if
24 called upon to do so, but we must continue to improve our
25 competitive advantage in all of the areas that you point out

1 and I have pointed out from an INW and C2 perspective.

2 Senator Scott: So, if you saw a cut in the Defense
3 budget, where would you, what could you cut? If you had to
4 cut things, what would you reduce?

5 General Lyons: I would have to take an incremental
6 reduction in ISR that supports INW and an incremental
7 reduction in C2 that supports our ability to respond. And I
8 would make sure that we are adequately resourced in the
9 mission command/readiness area.

10 Senator Scott: How long would you be able to do that
11 before you have to say to yourself, you have to say that you
12 are not ready?

13 General Lyons: It just depends on the magnitude of
14 reduction. And I don't have the specifics on what the
15 budget looks like, but based off the evidence I have today,
16 I think from an adequacy standpoint, we are in good shape
17 for the near term, between now and the next 5 years.

18 Senator Scott: Thank you.

19 General Wolters, it is clear that Turkey and their
20 President Erdogan is not our ally and not a helpful member
21 of NATO. I met with Erdogan during the Trump
22 Administration, along with some of my Republican colleagues
23 to question him about Turkey's ongoing relationship with
24 Russia.

25 I also introduced legislation calling for sanctions

1 against Turkey for purchasing the S-400 air and missile
2 defense system for the Russian Federation and questioned
3 their membership in NATO.

4 It seems like only Erdogan has gotten worse. So, what
5 are your thoughts about the value of our relationship, is
6 there any value today in that relationship with Turkey, and
7 where do you see it going?

8 General Wolters: There is, Senator.

9 And I must tell you, they remain a vital NATO partner.
10 And I will tell you from a military perspective, Turkey
11 being the second-largest military in NATO, they do assist
12 greatly in the area of deterrence and competition.

13 One of the reasons we have such trust, mill-to-mill, is
14 the fact that the 2300 U.S. military members that live and
15 work each day on Turkish soil are appointed and given
16 tremendous force protection consideration on behalf of the
17 Turkish military, and that trust, from a mill-to-mill
18 perspective, remains very, very high.

19 But, as you said, they are no longer part of the F-35
20 program with the United States. We understand the decisions
21 that they made with respect to the S-400. We understand
22 that sanctions are working. We will continue to work with
23 our military counterparts, but as we move forward, mill-to-
24 mill, they remain a very vital NATO military partner.

25 Senator Scott: Did you ever understand why they did

1 the S-400. I mean, does it make any sense to you?

2 General Wolters: Senator, it doesn't, unless it was
3 for the purport of an easy way out with respect to money.

4 Senator Scott: Thank you. I yield back.

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Scott.

6 Senator Peters, please.

7 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 And thank you to both of you for your service to our
9 country.

10 General Wolters, I would like to begin with Nagorno-
11 Karabakh and what has happened there. In your opening
12 statement, you alluded to the conflict only in the context
13 of Russia's role in brokering a cease-fire agreement in
14 November.

15 But I would appreciate your thought as the Supreme
16 allied commander in Europe on some of the broader
17 implications for regional stability. Foremost on my mind is
18 the fact that Azerbaijan is still reportedly holding and
19 submitted 200 Armenian prisoners of war and civilian
20 captives.

21 Now, I understand that is a diplomatic endeavor,
22 outside of your area, but as someone who is in charge of
23 watching that area very closely, I would like your view on
24 this unresolved issue.

25 General Wolters: Nagorno-Karabakh has remained a

1 frozen conflict. Obviously, the activities over the course
2 of the last 90 days were concerning to all.

3 One of the things that I will mention, Senator, that I
4 was proud to report on was the active involvement of many
5 NATO nations on the periphery to assist in calling for
6 reconciliation and calming of tensions. And when it was all
7 said and done, I think most of us believed that this was
8 curtailed sooner, rather than later, as a result of the
9 interests of nations in the region to be part of the
10 solution in rectifying the situation.

11 There still is an unfortunate set of circumstances that
12 remain with result to the territorial disputes, but there is
13 goodness in the fact that observation posts have been
14 created jointly by nations in the region and our ability to
15 see the environment is greater than it was in the past.

16 And we still have a lot of work in front of us to make
17 sure that from an observation perspective, nations agree
18 that the contracts that they signed up to, so that we can
19 achieve more productive campaign momentum with respect to
20 achieving peace in the NK.

