

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND PROGRAMS
AND BUDGET IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE
AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2016
AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Thursday, April 30, 2015

Washington, D.C.

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1 HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
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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 9:31 a.m. in
13 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John
14 McCain, chairman of the committee, presiding.

15 Present: Senators McCain [presiding], Inhofe, Wicker,
16 Ayotte, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan,
17 Lee, Graham, Reed, Nelson, McCaskill, Manchin, Shaheen,
18 Gillibrand, Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, and King.
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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN McCAIN, U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM ARIZONA

3 Chairman McCain: Good morning. The committee meets
4 today to receive testimony on the posture of United States
5 European Commander. I want to welcome our old friend,
6 General Philip Breedlove, the Commander of the United
7 States European Command and Supreme Allied Commander,
8 Europe.

9 General Breedlove, I want to thank you and your family
10 for your dedicated service to the Nation. This committee
11 relies on the candor of each of those in -- of those in
12 positions such as yours to conduct the oversight work we're
13 sent here to do. So, I especially want to thank you, on
14 behalf of this committee, for your honest and forthright
15 presentation of the ongoing crisis in Ukraine over the past
16 year. I might point out that each one of your predictions
17 to this committee has been -- and to the world -- has,
18 unfortunately, been proven to be true about the actions
19 that Vladimir Putin continues to take in dismembering a
20 sovereign nation.

21 As Ian Brzezinski of -- explained before this
22 committee earlier this week, Europe and the NATO alliance
23 face, quote, "challenges on multiple fronts of
24 unprecedented complexity and increasing urgency." To its
25 south, the alliance faces a treacherous combination of

1 state sponsors of terrorism, failed states, and extremist
2 organizations. Already this year, radical Islamists
3 attacked Paris and Copenhagen. Last week, in the
4 Mediterranean, over 700 migrants perished tragically in a
5 shipwreck, fleeing the conflict and instability of North
6 Africa. And then there's Russia. To its north, the
7 transatlantic community faces Russian militarization of the
8 Arctic. And, to the east, NATO confronts Russia's invasion
9 of Ukraine.

10 Since the end of the Cold War, U.S. policy toward
11 Russia was based on a bipartisan assumption that the
12 Russian government sought to integrate peacefully into the
13 international order in Europe and to forge a constructive
14 relationship with the United States. The events of the
15 past year have overturned that assumption. Russia became
16 the first state in seven decades on the European continent
17 to send its military forces across an internationally
18 recognized border and forcibly annex the sovereign
19 territory of another state. Today, Russia maintains
20 sizable numbers of artillery pieces and multiple rocket
21 launchers on the territory of Ukraine, in violation of the
22 February cease-fire agreement. The Russian military has
23 recently deployed additional air-defense systems near the
24 front lines in eastern Ukraine, the highest amount since
25 last August, according to the State Department. It's a

1 disturbing sign that another offensive may be imminent.

2 In response, it is not that the United States and our
3 European allies have done nothing. It is that nothing we
4 have done has succeeded in deterring Putin's aggression and
5 halted his slow-motion annexation of eastern Ukraine.
6 Despite the advice of nearly every statesman and policy
7 expert that has appeared before this committee in recent
8 months, Henry Kissinger, George Shultz, Madeleine Albright,
9 Zbig Brzezinski and others, and against the advice of both
10 his Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, the
11 President of the United States has refused to provide
12 defensive lethal assistance to Ukraine. The Ukrainian
13 people aren't asking for U.S. troops. They're simply
14 asking for the right tools to defend themselves and their
15 country. The President's continued inaction for fear of
16 provoking Russia is seen by Putin as weakness, and invites
17 the very aggression we seek to avoid, and it only increases
18 the likelihood this aggression could expand to places like
19 Moldova, Georgia, the Baltic states, and Central Asia.

20 Of course, there is no military solution in Ukraine,
21 but there is a clear military dimension to achieving a
22 political solution. As three major think tanks wrote
23 recently, and I quote, "Assisting Ukraine to deter attack
24 and defend itself is not inconsistent with the search for a
25 peaceful political solution, and it's essential to

1 achieving it. Only if the Kremlin knows that the risks and
2 cost of further military action are high will it seek to
3 find an acceptable political solution."

4 Ultimately, we must recognize that we are confronting
5 a challenge that many had assumed was resigned to the
6 history books, a strong, militarily capable state that is
7 hostile to our interests and our values, and seeks to
8 overturn the international order in Europe that American
9 leaders of both parties have sought to maintain since World
10 War II. U.S. strategy and military posture in Europe
11 should adjust to reflect this harsh reality. Yet, as
12 Russia builds up, America draws down. The Obama
13 administration eliminated two heavy brigades stationed in
14 Europe in 2012. Yesterday, the Army announced the
15 departure of 24 Apache helicopters and 30 Black Hawk
16 helicopters from Germany. And we'll want to hear more from
17 General Breedlove on a plan for a rotational presence and
18 other efforts to reassure our allies.

19 As Admiral Stavridis, the former SACEUR and EUCOM
20 Commander, told this committee on Tuesday, "Since the end
21 of the Cold War, we're down 75 percent in personnel, we're
22 down 75 percent in the number of bases we have. We have,
23 in my view, come to a line that we should not continue to
24 diminish that presence further."

25 I'm also concerned about the fact that too many of our

1 NATO allies continue to fail to provide for their own
2 defense. Despite promises at the Wales Summit to reverse
3 the trend of declining defense budgets, soon Poland and
4 Estonia may be the only other allies meeting our alliance's
5 commitment to spend 2 percent of GDP on defense.

6 In response to the broader challenge that Russia poses
7 to security in Europe, it's not that the United States and
8 NATO have done nothing. We have created a modest rapid-
9 reaction force, increased air policing and sea patrols,
10 expanded training and exercises, and deployed small numbers
11 of additional forces to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and
12 Poland. The problem is, the actions we have taken seem
13 inadequate to the scope, scale, and seriousness of the
14 challenges we face.

15 None of us want a return to the Cold War, but we need
16 to face the reality that we are dealing with a Russian
17 ruler who wants exactly that. The reason for maintaining a
18 U.S. strong military presence in Europe is the same as
19 ever: to deter conflict and aggression. But, we must
20 revisit the question of what it will take to achieve this
21 goal when confronting a revisionist Russia that is
22 undergoing a significant military modernization and that is
23 willing to use force, not as a last resort, but as a
24 primary tool to achieve it's neo-imperial objectives. I
25 hope today's hearing will help us to better understand the

1 magnitude of the challenge we face in Europe.

2 I thank General Breedlove for joining us today, and
3 look forward to your testimony.

4 Senator Reed.

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

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

4 And, General Breedlove, welcome. Thank you for your
5 many years of service, you and your family. And please
6 pass along our gratitude to the servicemen and -women of
7 the U.S. European Command for their great service.

8 Let me also thank the Chairman for holding an
9 excellent hearing on Tuesday with witnesses from outside
10 the government on the security situation in Europe. That
11 hearing, along with today's hearing, will help inform the
12 committee's markup of the annual defense authorization
13 bill. I must also say that the series of hearings that the
14 Chairman has prepared over the course of this session has
15 been extremely useful by having policy experts and then the
16 relevant commanders come in. And thank you, Mr. Chairman.
17 It's really enhanced this discussion and our insight.

18 General Breedlove, you have responsibility to maintain
19 the critical transatlantic relationship with Europe. As
20 our witnesses on Tuesday emphasized, Europe does, indeed,
21 matter for United States national security. Our European
22 partners have made, and continue to make, significant
23 contributions to coalition operations in the Middle East
24 and South Asia. Our longstanding basing arrangements in
25 Europe provide vital support to operations in CENTCOM and

1 AFRICOM. And NATO remains a critical component of U.S.
2 security, based on its members' shared values and
3 interests.