21 Senator Peters: Thank you.

22 And from a military perspective, Azerbaijan's drone
23 fleet certainly highlighted the vulnerabilities of
24 sophisticated weapons systems, tanks, radar, surface-to-air
25 missiles. They did not have specific drone defenses.

1 Has that affected how you prioritize counter-UAS
2 capabilities in your area of responsibility and what more do
3 we need to do?

4 General Wolters: I would tell you, Senator, I wasn't
5 surprised with any of the actions that took place in the
6 vicinity of Nagorno-Karabakh with respect to small UAS.

7 And as you know, based off of many of your good efforts
8 in the past, we have a dedicated DOD lead with respect to
9 countering small UAS. And I think the campaign momentum,
10 with respect to comprehensive missile defenses improving so
11 that we can counter that kind of capability against us.

12 So, we are traversing in a productive direction with
13 respect to countering small UASes.

14 Senator Peters: Well, I had an opportunity to see some
15 of that just recently down at the Yuma Proving Ground, where
16 I know you are testing those defenses and opening up a
17 process from the Department of Army, at large, but clearly,
18 you are weighing in heavily in the need for that type of
19 technology to be developed and I appreciate that.

20 General Lyons, your opening statement reported a
21 partnership with Cyber Command to implement Zero Trust on
22 your network environment. But TRANSCOM relies heavily on
23 commercial shipping, in fact, if I look at the numbers, 95
24 percent for steady state sealift operations, 90 percent for
25 ground study state and contingency operations, and 90

1 percent for air passenger.

2 So, my question to you is, how do you ensure that your
3 network environments for your commercial partners are
4 secure?

5 General Lyons: Yeah, Senator, it is a great question.
6 We spend a lot of time both, on the DODIN and off the DODIN,
7 non-DODIN activities that were relied upon to understand the
8 full spectrum and potential vulnerabilities of the mobility
9 enterprise.

10 We work closely with our industry partners. We have
11 consistent cyber hygiene language in all of our contractual
12 relationships, but more importantly, we are talking to the
13 senior leadership of all of these companies. They submit
14 self-assessments on their own cyber scorecard. We provide
15 insights on best practices. We are developing a proof of
16 principle for a third-party verification. Basically, this
17 would be a new venture for the Department to be able to
18 confirm or deny cyber compliance.

19 So, a lot of work going on in that area. The industry
20 partners are coming along, but I don't want to mislead
21 anybody to think that we some magic ability to protect
22 commercial partners, you know, from an advanced, persistent
23 threat.

24 I would say, though, that it is bigger than cyber. So,
25 resiliency is bigger than just the network's piece; it is

1 always the physical redundancy that we have to ensure that
2 we have many readiness providers. And I am confident with
3 our approach on that.

4 Senator Peters: And I realize you facilitate annual
5 self-assessments based on just guidelines.

6 Where do those assessments lead and is there more work
7 that we need to do?

8 General Lyons: Senator, there is always more work to
9 do. They come in at an executive level. We share those
10 assessments. You know, for example, a concern might be
11 multi-factor authentication from a cyber hygiene
12 perspective. So, we have those conversations.

13 And I find that inside the boardrooms today, they are
14 very cyber savvy and committed and want to improve their
15 cyber posture. So, we are pushing on an open door.

16 Senator Peters: All right. Thank you.

17 General Lyons: Yes, sir.

18 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Peters.

19 And now, via Webex, Senator Blackburn, please.

20 Senator Blackburn: And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 And to each of you, I say thank you for your service.
22 We are greatly appreciative of the work that you do every
23 single day.

24 General Lyons, let me stay with you there on the
25 cybersecurity issue. TRANSCOM does have a high volume of

1 strategic mobility missions on a daily basis. There are
2 varying levels of detail, and so as we move personnel and
3 equipment in and out of the different theaters, how much of
4 that information is communicated across classified versus
5 unclassified networks?

6 General Lyons: Senator, I think you are aware that a
7 great deal of our information is moved across unclassified
8 networks, both inside the DODIN and, of course, outside the
9 DODIN. That, unto itself, isn't the risk, as long as we
10 take the proper procedures and we take the proper measures
11 of defense and encryption. But a large volume of our
12 information does move across unclassified networks.

13 Senator Blackburn: Yes. I think it would be helpful
14 if we had a percentage and kind of a threshold at which we
15 need to classify some information for force protection
16 purposes, but not others for communicating pertinent details
17 to uncleared personnel. And that is an area that, in my
18 opinion, would deserve a little bit of a deeper dive and a
19 bit more attention.

20 General Wolters, the NATO 2030 Report identifies China
21 as a full-spectrum systemic rival. And that is something
22 that I agree with.

23 It is not only, China is not only a security threat, a
24 national security threat, they are an economic threat. The
25 way they are pushing the belt and road initiative, the way

1 they are pushing debt diplomacy, is something that should
2 give us pause, because it all feeds in to the civil military
3 fusion that they practice and live every single day.

4 So, since the last time you were before us at this
5 committee and we discussed this issue, what has, and I am
6 quoting now, your comment, expanding the competitive space,
7 meant to EUCOM, specifically, for competition with China,
8 and how does this affect the work we do, the mobility,
9 interoperability with our NATO allies?

10 General Wolters: It has a large effect, Senator, and I
11 think it is an imperative as a result of the way that China
12 conducts activities for us to take a whole-of-Government,
13 whole-of-nation, whole-of-military, all-domain approach,
14 with the activities of China, as they bear on the European
15 continent.

16 And we are obviously very concerned with respect to
17 Huawei 5G. We are obviously very concerned with respect to
18 the proliferation of their involvement with sea ports and
19 air aerial ports, and we are paying very, very close
20 attention to all of those areas.

21 And in the information environment, as a nation who
22 supports democratic value as being part of an alliance that
23 supports democratic values, we have told the truth about
24 some of the sacrifices that nations would make if they
25 continue to endeavor in 5G. And we have actually seen a

1 little bit of the turning of the tied with respect to China
2 and 5G Huawei; nations electing to go in different
3 directions.

4 And as you well know, Senator, the United Kingdom made
5 that call recently and ran a position on the European
6 continent where several other nations are doing the same.
7 So, vigilance remains sky-high and there must be an all-
8 domain approach and a Whole-of-Government, whole-of-nation
9 approach to this challenge.

10 Senator Blackburn: Well, I agree with you on that, and
11 I fully believe that if we look at China as a problem set
12 that we need to solve, that we are going to have to have our
13 allies working with us as we look at this as a problem set.

14 So, talk with me for just a couple of minutes, if you
15 will, about any physical roadblocks that may be there or any
16 regulatory roadblocks that would prohibit movement of our
17 forces within your AOR or participation with NATO allies or
18 their working with us on the China issue.

19 General Wolters: No roadblocks at this time, but what
20 we are anticipating is an increase in our demand to share
21 across secret information lines. And as you know, Senator,
22 we are working very, very hard to make sure that we can open
23 up the aperture from a policy perspective with our NATO
24 allies and partners to be able to share certain classified
25 information.

1 We are achieving success in that area with the
2 assistance of this Committee, and I would ask for your
3 continued endorsement in that area to make sure that we can
4 you adequately share information so that we can make headway
5 against malign influence on behalf of China.

6 Senator Blackburn: Well, I agree with you on that
7 issue, and that goes back to the first question for General
8 Lyons about the amounts of information that we are
9 communicating over classified and secure versus unclassified
10 and secure networks and the dangers that that may put our
11 men and women who are currently deployed in various areas,
12 that that may open them to.

13 Again, we will continue to work with you all on these
14 issues. I have got a couple of other questions that we will
15 submit for the record.

16 But I see Senator Duckworth is there waiting, so I will
17 yield back my time and allow her to get her questions in,
18 also.

19 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blackburn.

20 Let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Duckworth.

21 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank
22 you to my good friend from Tennessee.

23 I have discussed a portion of our supply chain and
24 logistics enterprise with the Department's civilian
25 leadership like Secretary Austin; Deputy Secretary of

1 Defense, Kath Hicks; and former Under Secretary of Defense,
2 Ellen Lord.

3 I have discussed it with service chiefs like the
4 commandant of the Marine Corps and with combatant
5 commanders, like Admiral Davidson. I have discussed
6 advancements and we need to make it a logistics capabilities
7 in order to face the unique challenges of the Indo-Pacific's
8 geography and the threat of real great-power competitors.