4 Today, EUCOM confronts a range of challenges in or
5 around the European area, many of which have just recently
6 arisen. Foremost is the threat from an increasingly
7 confrontational and antagonistic Russia, which has revived
8 old fears of a divided Europe. Russia's aggression against
9 Ukraine has challenged the post-Cold War vision of a Europe
10 whole, free, and at peace. EUCOM is leading efforts to
11 respond to the hybrid warfare tactics used by Russia in
12 seizing Crimea and secretly supporting separatist forces in
13 eastern Ukraine. EUCOM and NATO have sought to counter
14 Russia's false narrative on Ukraine, highlighting the
15 continuing flow of heavy weapons, Russian military
16 leadership and training to the separatists, in violation of
17 the Minsk cease-fire agreements.

18 General Breedlove, we would be interested in your
19 assessment of the security situation in Ukraine and whether
20 you believe heavy fighting is likely to resume in the
21 coming weeks, as some are predicting. From early in the
22 Ukrainian crisis, EUCOM has been working with the Ukrainian
23 government to identify military and security shortfalls,
24 and advise in building Ukraine's capability to defend
25 itself. There is broad support in this committee and in

1 Congress for providing Ukraine military assistance,
2 including lethal defensive weapons necessary for it to
3 defend itself against further attacks. As discussed at
4 Tuesday's hearing, any arming of Ukraine involves risk and
5 needs to be done carefully and thoughtfully. But, as a
6 recent report by several leading think tanks concluded,
7 assisting Ukraine to deter attack and defend itself is not
8 inconsistent with the search for a peaceful political
9 solution. It is essential to achieving it.

10 EUCOM has also played a critical role in reassuring
11 our NATO allies closest to Russia. EUCOM has increased the
12 presence, on a rotational basis, of U.S. military forces in
13 eastern Europe, on the land, sea, and in the air. At the
14 NATO Wales Summit, members approved a Readiness Action Plan
15 and other steps to strengthen the alliance's capability to
16 come to the aid of a member whose security is threatened.
17 One issue I hope General Breedlove will address is whether
18 U.S. forces in Europe are postured to deter further Russian
19 aggression and whether this mission can be carried out over
20 the coming years with the use of U.S. forces rotating into
21 the European theater from bases back home.

22 Ultimately, much will depend on whether NATO members
23 fulfill their Wales commitments to achieve defense spending
24 at a level of 2 percent of GDP in the coming years. The
25 budget request includes nearly \$800 million, on top of the

1 1 billion approved last year, for the European Reassurance
2 Initiative to enhance the U.S. military presence and
3 activities in Europe.

4 EUCOM also must contend with security challenges along
5 Europe's other borders. The transit across the
6 Mediterranean of tens of thousands, possibly more, migrants
7 fleeing instability in Libya, Syria, Eritrea, and elsewhere
8 has overwhelmed countries in southern Europe. Efforts to
9 respond to this crisis have been mixed, to date, and
10 clearly more must be done soon as the violence and
11 instability in Libya and elsewhere continues unabated.

12 To the southeast, Turkey's porous border with Syria
13 continues to attract foreign fighters traveling to the
14 Syrian conflict and back, heightening the risk of future
15 anti-Western attacks like those in Paris and Brussels, and
16 adding to concerns about a rising ISIL presence in European
17 cities.

18 In the north, Russia's expanding militarization of the
19 Arctic is potentially at odds with international efforts to
20 promote cooperation and increase economic activity in this
21 region.

22 This is a long list. We look forward to your
23 testimony and thank you for your service.

24 Chairman McCain: Welcome back, General Breedlove.
25 Thank you. Please proceed.

1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL PHILIP M. BREEDLOVE, USAF,
2 COMMANDER, U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND / SUPREME ALLIED
3 COMMANDER, EUROPE

4 General Breedlove: Chairman McCain, Ranking Member
5 Reed, distinguished members of the committee, thank you for
6 the opportunity to appear before you today.

7 It is an honor to be here representing the dedicated
8 soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, civilians, and the
9 families, as you have both mentioned, of the U.S. European
10 Command. Thank you for all you do to support them as they
11 serve our Nation.

12 Compared to just 1 year ago, Europe faces a very
13 different and much more challenging security environment,
14 one with significant lasting implications for U.S. national
15 security interests. Our top concern, as both of you have
16 mentioned, is a revanchist Russia.

17 Russia is blatantly challenging the rules and
18 principles that have been the bedrock of European security
19 for decades. This is global, it's not regional. And it is
20 enduring, not temporary. Russian aggression is clearly
21 visible in its illegal occupation of Crimea and its
22 continued operations in eastern Ukraine.

23 In Ukraine, Russia has supplied their proxies with
24 heavy weapons, training and mentoring, command and control,
25 artillery, fire support, tactical and operational-level air

1 defense, among others. Russia has transferred many pieces
2 of military equipment into Ukraine, including tanks,
3 armored personnel carriers, heavy artillery pieces, and
4 other military vehicles. What we have seen over the course
5 of the fight was that, when the Russian proxy offensive
6 would ever run into trouble, Russian forces intervened
7 directly to right the course.

8 Today on the ground, the situation is volatile and
9 it's fragile. Russian forces used the opportunities
10 provided by the recent lull in fighting to reset and
11 reposition while protecting their gains. Many of their
12 actions are consistent with preparations for another
13 offensive.

14 The hope remains that both parties will fully
15 implement an effective cease-fire as an important step
16 towards an acceptable political resolution of the conflict,
17 one that represents the internationally recognized border.
18 I'm often asked, Should the United States and other provide
19 weapons to Ukraine? What we see in Russia is an aggressive
20 application of all elements of national power --
21 diplomatic, informational, economic, as well as military.
22 So, in my view, it would not make sense to unnecessarily
23 take any of our own tools off the table.

24 But, the crisis in Ukraine is about more than just
25 Ukraine. Russian activities are destabilizing neighbor

1 states and the region as a whole, and Russia's illegal
2 actions are pushing instability ever closer to the
3 boundaries of NATO. We cannot be fully certain what Russia
4 will do next, and we cannot fully grasp Putin's intent.
5 What we can do is learn from his actions. And what we see
6 suggests growing Russian capabilities, significant military
7 modernization, and an ambitious strategic intent. We also
8 know that Putin responds to strength and seeks
9 opportunities in weakness. We must strengthen our
10 deterrence in order to manage this opportunist confidence.

11 At the same time, Europe also faces the challenge of a
12 surge in violent extremism. European nations are rightly
13 worried about foreign fighters returning home to Europe
14 from the fight in Syria and Iraq with new skills and with
15 malign intent. Attacks like those in France, Belgium, and
16 Denmark are only likely to become more frequent. Foreign
17 fighters are part of a much broader pattern of insecurity
18 to Europe's south, with roots in the Middle East and North
19 Africa, transit routes are shared by violent extremists,
20 organized criminal networks, and migrant populations
21 fleeing difficult conditions in Libya and other
22 undergoverned spaces. The spread of instability into
23 Europe and the transnational terrorism we all face could
24 have a direct bearing on the national security of the U.S.
25 homeland.

1 EUCOM is working with European nations bilaterally and
2 supporting NATO alliance initiatives to meet and counter
3 this new and more complex security environment. Based on
4 the decisions made at NATO's Wales Summit last year, the
5 alliance is adapting in order to improve its readiness and
6 its responsiveness. The Readiness Action Plan, or RAP, is
7 well underway. Our allies are stepping up, making
8 contributions that give them a real stake in the outcome.
9 The United States will have a key and sustained role to
10 play in supporting and enabling these changes, especially
11 in critical areas that are hardest for our allies to
12 provide, like lift, sustainment, and enablers such as
13 intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance.

14 At the same time, our own U.S. efforts in Europe
15 remain essential. Our leadership is perhaps more important
16 now than at any time in recent history. Since Russian
17 troops illegally occupied Crimea last year, U.S. forces,
18 under the banner of Operation Atlantic Resolve, have
19 continued to take concerted steps to assure allies of our
20 commitment to their security and to Article 5 of the North
21 Atlantic Treaty, the common defense cornerstone of our
22 transatlantic security. EUCOM air, land, maritime, and
23 Special Operation Forces have maintained presence in all
24 three of our NATO allies in the Baltics, Poland, Romania,
25 and Bulgaria, as well as the Black Sea, providing an array

1 of capabilities, including airborne armor, mobile infantry,
2 light fighter, strike fighter, advanced air, and maritime
3 presence, in addition to training, advising, and exercising
4 with host-nation forces. You have made most of this
5 persistent presence possible through your support of the
6 European Reassurance Initiative, or, ERI. The assurance
7 measures it supports enable the alliance to remain strong
8 and cohesive in this new security environment.