9 I have been dogged in my insistence that we will not be
10 able to build a combat credible deterrence if we do not have
11 the logistics capability and capacity to realistically
12 support our complex military operation, no plans.

13 And my takeaway from all of my conversations with these
14 many senior Defense leaders is that they do recognize the
15 problem and they do agree with me, and yet, it still doesn't
16 seem to me like we are adequately investing in
17 Transportation Command and our strategic logistics
18 capabilities.

19 General Lyons, it is good to see you today. In this
20 setting, as much as you can, in this unclassified setting,
21 what are your biggest capability and capacity challenges,
22 shortfalls, and how can Congress best resource
23 Transportation Command to provide the power projection and
24 sustainment necessary for our operational plans?

25 General Lyons: Senator, let me just say, thank you for

1 your strong, unwavering advocacy in understanding the combat
2 credible deterrence assurance, and really to be able to
3 respond to when, that is so critical in our logistics
4 enterprise. So, I really do appreciate that.

5 I know you are aware of several ongoing initiatives
6 that we are getting support from The Hill on to include
7 sealift recapitalization that we talked about. We have
8 alluded to some work inside the Department on the joint
9 concept for contested logistics.

10 I think this begins a very important journey for us
11 across the joint force as a Department to fully integrate
12 the logistics just the same, a warfighting function amongst
13 all warfighting functions that will be critical as we move
14 forward and evolve to support both, the changing character
15 of warfare and adjust the character of logistics to support
16 the changing character of warfare. So, a lot going on there
17 to include some of discussions you just heard on cyber.

18 So, we are, in fact, getting good support and good
19 collaboration across the combatant commands, across the
20 services, and inside the Department on the things that I
21 think are most important, and we will continue to push on
22 these kinds of issues, whether they be mobility or liquid
23 energy to ensure that we can continue to project and sustain
24 the force well into the future.

25 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

1 I want to also follow-up on the discussion with cyber
2 that you just had with my good friend from Michigan, Senator
3 Peters. I would like to take it a little bit further and
4 ask, does TRANSCOM currently have systems in place that will
5 evaluate compliance with, you know, the cyber requirements
6 in terms of your civilian partners, and how do you enforce
7 cybersecurity measures with commercial partners?

8 General Lyons: Yes, ma'am. Thank you.

9 For the commercial partners, which, we have many, and
10 good partnerships, that is currently done through a self-
11 assessment and self-reporting. We are working a proof of
12 principle for a third-party to be able to validate
13 compliance. That is a relatively new initiative. We have
14 to work through the feasibility of that, but we are working
15 in that regard.

16 I would say, though, today, we have a very transparent
17 and a good level of coordination with our industry partners.

18 And as I mentioned, I think we are pushing on an open
19 door when it comes to cyber risk and cyber coaching. So, we
20 are getting good cooperation, and at the end of the day, we
21 ensure we don't have any single points of failure inside of
22 our industry networks.

23 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, General.

24 And by the way, I just want to congratulate you on your
25 remarkable career. And I happen to think that leaving from

1 the TRANSCOM is a Capstone. It is my personal interests, my
2 personal, or I consider it critical to our force and I just
3 want to thank you for how well you have done there and how
4 well you have moved our capacity, both capacity and
5 capability forward, when it comes logistics for our national
6 security, and I just, you know, can't thank you enough for
7 your dedication, and I hope you have a wonderful early part
8 of your retirement, where you said you are going to go
9 underground and hide for a little while. Enjoy that, but
10 then I am sure that we will see you around again sometime
11 soon.

12 Thank you so much.

13 General Lyons: Thank you, ma'am.

14 Senator Duckworth: Thank you for your services.

15 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Duckworth.

16 Now, via Webex, let me recognize Senator Cotton.

17 Senator Cotton: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Thank you, gentlemen, both for appearing in front of
19 us.

20 General Wolters, I want to ask you a couple more
21 questions about Ukraine. An alumni of your organization,
22 General Ben Hodges, recently said in a television interview
23 on a Ukrainian television network, that he believes Russia's
24 buildup in the Donbas area is not specifically about Donbas,
25 but more about control over the Black Sea coast, and, in

1 particular, trying to take control of Mariupol and maybe the
2 Sea of Azov to stage Russia for further incursions onto the
3 northern Black Sea coast.

4 Have you seen that interview and, if so, what do you
5 think about General Hodges' comments?

6 General Wolters: Senator, I haven't seen the
7 interview, but I, too, am concerned about the protection of
8 sovereign activity in the vicinity of the Black Sea.

9 Senator Cotton: This was a concern back in 2015, was
10 it not, after Ukraine first made its incursion into the
11 Donbas, that they were going to try to establish just a
12 little land bridge to Crimea?

13 General Wolters: It was, Senator.

14 Senator Cotton: And that would be deeply harmful, not
15 only to Ukraine, but also to American interests in the Black
16 Sea region and to Europe, more broadly?

17 General Wolters: I concur, Senator.

18 Senator Cotton: Thank you.

19 And I know that you were asked a question earlier about
20 the Javelin missiles that we had provided to Ukraine, but to
21 be very exact, those are in possession of the Ukrainian
22 Armed Forces and they are entitled to use those anywhere in
23 their country and in any manner that they need to defend
24 their territory?

25 General Wolters: That is correct, Senator, for

1 defensive purposes, to defend their sovereign territory.

2 Senator Cotton: The Javelin is, by definition, really,
3 a defensive weapon, wouldn't you say?

4 General Wolters: I would, Senator.

5 Senator Cotton: I will relay one story from the summer
6 of 2015. I was with the former chairman of the committee,
7 Senator McCain in Eastern Ukraine, about as close as they
8 would let us get to the Donbas, and we met with some troops
9 from there and then [inaudible] militia forces that had
10 rallied to come to Ukraine's defense. One had been a former
11 tank commander. He was a lieutenant in the Red Army and now
12 he was a battalion commander of this new unit.

13 And he was pleading with us at the time to convince the
14 Obama-Biden administration to provide Javelins, which they
15 never did, and he said to us, Mr. Senators, we do not need a
16 hundred Javelins to use against Russian tanks. We only need
17 one Javelin to use against a Russian tank and then Russian
18 tankers will think twice.

19 Would you agree with that, is that a folk wisdom, from
20 the battlefield, General Wolters, that one Javelin used in
21 Eastern Ukraine against a Russian tank would make a lot of
22 Russian tankers think twice?

23 General Wolters: I would, Senator. And I think you
24 have accurately characterized the spirit of the Ukrainian
25 Armed Forces.

1 Senator Cotton: All right. Thank you.

2 Let's move on to another matter about making Russians
3 think twice. In the wake of Russia's development of new
4 intermediate-range nuclear forces capabilities, and also our
5 long overdue departure from the intermediate-range nuclear
6 forces treaty, how should NATO posture our forces to adapt
7 to Russia's missile threat and what, in particular, should
8 we do to focus on missile defense and long-range strike
9 capability in the European theater?

10 General Wolters: Senator, as we talked before, we have
11 to continue to improve in indications and warnings and
12 command and controls so that we can see deeper into the
13 environment and respond quicker. And if we will continue to
14 improve those areas, with respect to the integrated air and
15 missile defense programs that we have in work today, we will
16 keep the campaign momentum traversing in a productive
17 direction.

18 Senator Cotton: Are our NATO partners comfortable with
19 the development of those kind of long-range strike
20 capabilities that can hold at risk, Russian targets that
21 previously would have been within the INF prohibited range
22 of missiles?

23 General Wolters: Senator, I would characterize the
24 environment as the nations are becoming more comfortable as
25 they gain greater understanding of the operational

1 environment.

2 Senator Cotton: And it sounds to me like that is a
3 pretty strong asymmetric advantage in our favor, isn't it,
4 unless we think that Russia is going to start putting
5 intermediate-range missiles in Cuba or the Bahamas or Canada
6 or Mexico, since we can put them up against Russia's border,
7 and they have a much harder time doing it on our border?

8 General Wolters: I concur, Senator.

9 Senator Cotton: It seems to me like there should be a
10 lot more of them [inaudible].

11 Thank you, General.

12 Thank you, General Lyons, as well, for your service.

13 Chairman Reed: Well, thank you, Senator Cotton.

14 Let me now recognize Senator Kelly.

15 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 And thank you, General Wolters and General Lyons.

17 I want to talk a little bit about Defender Europe 2020.

18 You know, we trained, so we are prepared to fight and
19 prepared to win and, you know, this exercise is one to test
20 our power projection. And I want to hear, you know,
21 directly from the two of you, what were the top lessons
22 learned from Defender Europe 2020, and then how does that
23 translate into changes in the exercise in, well, coming up
24 in this year?