9 In facing both of these serious challenges to Europe's
10 east and to its south, EUCOM is working closely with many
11 others -- our sister COCOMs, NATO partners, as well as
12 allies and other international organizations, including the
13 European Union. There is plenty of work to go around. And
14 our collaboration and our unity are essential. EUCOM is
15 also drawing heavily on great new efforts underway in the
16 Department of Defense, not the least the Defense Innovation
17 Initiative, which applies cutting-edge approaches to some
18 of the toughest challenges in our theater, like anti-access
19 area denial.

20 The strong threat posed by Russia and the growing
21 challenge to the south lead me to three areas where EUCOM
22 could particularly use your help:

23 First, sufficient forward -- persistent forward
24 presence. Our forward presence in Europe is the bedrock of
25 our ability to assure allies, to deter real and potential

1 adversaries, and to be postured to act in a timely manner,
2 should deterrence fail. It was our permanent presence in
3 Europe that gave EUCOM the ability to respond immediately
4 after Russian troops illegally occupied Crimea. Soldiers
5 from the 173rd Airborne Brigade in Germany deployed to the
6 Baltic states and Poland within 96 hours of receiving their
7 mission. And our F-15s from Lakenheath, England, began
8 flying missions out of Poland within 18 hours of being
9 giving the mission. That same permanent presence ensures
10 that EUCOM can play a full array of essential supporting
11 roles for other combatant commands, from neighboring
12 AFRICOM and CENTCOM to STRATCOM and TRANSCOM. Rotational
13 presence is not a substitute for permanent forward presence
14 in building relationships or signaling our commitment, but
15 a fully funded rotational presence can play an important
16 role in helping meet the requirements in our theater if it
17 is heel-to-toe and properly resourced.

18 The second area is sufficient intelligence support.
19 Since the end of the Cold War, our Nation's community of
20 Russian-area experts has shrunk considerably, and
21 intelligence assets of all kinds have been shifted to the
22 wars we've been fighting or to understanding potential
23 future threats. Russian military operations over the past
24 year in Ukraine and the region more broadly have
25 underscored that there are critical gaps in our collection

1 and analysis. Some Russian military exercise have caught
2 us by surprise, and our textured feel for Russian
3 involvement on the ground in Ukraine has been quite
4 limited. Earlier indications and warning and the ability
5 to better understand Moscow's thinking and intent are
6 absolutely critical for avoiding future surprise and
7 miscalculation, for deterring effectively, and for
8 preparing to respond, if required. Getting this right
9 requires more ISR, high-power analytical support, and
10 appropriate intelligence-sharing with allies and partners.
11 The same holds true for effectively waging counterterrorism
12 and counter-ISIL operations in and through the European
13 theater. A small investment in this capability could lead
14 to a large return in our understanding of the complex
15 challenges we face.

16 Third and finally is sufficient future resourcing. In
17 the near term, EUCOM's particular request for your support
18 for a European Reassurance Initiative for fiscal year 2016
19 is important. Your support for ERI in 2015 demonstrated
20 commitment to our allies, increased our ability to shape
21 the European theater, and allowed EUCOM to build and
22 sustain the capacity of our allies and partners. The
23 request for ERI in FY16 builds on this initiative. Key
24 components include maintaining air superiority presence,
25 participating in NATO exercises, supporting the rotational

1 presence of an armored brigade combat team, pre-positioning
2 equipment, funding the Global Response Force exercises, and
3 fostering SACEUR engagement with partners, and increasing
4 Guard and Reserve participation across the field.

5 We understand these reassurance measures come at a
6 cost, and in the current budget environment, additional
7 cost means making tough decisions. As a result of previous
8 constraints, our EUCOM readiness has already assumed
9 greater risk. Specifically, our deployment timelines are
10 longer, our preparations are less robust, and our
11 fundamental ability to deter and defeat in a timely and
12 effective manner is less sure than it was a decade ago. As
13 Secretary Carter testified recently, further reductions
14 would damage our national security and have a direct and
15 lasting impact on our ability to protect and defend the
16 Nation in and from the European theater.

17 Meanwhile, the security challenges in and around
18 Europe are growing sharper and more complicated. Your
19 support for EUCOM's mission and your tireless efforts to
20 chart a long-term path toward resourcing a strong national
21 defense are critical steps to ensuring the enduring ability
22 of EUCOM and DOD to protect and defend this great Nation.

23 From the dedicated men and women serving in our
24 European theater, thank you. Thank you for your time and
25 your attention. And I now look forward to taking your

1 questions.

2 [The prepared statement of General Breedlove follows:]

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1 Chairman McCain: Thank you, General.

2 Item of business. A quorum is now present. I ask the
3 committee to consider one civilian nomination and a list of
4 361 pending military nominations.

5 First, I ask the committee to consider the nomination
6 of Mr. Peter Levine to be Deputy Chief Management Officer,
7 Department of Defense. Is there a motion to favorably
8 report --

9 Senator Reed: So moved.

10 Chairman McCain: Is there a second?

11 Senator Manchin: Second.

12 Chairman McCain: All in favor, say aye.

13 [A chorus of ayes.]

14 Chairman McCain: Motion carries.

15 Finally, I ask the committee to consider a list of 361
16 pending military nominations. All of these nominations
17 have been before the committee the required length of time.
18 There's a motion to favorably report these 360.

19 Senator Reed: So moved.

20 Chairman McCain: Is there a second?

21 Senator Manchin: Second.

22 Chairman McCain: All in favor, say aye.

23 [A chorus of ayes.]

24 Chairman McCain: Those opposed?

25 [No response.]

1 Chairman McCain: The motion carries.

2 Thank you, General. And thank you for your final
3 remarks about the situation that will evolve if we continue
4 with sequestration. I think that's what you're talking
5 about, right?

6 General Breedlove: Yes, Chairman, it is.

7 Chairman McCain: And that would seriously impair your
8 ability, or our Nation's ability, to carry out our
9 responsibilities in Europe.

10 General Breedlove: That's correct, Chairman. And
11 challenge our forward presence.

12 Chairman McCain: And put the lives of the men and
13 women who are serving in the military in greater danger.

14 General Breedlove: Yes, Chair.

15 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

16 Very quickly, literally thousands of refugees,
17 migrants, are freeing North Africa and trying to arrive in
18 Europe. In some cases, that's not too great a distant.
19 Wouldn't it be logical for terrorist organizations, like
20 ISIS, to maybe place some people on those boats and
21 transport them to Europe?

22 General Breedlove: Chairman, this is one of our great
23 concerns, and also one of the great concerns of our allies.

24 Chairman McCain: Have we seen any indication of that
25 so far?

1 General Breedlove: Chairman, I can't talk to
2 specifics, but I will look into that and get back to you.
3 [The information referred to follows:]
4 [COMMITTEE INSERT]
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1 General Breedlove: I have not seen specific named
2 reports yet, but we are following several threat strings.

3 Chairman McCain: I get the impression from your
4 testimony that, as you have in the past, you are predicting
5 that we're in a period of pause with the Russians in
6 eastern Ukraine, and it's very likely, within a certain
7 period -- relatively short period of time, they will mount
8 additional -- the, quote, "separatists" will be mounting
9 further conflicts in the region -- in eastern Ukraine. Is
10 that accurate?

11 General Breedlove: Chairman, what we -- I cannot
12 accurately predict what they'll do, but I can watch what
13 they have done in the past and what they have done in this
14 lull, as you correctly describe. During this lull, we have
15 seen a period of what I would call "resetting" and
16 preparing, training and equipping to have the capacity to
17 again take an offensive.

18 Chairman McCain: So, they aren't doing all of what
19 they're doing now for nothing.

20 General Breedlove: In the past, they have not wasted
21 their effort.

22 Chairman McCain: In January, we had a hearing, and
23 Secretary Albright was there, and Shultz and Kissinger.
24 And all of them said that they believed we should provide
25 defensive weapons to the Ukrainian government. I asked

1 Secretary Carter, in his nomination hearing. He said, "I
2 am inclined in the direction of providing them with arms."
3 The list goes on and on.

4 And I'm not asking you to make policy. And so, I will
5 phrase my question in a way -- wouldn't it have a
6 significant impact on the military situation in eastern
7 Ukraine today if we gave the Ukrainian military the weapons
8 that they so badly need defensively?

9 General Breedlove: Chairman, first, the -- first of
10 all, I agree with the Secretary of Defense, and I believe
11 that -- as I mentioned in my opening statement, that our --
12 Mr. Putin and his forces have taken and used every tool to
13 their great advantage, to including the military tool.
14 And, as you have phrased, it is important that we should
15 consider all those tools. And I support the use -- the
16 consideration of using offensive weapons to change decision
17 calculus on the ground and to facilitate bringing our
18 opponent to the table for a solution -- a final solution.

19 Chairman McCain: I had the impression that our
20 European allies are reluctant to impose serious sanctions,
21 or seem to be seeking ways to lift sanctions, is directly
22 related to their dependence on Russian energy. Do you
23 think it would be helpful if we developed a strategy for
24 getting energy to our eastern Europeans friends,
25 particularly Ukraine, but also eastern Europe and even

1 Germany?

2 General Breedlove: Chairman, first of all, I
3 completely agree with your premise. As I said, Russians
4 use every tool, and this economic tool of energy -- using
5 energy as a tool or a weapon is clearly a part of the
6 calculus that is affecting the decision of many of our
7 allied nations. And any efforts we would take to make
8 Europe more energy independent from Russia would help in
9 this calculus. I agree.

10 Chairman McCain: What do your European friends say
11 when we admonish them that every -- all but two of them are
12 spending less than 2 percent of their GDP on defense? It
13 seems to me that they don't have much of a sense of alarm.

14 General Breedlove: Chairman, there's -- there is good
15 news here, and there remains concern here. We do see
16 several of the nations, in the last weeks, setting a plan
17 to achieve 2-percent spending. Those numbers are still
18 small, but we see nations doing that. We see a few nations
19 committing to, in the short term, getting to the NATO
20 average, which is below 2 percent and not the goal that we
21 have asked them to set. So, at least there is a commitment
22 to turn around a decline. But, there is concern about the
23 spending.

24 I would say that, to the positive side of the ledger,
25 as you know and we have talked about, the -- many of these

1 nations are stepping up and putting their forces where
2 they're required in our Readiness Action Plan in the Very
3 High Readiness Joint Task Force, committing, as European
4 nations, to be centerpieces of that Very High Readiness
5 Task Force.

6 So, I don't want to gloss over the challenge. We need
7 to remain focused on the spending and our pledges that all
8 the nations made at the Wales Summit. And we will be
9 continually focused on that.

10 Chairman McCain: Thank you, General. And I'll,
11 again, thank you for your service and, frankly, for your
12 very forthcoming responses to the questions of this
13 committee. I thank you.

14 Senator Reed: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 First, just a point of clarification. I think, in
16 response to Senator McCain's question, you talked about
17 offensive weapons. Is that --

18 General Breedlove: Senator, yes. I have been steady
19 on the record as saying that I believe all our tools should
20 be considered.

21 Senator Reed: Very good.

22 Let me follow up also on Senator McCain's question
23 about the potential flow into Europe and beyond of foreign
24 fighters, particularly coming from the Maghreb in the
25 Middle East. That is essentially a law enforcement problem

1 at this juncture. And I would assume that you're
2 collaborating with Department of Homeland Security, with
3 the FBI, and with all our law enforcement. Is that the
4 major thrust of --

5 General Breedlove: Sir, I would broaden the answer a
6 little bit. The short answer to your questions are yes.
7 And, in fact, we have, on our staff in EUCOM,
8 representatives of law enforcement agencies and others in a
9 directorate that we created for just this problem in our
10 J-9.

11 But, the -- if I could just broaden the answer just a
12 little bit, the example of Operation Ocean Shield off of
13 the Horn of Africa, and the example of Kosovo, the ULEX
14 mission from the EU, and NATO's K-4 mission are great
15 examples of where EUCOM is able to work with other agencies
16 in Europe, and where NATO is able to work with other
17 agencies in Europe. NATO brings a great command-and-
18 control military structure and military discipline to the
19 problem. So, in Ocean Shield, they took care of the sea
20 approaches to the Horn. And then the EU has that great
21 all-of-government more Ministry of Interior connections to
22 judiciary, to policing, and others. And so, the combined
23 excellence of NATO military with the European Union's
24 ability to reach ashore and do, these nexuses are where I
25 think we have a lot of good to do in the future to problems

1 like the foreign fighters that both you and the Chairman
2 have identified.

3 Senator Reed: But, part of this is being able to rely
4 upon Homeland Security, FBI, et cetera. And, in the same
5 context of your issue with sequestration, if these
6 Departments fell under sequestration, if they had limited
7 resources, that could materially affect your ability to
8 stop this threat?

9 General Breedlove: This is a broad response required
10 across those agencies, as well as military agencies,
11 Senator.

12 Senator Reed: Thank you.

13 Let me ask -- focus on Ukraine. There are several
14 dimensions. The two most significant, the operational
15 readiness of the Ukrainian military forces and the economic
16 reforms that they have to undertake to literally survive.
17 I think we had a chance to talk about this in the office.
18 Can you give us your -- from -- we focus significantly on
19 situation of weapons, but what are the top, sort of, items
20 that they need to be operationally capable of resisting?
21 It's not just weapons, it's a list. And, in fact, you
22 might sort of prioritize the list.

23 General Breedlove: Senator, thank you for the
24 opportunity to talk to this. And I would just open by
25 saying that we have what is called the Ukraine Commission,

1 the Joint Commission, where our EUCOM soldiers, sailors,
2 airmen, and marines have done a series of bilateral visits
3 and worked with the leadership of the military and their
4 ministries to do exactly what you talk about, which is to
5 identify their needs in this business. We did many of
6 those visits before the Russian offensive last August, so
7 we had to go back and redo a few, because that Russian
8 offensive seriously altered the complexion of the Ukrainian
9 military.

10 So, we have done a very exhaustive series, about 25
11 visits. And we have done exactly as you have described.
12 We have outlined things that we think are important. I
13 think the top three bins, in a purely military sense, not a
14 political or economic sense, are, first of all, in
15 communication and counter-communication. The Russian
16 forces were able to take the Ukrainians off the air in
17 certain areas, herd them, by turning off military
18 communications, onto their cell phones, and then use their
19 cell phones to attack them on the field. So, the ability
20 to communicate and also defend against counter-
21 communication, sort of item one.

22 Item two in a group is a what I call "counter-battery
23 capabilities." About 70 percent of the Ukrainian
24 casualties and deaths have been to Russian and separatist
25 artillery. And so, I would put in the second group of

1 capabilities and capacities that we need to work with on --
2 them on, is that counter-battery and how to survive
3 artillery fire.

4 And then the third is a broad range that I call
5 "counter-mobility." Russian forces and the separatist
6 forces in the east enjoy a wide range of armored
7 capabilities that have been supplied by Russia. And the
8 ability for the Ukrainians to address that capability is
9 important.

10 So, those are the three broad areas that I think are
11 probably the key.

12 And what I would say, also, Senator, in closing, is
13 that what we found in our visits, with our disciplined
14 approach to this, is pretty close to what President
15 Poroshenko and others are asking for as they talk back to
16 us.

17 Senator Reed: Just a final point. I know this is out
18 of your field, but if -- the economic reforms, from both a
19 quality of life and a -- the politics and the willingness
20 of the Ukrainian people to support the government, are
21 absolutely critical. And if they fail at that, that would
22 have a -- significant consequences, beyond just sort of a
23 -- further aggression by the Russians.

24 General Breedlove: Senator, as you know, I'm in and
25 out of Ukraine. And, as I have talked to both the

1 President and the Prime Minister, they were both elected
2 under a format of reform to -- economic and also getting at
3 corruption. They both know they have to deliver. And this
4 is important. And it's hard to deliver on that kind of
5 reform when you're in the field, fighting. We need to get
6 that fighting over so that they can begin to address the
7 issues that their electorate put them in office to correct.