25 General Wolters: Senator, the number one lesson

1 learned was the value of Army pre-positioned stockpiles and
2 deployable air base systems. We have studied this issue for
3 a long time.

4 And moving at speed with large formations across the
5 Atlantic and getting to point, ultimately, to the
6 appropriately foxhole with a ready force member is a
7 challenge. Having those pre-positioned stockpiles in place
8 was very beneficial, more so, than we could have possibly
9 imagined and Defender Europe 2020 verified that.

10 Senator Kelly: General Lyons?

11 General Lyons: Senator, thanks.

12 It is such a critical exercise. We got a lot out of
13 it. I would say a couple of things. It demonstrated,
14 clearly, in my own view that we do, as a nation, have the
15 ability to move immediately, if required, and as well, as
16 follow it with a decisive force.

17 Now, as I looked at that operation and I looked at what
18 General Wolters was trying to do and our ability to get the
19 force to him, I felt very confident in our ability to
20 support his efforts and deliver the decisive force, when
21 needed.

22 Senator Kelly: So, the sealift capability, was that
23 tested?

24 I know we had more Air Force and Navy resources. I
25 assume, some MSC resources involved. Do you feel you have

1 the sealift capability you need if this was not an exercise,
2 but was, if we wound up in a real fight?

3 General Lyons: Senator, I think you are aware, I mean,
4 we have a lot of work to do on sealift. On sealift
5 recapitalization, we have an aging fleet, a fleet that has
6 some readiness challenges, and we have a plan to remedy that
7 over the next decade.

8 But in this particular exercise with multiple vessels
9 underway, some commercial, some organic, some, frankly,
10 being integrated in the handoff between the second fleet and
11 the sixth fleet in Europe, it was a great test of our
12 ability to coordinate the transatlantic crossing, and I
13 think very successfully so.

14 But, to your point, we have work to do on the broader
15 sealift capacity, because in a surge environment, we are
16 making quite literally hundreds of turns, as opposed to
17 dozens of turns, as in this case:

18 Senator Kelly: General Wolters, further, in Eastern
19 Europe, the infrastructure was designed for [inaudible], you
20 know, nations, Russian tanks, vehicles, troops. That
21 infrastructure was designed for things to be travelling east
22 to west.

23 Did that come up in part of the exercise in
24 transporting our equipment and troops to the east through
25 infrastructure that was not designed for this?

1 General Wolters: It did, Senator.

2 And with the contributions of the European Deterrence
3 Initiative over the course of the last 3 years, we have had
4 the opportunity to specifically work on road and rail from
5 west to east, Central Germany to the Baltics, and down to
6 Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and we have made improvements in
7 those areas, but it is still a challenge and it is something
8 we will continue to work on, but we were much faster than we
9 had been in the past.

10 Senator Kelly: And then, finally, how, in the
11 remaining minute, how would you like to see this exercise
12 change to make sure we are as prepared as possible for, you
13 know, real engagements?

14 General Wolters: We are in the process of executing
15 Defender Europe 2021, and one of the changes that we are
16 making is a cyber red team and we want to improve our cyber
17 defensive posture for the duration of the exercises involved
18 with Defender Europe 2021.

19 Senator Kelly: Thank you. And I yield back.

20 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kelly.

21 Let me recognize Senator Hawley.

22 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 Gentlemen, thank you for being here. Thanks for your
24 service.

25 General Wolters, let me start with you. Secretary

1 Austin has reaffirmed the position from the prior
2 administration that China is our pacing threat. Given that,
3 what is your view on what you could do in EUCOM to free up
4 military resources that the Department can use in the pacing
5 theater.

6 General Wolters: Senator, my first response is, what
7 we do to effectively compete and deter against the nearest
8 peer competitor in Europe, Russia, is effective in deterring
9 China, because of the connectivity between the two nations
10 and the willingness of both nations to engage in malign
11 influence against the United States and against NATO.

12 So, those activities that allow us to continue to be
13 successful in the competition phase against Russia are also
14 helpful against China. Whether it is pointing out the poor
15 path that a nation could take with respect to Huawei 5G or
16 whether it is pointing out what China is doing, with respect
17 to equities in sea ports and aerial ports investment in
18 Europe.