8 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan.

9 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 And, General, I really appreciate not only your
11 testimony, which lays out the significant challenges that
12 we have, that your combatant command faces, but also how
13 forthright you've been, not only in testimony, but also in
14 public statements. I think you've been a real leader for
15 our country, in terms of telling it like it is, in terms of
16 what the challenges are and what we can do.

17 I want to dive deeper into what the Chairman mentioned
18 at the outset of his remarks. One of the aspects of
19 Russians -- Russia's activities is the militarization of
20 the Arctic. And I have a map here. I'm going to pass it
21 out to my colleagues. But, it's a pretty informative map
22 of how the Russians are militarizing the Arctic. That's
23 new -- a new Arctic command, as you know, four new Arctic
24 brigades, 11 new airfields, a huge icebreaker fleet, land
25 claims that they're making now in the Arctic, increased

1 long-range air patrols. And, General, you and I have
2 talked about their recent Arctic exercise, which I think
3 caught a number of people by surprise -- 38,000 troops,
4 close to 3400 military vehicles, 41 ships, 15 submarines,
5 110 aircraft -- lasted 5 days and included long-range
6 destruction of simulated enemy land and naval units as the
7 mission.

8 You talk about the COCOM seams in your testimony. And
9 the Arctic, in my view is a classic place for the COCOM
10 seams -- EUCOM, PACOM, NORTHCOM. What do you think the
11 Russians are up to? And do we need an Arctic O-Plan that
12 can help us coordinate efforts between the different seams
13 that we have in our COCOMs?

14 General Breedlove: Senator, thank you for the
15 opportunity to comment on that important issue. And I
16 share many of the concerns -- all of the concerns that you
17 identify.

18 One would hope that we could see what is happening in
19 the high north as an opportunity, economically. That
20 shorter route, even if it's only for several months a year,
21 saves lots of money and would make for a great push to all
22 of our economies --

23 Senator Sullivan: It's going to be an important
24 route, and there's a lot of resources there. Is that what
25 you think the Russians are doing? What are they doing?

1 General Breedlove: So, Senator, I think they are, in
2 -- to your concern, making sure that they have the
3 military infrastructure to be able to influence the high
4 north. Of course, their words are that this is all in a
5 peaceful manner. And again, as --

6 Senator Sullivan: Pretty big military exercise to be
7 in a peaceful manner.

8 General Breedlove: Yes, sir. We have to watch their
9 actions and see if we can derive their intents from those.

10 But, to the seams, Senator, they're -- the good news
11 here is that we recognize those seams. Admiral, as I call
12 him, Shortney Gortney, and I are -- have been friends for
13 many years. And we have met recently on this very issue.
14 And we have an initiative, called the Russia Strategic
15 Initiative, where all of the COCOMs who touch Russia have
16 come together, and EUCOM will lead an effort that we make
17 sure we don't have any seams in the way --

18 Senator Sullivan: Do you think we need an Arctic
19 O-Plan, though, to help address that and know what the
20 requirements are in the Arctic and other places?

21 General Breedlove: Sir, if you would allow, that's
22 more of a policy way ahead. I think --

23 Senator Sullivan: In your personal opinion, do you
24 believe that we --

25 General Breedlove: I think it's important that I am

1 aligned well with the other COCOMs in how we would address
2 the north.

3 Senator Sullivan: Let me ask another more specific
4 question. You know, the Army is contemplating removing,
5 not one, but two BCTs from Alaska. If you look at the map
6 there, you show -- it certainly shows how important that
7 strategic location is. Many military officials have
8 testified in front of this committee that they think that
9 would be a bad strategy, in terms of the signal it would
10 send, our readiness. In light of your testimony that Putin
11 responds to strengths and weaknesses, and that a critical
12 element of our strategy is a persistent forward presence,
13 and that your PACOM counterpart is focused on a, quote,
14 "rebalancing of forces to the Pacific," in your personal
15 opinion, given all of these items, do you think it makes
16 sense to reduce one Army soldier in Alaska, let alone one
17 or two entire BCTs, particularly our only airborne BCT in
18 the entire Pacific and the Arctic? And what do you think
19 Mr. Putin would think about us removing one or two BCTs
20 from the Arctic at this time, when he's certainly trying to
21 muscle his way into there?

22 General Breedlove: Senator, that -- Alaska and the
23 forces in Alaska are critical to our approach to Russia.
24 You rightly recognize that this is a strategic area and an
25 important area, and Putin will be watching. I don't mean

1 to be flip, but it's an important area for General
2 Breedlove, because his young daughter in -- serves in this
3 service, as well, and will soon land in Alaska to serve for
4 the next 3 years.

5 Senator Sullivan: Oh, we'll be glad to host her.

6 General Breedlove: So, Senator, this is important.
7 And the signature that we have there to be able to respond
8 is important. I know that the Army is facing some physics
9 problems as it relates to funding. And I'm not tracking
10 their thought process there, but I do believe it is
11 important that we keep the right capabilities to address
12 aggression in the north.

13 Senator Sullivan: Should we remove one single soldier
14 from Alaska right now?

15 General Breedlove: Sir, I would ask maybe that the
16 Pacific Commander would be better positioned to answer
17 that. I would not recommend reducing our capabilities in
18 the north.

19 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Chairman McCain: Senator Kaine.

22 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 And thank you, General Breedlove, for your testimony
24 today.

25 I want to talk about a different seam. I'll pick up

1 on Senator Sullivan's talking about the seams, the seam
2 between EUCOM and AFRICOM. You talk about your eastern
3 flank challenges and your southern flank challenges. And a
4 number of the southern flank challenges are because of
5 instability in Africa -- North Africa. And I think it's
6 important for the committee just to kind of be reminded.
7 EUCOM and AFRICOM share a lot of resources, correct?

8 General Breedlove: That's correct, Senator.

9 Senator Kaine: And in -- the resources that you share
10 are getting pretty stretched, because, just as you talk
11 about increasing challenges in the EUCOM region, if General
12 Rodriguez were here, he would talk about the number of
13 increasing challenges in AFRICOM, whether it be Boko Haram,
14 Lord's Resistance Army, you know, ISIL, or al-Qaeda,
15 splinter groups, al-Shabaab, AQIM. He would be singing the
16 same tune about increasing challenges, correct?

17 General Breedlove: Yes, Senator. And I think there's
18 just a couple of things to mention here that are good and
19 challenges. First, with AFRICOM, we have an authority that
20 COCOMs have never had in the past. The Secretary of
21 Defense has given us the authority, at the COCOM level, to
22 share forces quickly and easily, when required and the two
23 Commanders agree that those forces should be shared. And
24 this process works very well between Rod Rodriguez and
25 myself and our staffs. That's good.

1 But, to your other point, sir, I would like to seize
2 on that just a moment. Our forces in Europe, which I share
3 with General Rodriguez, have been sized, over the last two
4 decades, for Russia that we were looking --

5 Senator Kaine: Yeah.

6 General Breedlove: -- to make a partner. And so our
7 forces have come down, as the -- as was described in the
8 opening remarks, drastically since the end of the Cold War.
9 And our headquarters size has come down drastically across
10 the past few years. We are now the smallest COCOM
11 headquarters in the military.

12 And so, now we do, as you correctly point out, point
13 -- we face literally what I call three new missions and
14 three new threats. First and foremost, as we described
15 earlier, a revanchist Russia, which we're not sized for.
16 Second is this entire problem that the Ranking and the
17 Chairman both spoke to of this flow of migrants and other
18 people out of the under-governed spaces in North Africa.
19 And then, third is this Iraq/Syria/Levant problem that
20 could lap over our great ally to the east, Turkey's
21 borders, and become a problem. And so, our forces in
22 Europe were not sized for any of those three challenges --

23 Senator Kaine: And if I can just sort of summarize,
24 you were not sized for these challenges, you share
25 resources with an AFRICOM that is also seeing a significant

1 uptick in challenges, and you're dealing with the potential
2 reality of a budget sequester that would impose an even
3 tighter tightening of the belt at a -- at the very time
4 when the challenges are increasing. So, this has got to be
5 something that keeps you up at night.