19 Senator Hawley: Let me ask you a little bit about
20 NATO. There has been a lot of talk about NATO's role in
21 helping confront China.

22 Wouldn't it be helpful if European allies did more to
23 bear the burden of confronting Russia so that we could focus
24 on what has been identified as our pacing threat, the pacing
25 theater?

1 General Wolters: No argument that here, Senator.

2 And I pleased to report the nations are. They are very
3 fixated on Russia. There is no hesitancy on their part, and
4 I say that as a result of producing the first NATO military
5 strategy in over six decades. I am finalizing the concept
6 for deterrence and defense of the Euro-Atlantic area, all of
7 those codify the challenges that we face against a malign
8 Russia, and the nations have been very willing to produce
9 national plans that take into account Russia as a malign
10 influencer in the region.

11 Senator Hawley: Let me just ask you about our NATO
12 allies spending in 2014, I think it was, that NATO members
13 agreed to spend 2 percent of their GDP, respective GDPs on
14 defense by uh 2024.

15 Now, the world has changed a lot since 2014 and, then,
16 particularly, again, our own assessment of what is now our
17 pacing threat, from a military standpoint and given the
18 changed security environment, do you think that 2 percent is
19 still the right target?

20 General Wolters: I do, Senator.

21 I will tell you that from 2016 to 2020, the 10 nations
22 today that meet the 2 percent minimum, all the nations
23 involved have allowed us the opportunity to get our hands on
24 \$130 billion extra and that makes a big difference with our
25 ability to effectively compete.

1 Senator Hawley: Has EUCOM done any analysis as to that
2 2 percent number, why you still that that 2 percent is still
3 the right number?

4 General Wolters: Sir, EUCOM has done an analysis. OSD
5 has done analysis. And NATO has conducted analysis. And
6 the feedback we get is the [inaudible] pledge of 2 percent
7 is still viable with respect to our ability to build a
8 competitive edge against near-peer competition in Europe.

9 Senator Hawley: Would you be willing to share that
10 analysis, General, in the appropriate setting with this
11 committee?

12 General Wolters: Yes, sir.

13 Senator Hawley: Thank you very much.

14 Let me just ask you before I move to General Lyons
15 about ISR, you mentioned in your opening statement that
16 timely indications and warning would be key for deterring or
17 blunting any Russian attack in the Baltics.

18 Of course ISR is a very scarce commodity. Our forces
19 in the Pacific also need a timely indication to warnings of
20 possible Chinese attacks. They are particularly with regard
21 to Taiwan.

22 So, my question is, how do we minimize the amount of
23 American ISR that is needed in your AOR so we can monitor
24 Russian forces effectively, but also continue to bolster our
25 deterrent posture in PACOM?

1 General Wolters: Continue to communicate to our allies
2 and partners that the criticality of ISR and what it
3 contributes and indications and warnings, and what it
4 affords you the opportunity to do in the competition phase
5 before you get to crisis or before you get to conflict. And
6 in NATO, we are having success with that.

7 Senator Hawley: Very good. Thank you.

8 General Lyons, in my remaining seconds here, let me ask
9 you a logistics question. Admiral Davidson has recently
10 warned that China might attempt a fait accompli with regard
11 to Taiwan, much sooner than we might otherwise previously
12 have anticipated.

13 Just from a logistics standpoint, what do we need to
14 do, what do we need to have in place in the Indo-Pacific in
15 order to blunt such an offensive as quickly as possible, in
16 your view?

17 General Lyons: Well, Senator, you know, Admiral
18 Davidson has done some great work out there. It still has
19 to continue in terms of the posture, not just in the
20 Pacific, but the global posture. So, it is so critical that
21 we think of things globally and not just Indo-Pacific.

22 And our global posture that offers us a physical, a
23 temporal, and a psychological advantage to be able to come
24 when we are told to come. And I have a high degree of
25 confidence that we can do that.

1 I know that there is still work to be done as we evolve
2 and look at the future character of warfare, but I think we
3 are on the right path to support Admiral Davidson's
4 initiatives.

5 Senator Hawley: Very good.

6 My time had expired. I will have another question or
7 two for you for the record.

8 General Lyons: Thank you.

9 Senator Hawley: Thank you both, gentlemen, for your
10 service.

11 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hawley.