6 General Breedlove: It is, Senator. And I -- but I,
7 again, want to say that the Joint Staff and OSD are
8 beginning to address those issues. As you know, we have
9 begun -- again, with the support of the ERI, we have
10 started a firm rotational force, and we're looking for
11 continued support of that rotational force in the next
12 year. And then, the Army has committed and has shown signs
13 of building that, then, into their '17 budget and beyond.
14 These rotational forces will be key to addressing the
15 shortfalls that we talked about, Senator.

16 Senator Kaine: I want to switch for a minute. You
17 talked about using all the tools at our disposal. The
18 tools that we most often talk about on this committee or in
19 the Foreign Relations Committee, or three of the four --
20 you used the DIME acronym -- diplomacy, information,
21 military, economic. We talk a lot about diplomacy, we talk
22 a lot about military, we talk a lot about economic, but we
23 don't talk much about information. Talk about the
24 information offensive that Russia is using, and how weak or
25 modest are the efforts that we are putting on the field to

1 counter it.

2 General Breedlove: Senator, we are facing a
3 dedicated, capable, and very lively information campaign
4 from Russia. They are in all of the spaces, from printed
5 to Internet to TV, and they are in those spaces in a
6 dedicated and capable way.

7 I will use a number that I have seen reported and in
8 the papers. I do not know it to be true. But, Russia has
9 put over \$330 million, we think, into these campaigns in
10 the very recent past in order to win these spaces. And
11 their TV capability into our northern Baltic nations is
12 very impressive. It's very good TV. It draws people to
13 listen, and then the message is passed.

14 Senator Kaine: And what are we doing to counter that?

15 General Breedlove: Sir, we are beginning -- we are in
16 the very beginning stages of organizing to get after this.
17 The Department of State has a dedicated team now. I will
18 meet with that team next Monday, here, after the weekend,
19 to discuss how we and Europe can move in this business. We
20 do have capability in some of our Special Forces to help
21 teach and train nations to deal with this challenge, and we
22 are doing that. Our Special Operation Forces are working
23 with the capitals in our allied nations; and now also our
24 NATO forces are beginning to look at these challenges, as
25 well.

1 Senator Kaine: I think that's a big challenge ahead.

2 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Thank you, General Breedlove.

4 Chairman McCain: Senator Lee.

5 Senator Lee: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 And thank you, General, for joining us today.

7 In September of last year, NATO allies agreed, at
8 Wales, to, among other things, quote, "reverse the trend of
9 declining defense budgets to make the most effective use of
10 our funds and to further a more balanced sharing of costs
11 and responsibilities," close quote. Between 2001 and 2013,
12 the U.S. share of total allied defense spending increased
13 from 63 percent at the outset to 72 percent at the end of
14 that period while allies have decreased their spending, on
15 average, by 20 percent since 2008, according to the
16 Congressional Research Service. So, I've got a couple of
17 questions for you that relate to this.

18 First, do you think increased military investments by
19 our European allies, both individually and also
20 collectively, would likely help us deter Russian
21 aggression? And also, how do you think a more balanced
22 sharing of costs and responsibilities might impact U.S.
23 national security and also its fiscal interests?

24 General Breedlove: Thank you, Senator, for the
25 question.

1 And I must agree with all the facts. These are
2 straightforward. We do -- we are concerned about our
3 allies' spending. It was a big part of the discussion at
4 Wales. And yes, our nations did, as you described, pledge
5 that, by 2024, a decade, they would reach 2 percent. As I
6 mentioned earlier, we've seen nations now, a few of them --
7 I think as many as five -- have now made a pledge to
8 increase their spending. But, this is a slow process, and
9 the nations that are closest to the problem are more apt
10 now to forward in their increased spending. But, we do see
11 other large nations -- even today, news of a large nation
12 -- committing to increase spending.

13 The -- will an increased investment deter? Not if
14 spent unwisely. But, if we increase investment across all
15 of our allies, and invest in those capabilities that do add
16 to our military deterrence value, yes, it can make a
17 difference. And I think that's what you see, Poland
18 leading the way, increasing their spending, and increasing
19 their spending in targeted areas that they knew not only
20 they needed, but the NATO alliance needs. And so, these
21 are important.

22 Senator Lee: It would make a difference, and it would
23 make a difference to us, and it would also make a
24 difference for deterring Russian aggression.

25 And, on the point of Russian aggression -- so,

1 Secretary Kerry, on April 27th, very recently, at the
2 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference, stated
3 that the United States is still willing to negotiate with
4 Russia a series of nuclear reductions that would take us
5 below the New START Treaty levels. All of this, despite
6 Russia's aggression in Ukraine, and despite Russia's
7 violation of the INF Treaty announced last year.

8 So, let me ask it -- do you think that the security
9 situation in Europe today is more stable or less stable
10 than it was before the New START Treaty was ratified?

11 General Breedlove: Senator, I would say that the
12 security situation in Europe is less stable, but it's not,
13 based on the nuclear piece. That's not what worries me.
14 What worries me is Russia, as a nation, now adopting an
15 approach that says they can and will use military power to
16 change international borders or take over international
17 states. That's what I truly worry about every day.

18 Senator Lee: And I share that concern, and you're
19 right to be worried about that. And, in light of that, and
20 in light of your experiences as EUCOM Commander and working
21 at NATO, do you think negotiating a new nuclear reduction
22 treaty should be a higher priority for us right now than
23 addressing Russia's violation of the INF Treaty or its
24 aggressive behavior toward its neighbors, like Ukraine?

25 General Breedlove: So, Senator, I kind of agree with

1 your construction at the end, there. It's very important
2 that we continue to address my -- I think, a lot of
3 people's -- primary concern, which is this more
4 conventional problem. And your point about the INF, this
5 is very concerning. We do need to address what we all
6 recognize is operations outside of the INF. And we do need
7 to address that.

8 Senator Lee: I see my time's expired, General and Mr.
9 Chairman, but I'd just -- I cannot fathom a world in which
10 we would see that it would make any sense at all for us to
11 negotiate further nuclear reductions with Russia when
12 Russia is in violation of existing treaty obligations and
13 Russia is behaving the way that it is toward neighbors like
14 Ukraine. I cannot fathom it. And I don't think the
15 American people can support it. And I hope this
16 administration will reconsider that very ill-considered
17 policy.

18 Thank you.

19 Chairman McCain [presiding]: Senator Manchin.

20 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 And thank you, General, for your service and your
22 explaining the complex situation we deal with.

23 Let me ask a question concerning on oil production
24 and, basically, U.S. reconsidering, if you will, our crude
25 oil exportation or a ban -- removing that ban. The way

1 Russia has been able to use, as far as I'm seeing in
2 Europe, Europe remains heavily dependent on Russia for
3 energy, with one-third of the EU oil imports coming from
4 Russia. Do you think we should consider, strategically --
5 would it be something that we could look at that would help
6 us with the European allies that we have, if we used our
7 newfound wealth, as far as the riches and deposits of
8 energy, towards using it from our military standpoint?

9 General Breedlove: Thank you, Senator.

10 As a fighter pilot, it's a little bit out of my
11 league, but I do have some feelings there. The bottom line
12 is that we have clearly seen that Russia uses energy as a
13 tool --

14 Senator Manchin: Right.

15 General Breedlove: -- as a weapon, as we talked about
16 in the DIME model in that economic end. Threatening,
17 changing, adjusting prices, cutting off the flow of energy
18 has been a tool and I expect will be a tool in the future.

19 I think that the current drop in oil prices, coupled
20 with sanctions, have caused a lot of problems for Mr.
21 Putin. And so, that may be somewhat diminished now. But,
22 clearly, energy will remain a tool in the toolkit that the
23 Russian Federation considers. And that -- efforts that we
24 could make to help Europe and some of our key allies to be
25 more energy independent would clearly aid our concern.

1 Senator Manchin: Or less dependent on Russia. And I
2 agree.

3 Next of all, the relationship seems to have degraded
4 to the point to where the Cold War is colder today than it
5 was during the Cold War of yesteryear. I just came back
6 from a conference on Russia and Ukraine in Berlin, and it
7 was very enlightening. And they were both Russian
8 scholars, people who know the Russian thought process, that
9 were saying we should be careful about Ukraine -- arming
10 Ukraine. I would have thought -- as a West Virginian, we
11 always stand up for the underdog and try to help them, but
12 they said we should rethink that position. You might want
13 to give a thought on that, and you already have on some.
14 But, what -- the relationship -- what are we doing to build
15 a relationship or a dialogue? I mean, has it deteriorated
16 to the point we're not talking to a country that's
17 extremely powerful, as far as in the line of nuclear
18 weapons?

19 General Breedlove: So, Senator, again, thank you.

20 I think that there are places where we're talking a
21 lot. I watch our Secretary of State, Secretary Kerry, work
22 with his counterpart, Lavrov, a lot. So, there are avenues
23 where there is great conversation.

24 I would tell you, sir, what's worrisome is that the
25 military level of conversation has been diminished.

1 Senator Manchin: From your standpoint, your cohort,
2 as far as, I guess, on your level --

3 General Breedlove: Valery Gerasimov.

4 Senator Manchin: -- is not -- it's nonexistent?

5 General Breedlove: We -- I'll be very distinct in how
6 I answer this -- we have a line of communication that
7 works. We know that I can talk to him and he can talk to
8 me. We know that we have the right translators and things.

9 Senator Manchin: You haven't had lunch for a while,
10 right?

11 General Breedlove: I haven't had a lot of
12 conversations with him --

13 Senator Manchin: I understand.

14 General Breedlove: -- since he went into Crimea.

15 Senator Manchin: S-300. Knowing that we have this
16 conversation going on, knowing that we have a pending
17 outline of a deal, the Iran deal, what did you make of the
18 Russians stepping up and making an announcement, in the
19 middle of this negotiations, on furnishing S-300s to Iran?
20 How did you read that?

21 General Breedlove: Senator, I think that this is a
22 tool to influence the conversation, as many other tools
23 have been used in the past to influence conversations. I
24 think that President Putin's first goals are really not
25 about Ukraine, it's about changing the West. Mr. Putin

1 doesn't like to deal with the EU, in an economic sense, and
2 he doesn't like to deal with NATO, in a military sense.
3 And so, many of the tools he used are to try to drive
4 wedges in the EU and NATO. And if he can divide those
5 organizations, then all the other things he needs falls
6 into place. And I think that he uses many tools to force
7 these conversations --

8 Senator Manchin: But, the P5+1 were working with him
9 on this whole framework, and here he is, it looks like,
10 undercutting it or, basically, sending a different message
11 completely. How are we going to trust that he would be
12 part of the P5 if we have to make some decisions, or
13 participate?

14 General Breedlove: I agree with your concern.

15 Senator Manchin: I have some others, but we'll talk
16 later. Thank you so much, General.

17 General Breedlove: Yes, sir.

18 Senator Reed [presiding]: Senator Fischer.

19 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator.

20 Good morning, General, it's nice to see you.

21 As you know, General Rodriguez testified that he
22 thought Libya-based threats have the highest potential of
23 threats in his region to increase risk to the United States
24 and the European strategic interests in the next 2 years.
25 Do you share that concern? And are you satisfied with the

1 response that we have had to that crisis in Libya?

2 General Breedlove: Senator, I am concerned about
3 Libya, and I think, as important, as the European
4 Commander, it's key that I should tell you that many of our
5 key allies are very concerned about Libya. I would say
6 that, rightfully so, our Italian friends are very focused
7 on what's going on in Libya. You know, they're -- are very
8 close to the African continent, and are under great
9 pressure from migrations of all manner of people, some of
10 which could be nefarious and some of which could be just
11 legitimate refugees. But, what is happening in North
12 Africa, and Libya sort of being at the nexus of it right
13 now, concerns me and concerns our allies.

14 Senator Fischer: You mentioned specifically the
15 Italians. Do you see the refugees that are landing and
16 being transferred into Italy? Are they staying in Italy or
17 are they moving through Italy to other countries? And, if
18 so, what's the response of those countries?

19 General Breedlove: The answer is yes to both. Some
20 are staying in Italy and some are quickly transiting in the
21 Schengen Zone into other nations. And all of the nations
22 of Europe are concerned about these flows, because -- what
23 they could possibly bring and, frankly, they put pressure
24 on all the social systems of these nations.

25 Senator Fischer: Have any of our European allies come

1 up with a coordinated strategy in how to deal with
2 refugees? But, really more importantly, how are they going
3 to deal with Libya, and are we involved in those
4 conversations?

5 General Breedlove: So, first, ma'am, as you know,
6 Italy started out with an -- a military operation if its
7 own, Mare Nostrum. And this operation was tough and
8 consumed almost their entire naval capacity for a certain
9 amount of time. That military operation has been
10 supplanted now by a European Union operation, which is
11 right now being stressed pretty badly by what is happening
12 on the Mediterranean oceans. And you've seen a couple of
13 disastrous results, here, recently.

14 These are concerns. And the nations are talking about
15 how to handle it and how the nations that are most
16 effective may need other nations' help. It is primarily a
17 conversation inside the EU, because these -- this has a --
18 lots of reaches into what we discussed earlier. These are,
19 in many cases, Ministry of Interior issues when they come
20 to the land, as opposed to Ministry of Defense issues.

21 But, the answer, ma'am, is yes, we are talking, and we
22 are looking at this problem. And I expect that it will be
23 a growing conversation, because this problem will get worse
24 before it gets better.

25 Senator Fischer: If I can move back to some of the

1 questions and responses you had on the INF Treaty violation
2 with -- that the Russians committed. Have they
3 acknowledged that they violated that Treaty yet?

4 General Breedlove: Ma'am, I don't think they've
5 acknowledged. What they continually do when we bring up
6 the INF issue is, they point to how the West has busted the
7 INF. They continually point to our missile defenses as
8 being outside of the INF. They point to some of the test
9 missiles we have used to -- in the past, et cetera. So,
10 the conversation is, we address their -- what we think
11 they're outside of the INF, and, rather than answering,
12 they address where they think we're outside of the INF.

13 Senator Fischer: So, what actions have we taken to
14 date to respond to their violation? Are we being forceful
15 in any way in trying to get the Russians to respond to us
16 in any kind of meaningful way, or are we going to continue
17 with this back-and-forth cat-and-mouse game?

18 General Breedlove: Senator, I actually think that the
19 Department of State -- and Secretary Gottemoeller is
20 pushing pretty hard on this -- and that's the first stage
21 of this, is to try to do this through those kinds of
22 conversations. So, I am actually maybe a little more
23 optimistic than you sound at this point on Rose
24 Gottemoeller's efforts and how she's working it.

25 Senator Fischer: And I appreciate your comments, and

1 thank you, sir, for your service.

2 General Breedlove: Thank you, ma'am.

3 Senator Reed: Senator King.

4 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 General, I understand you had some discussion with
6 Secretary Sullivan -- I had to be at another committee
7 meeting briefly -- on the question of the Arctic. I'd like
8 to put a slightly different twist on that.

9 Five of the eight Arctic nations are NATO nations.
10 Are they taking this seriously? Are they engaged? Has
11 there been communication, in terms of NATO's position, with
12 regard to the Russian buildup in the Arctic?

13 General Breedlove: Senator, thank you. Yes, our NATO
14 nations are concerned about this. And the -- while only
15 five or eight are allies, others are very close partners in
16 the way that we do business. And so, the eight nations, of
17 course, are on the Arctic Council together. The United
18 States took charge of the chairmanship of the Arctic
19 Council this year. We also work closely with Norway and
20 another venue in the Arctic. So, there is a consorted
21 concern. Nations are not completely unified in the
22 approach yet. But, there is strong conversation about,
23 What is it that we do, going forward?

24 Senator King: Would you agree that one of the things
25 we certainly need to do is infrastructure, in terms of

1 things like icebreakers? We are woefully under-resourced,
2 in terms of that kind of asset. Is that correct? Is that
3 your understanding?