12 Senator Tuberville, please.

13 Senator Tuberville: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

14 Real quick, I know we are running out of time, but I
15 want to thank you for being here today and your service.
16 Just real quick, rest on arsenal, you know, we have quite a
17 bit of things at [inaudible] and you have done a great job
18 for the American people. It looks like we have a great
19 chance to have the Space Command.

20 General Lyons, how important is that, how important is
21 us to move up in Space Command? I know we are on the infant
22 ages of that, but what do you think about Space Command?

23 General Lyons: Senator, I think space is clearly a
24 warfighting domain and I think that the creation of
25 SPACECOM, as well as Space Force was critically important to

1 the way we are going to operate in the future and, you know,
2 the character of warfare as we see it.

3 I really can't comment on the basing issue, whether it
4 is Huntsville or some other location. I will confirm, just
5 being an Army officer and knowing what is at Huntsville, how
6 critical that installation is to Army operations and other
7 operations and such.

8 Senator Tuberville: Thank you.

9 General Wolters?

10 General Wolters: I couldn't agree more. Space is a
11 warfighting domain. It is a pretty large domain, compared
12 to all the others, and it is important that we understand
13 how to effectively compete and deter and defend in space.

14 Senator Tuberville: What do you think about laser
15 warfare? I have seen some examples of that in Huntsville
16 and what we are developing.

17 Do you see a future for that?

18 General Wolters: I do, Senator, and I think we need to
19 continue down that path. It is not cheap, but the return on
20 investment due to accuracy and lethality is very powerful
21 and very compelling.

22 Senator Tuberville: General Lyons?

23 General Lyons: Senator, I would just say, you know,
24 anything that provides us an opportunity to bring lethal
25 effects on an adversary to compel them to our will on aware

1 national security, that just has to remain on the table.

2 Senator Tuberville: Yeah. Thank you very much.

3 And just a quick comment about earlier about some
4 things that were said in here. I was disturbed a little bit
5 about using the word white supremacists.

6 You know, I am a football coach in trade and I build
7 teams. And that is what you are doing, you are building a
8 team, and we have people in here that has never been on a
9 team. They don't understand, you recruit people and you
10 make something out of them and you bring them together. And
11 you fight together. You live, you eat, you breathe. And
12 they come from all economic backgrounds, every culture in
13 the world.

14 Some people don't understand that. They don't
15 understand it. And you will eliminate them, as I did when I
16 was coaching. If you had somebody that wasn't a teach
17 member, they were gone.

18 You do the same thing in the military. We need to stay
19 out of that. We need to leave it to the generals, which, to
20 me, are the coaches, the people that do it, that get it
21 done, that know these young men and women. Because,
22 listening to our people the other day that we were
23 interviewing about a draft in the future, which, you know,
24 we want to draft women. We think they serve a great
25 purpose, and we are going to need it.

1 You know, this is a dangerous world. A dangerous
2 world. And we can't sit back and try to tear our military
3 down from people that really know nothing about it, about
4 building a team. So, I want to apologize for that. I mean,
5 that was not a good selection of questions, I don't think,
6 for this committee, because we are here to help. We are
7 here to give advice if you want advice, but not give you
8 advice so you have to take that.

9 And, you know, I was disappointed in Secretary Austin.
10 You know, he is a [inaudible] guy. And first thing we do is
11 we stand-down, stay out of it, personally.

12 And in terms of publicly, you know, I know being a
13 coach, there are a lot of things you didn't bring up
14 publicly. You kept it within, because you have got to
15 build, because you divide if you start bringing it up
16 publicly.

17 So, we need a killing machine and we are going to need
18 one, just looking at what is coming. So, thanks for your
19 service and your building, and hopefully, we can keep people
20 out of what you all do and do great, because you are the
21 defense of the world, not just the defense of this country.

22 Thank you very much.

23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Tuberville.

25 And thank you, gentlemen, for your testimony.

1 It is the intention now to adjourn the public hearing
2 and quickly move to SVC-217 for a classified session.

3 Senator Inhofe: Can I make one?

4 Chairman Reed: I will yield to Senator Inhofe.

5 Senator Inhofe: Well, let me just thank the coach for
6 his comments. Right on.

7 Chairman Reed: If there are no further comments, then
8 the hearing is adjourned.

9 [Whereupon, at 11:50 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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