4 General Breedlove: Sir, I have had the same reports
5 you have, and we are limited in our icebreaker capacity.
6 And I think it is important that all of the Arctic nations
7 now begin to look at, What are our capabilities and
8 capacities to deal with this new environment?

9 Senator King: Thank you.

10 To go back to -- there was a moment in your opening
11 remarks that caught my attention. And I don't think I
12 wrote it down exactly, but it goes to the question of the
13 Ukrainians and arming the Ukrainians. And you said
14 something to the effect, "When the proxy forces run into
15 trouble, Russian forces step in to right the balance."
16 That goes to the heart of my concern about arming the
17 Ukrainians. And the consensus seems to be developing that
18 that's the right thing to do.

19 My question is, Does not the principle that you stated
20 in that sentence apply, in that our arming of the
21 Ukrainians would simply provoke a counter-reaction from
22 Russia, a kind of escalation? And have you gamed that out?
23 Where does it stop? They're not going to ignore our more
24 direct intervention, in terms of lethal arms. And I'd like
25 to know your thinking on that.

1 General Breedlove: Senator, thank you. This is one
2 of the toughest things that we look at and consider, and we
3 are war-gaming and table-topping to work our way through
4 it, because I have been consistent, in my remarks and other
5 testimony, that yes, we need to be intellectually honest
6 that anything we do -- anything we do -- is going to
7 provoke a Russian response. This is the way they do
8 business.

9 And I have also said, Senator, that inaction is also
10 an action, and the Russians will react to it. As I said in
11 my opening statement, Mr. Putin does understand weakness,
12 and takes advantage of it.

13 So, we need to look at both sides of the ledger. And
14 we are doing that. We have all agreed, and, as the
15 Chairman mentioned in his opening statement, we do not
16 believe that there is any -- there is a good course in
17 trying to arm the Ukrainians to the points that they could
18 defeat Russian forces in the field. We don't -- no one
19 thinks that's the path ahead. What we do believe is that
20 we should consider changing the decision calculus of Mr.
21 Putin. And that's what we look at. And we acknowledge, as
22 you have said, that if we do consider and eventually yes-
23 or-no on more lethal weapons, it could have a detrimental
24 effect, as well.

25 Senator King: Everyone around here is trying to

1 psychoanalyze Mr. Putin, but do you believe that his
2 incursion or his support of the separatists in the Ukraine
3 was provoked by a Russian national strategy, if you will,
4 of trying to piecemeal rebuild the Russian empire, the
5 Soviet Union, or was it provoked by his concern that the
6 Ukraine was moving too closely toward the West, there was
7 talk of joining the EU, talk of joining NATO? Do -- in
8 other words, where did all this start? I think -- and you
9 mentioned, in your prepared testimony, that clearly Russia
10 views Ukraine as within their sphere of influence, just as
11 we view Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean as within our sphere
12 of influence, and we would react if there was a movement of
13 those organizations into what would be considered a hostile
14 camp. What -- do you understand my -- understand where I'm
15 going with it?

16 General Breedlove: I do. I do, Senator. And I would
17 answer yes to both of your first questions. Yes, this is
18 partially due to the sudden movement as the government
19 changed, following the Maidan. That certainly had a part
20 of the calculus. Also, there -- as you rightly described
21 --

22 Senator King: I think the question is, Was that the
23 motivation or an excuse? That's what it --

24 General Breedlove: I would -- the answer is yes to
25 both of those, as well. I -- there are those who have said

1 -- and I follow the logic -- that -- and has been reported
2 recently -- that Mr. Putin had designs on Crimea long
3 before any of this. You've seen it reported in the press.

4 And so, we do believe that he has thought through these
5 possibilities in the past. So, none of this was a spur-of-
6 the-moment action. But, it could also have been a reaction
7 to what we saw in the change of government following the
8 Maidan.

9 I think what is important to understand is the second
10 part of your two-question pair, which is that Russia does
11 want to have a sphere of influence that buys a buffer zone
12 between them and the West, and they very much see Ukraine
13 as part of that sphere of influence. I've shortened this
14 to a quip that does not -- it should not be trivialized,
15 but the bottom line is, Russia wants Kiev out of the West,
16 and wants the West out of Kiev. And he would like to have
17 Russia driving all of the levers in what happens in Ukraine
18 to maintain that in the future. And I think that's where
19 this is headed.

20 Senator King: Thank you, General, for your thoughtful
21 answers, and thank you for your extraordinary leadership on
22 this difficult issue.

23 Senator, thank you.

24 Chairman McCain: Didn't he also say, on many
25 occasions, the worst event of the 20th century was the

1 breakup of the Soviet Union?

2 Senator Ernst.

3 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

4 Thank you, General, very much for being here today,
5 and thank you for your service, and your staff's, as well.

6 In your posture statement, you stated that one of
7 EUCOM's top three -- in the top three security threats is
8 the flow of foreign fighters between Europe and the Levant.
9 So, with that statement, what is the impact to the security
10 of our European allies and to U.S. interests in that region
11 brought by ISIL, al-Nusra, and any number of those other
12 extremist organizations that have been radicalized by them,
13 who benefit from the use of Turkish soil as a means of
14 their lines of communication, that territory for transit,
15 for recruiting, financial services, purchase of goods,
16 weapons? What is the threat there that you see, General?

17 General Breedlove: So, thank you, Senator.

18 And it is one of those three sort of threats that have
19 arisen from North Africa, from the Levant, especially Iraq
20 and into -- or Syria and into Iraq, and then, of course,
21 Russia was the third. But, this is a problem for all of
22 Europe. It is an immediate problem for our Turkish ally,
23 because it's on their border, and the possibility of it
24 spilling over into Turkey, the impact of well over 1.6
25 million migrants, et cetera, et cetera -- Turkey is facing

1 direct impact from what is happening there. And we cannot
2 discount that at -- I think it's highly unlikely, let me
3 tell you, but we cannot discount that there might actually
4 be a military incursion across it sometime in this
5 calculation. So, these are things we need to worry about.

6 But, the most pressing issue is what you and others
7 have talked about, and that is this flow of fighters, a
8 large number of fighters in Iraq and Syria, and many of
9 them will return, with new skills and malicious intent,
10 back to their nations. We have seen this already disrupted
11 in a few of the nations. So, how do we address that flow?
12 Again, we're in the nascent stage of two very good
13 projects, where we are bringing nations together to address
14 this. And those, ma'am, I would need to talk about in a
15 different setting.

16 Senator Ernst: Certainly.

17 And the fact, fact or otherwise, that Turkey is an
18 ally -- I think it could be disputed, on any different day.
19 I think there is a lot that goes on through Turkey that we
20 would rather not see happening. And so, in your opinion,
21 then, is the risk of any sort of action coming through
22 Turkey, would you consider that that would be -- whether
23 it's ISIS or any of these other organizations into Europe
24 -- would you say that that threat is low -- low risk or
25 high risk?

1 General Breedlove: Ma'am, I would not single out
2 Turkey. I think that the flows are in several areas, as
3 was -- as we discussed earlier. Some of this threat vector
4 may be coming across in this flow into Italy, the diaspora
5 from the Libya area, as these people move freely across the
6 northern Africa and the Maghreb and there -- have multiple
7 points of entry into Europe. Turkey is -- clearly has had
8 issues with flows. They are addressing those flows. And I
9 -- this is a broader problem than just their borders.

10 Senator Ernst: Okay. And that is a good point,
11 General, thank you.

12 And you mentioned earlier you are a fighter pilot.
13 And thank you for your service in doing that. Could you
14 please describe how important it is to have search-and-
15 rescue capabilities close to those areas of the fight? We
16 had seen recently, of course, that Turkey refused to allow
17 the United States access to the search-and-rescue missions,
18 or having those types of search-and-rescue missions out of
19 Incirlik. So, could you please describe what effects that
20 has to the combat fighters and those types of missions?

21 General Breedlove: So, to the overall question,
22 first, as a single-seat fighter pilot, we don't allow
23 search-and-rescue pilots to buy their beers when they're in
24 the bars, because their job is incredibly important to what
25 we do. So, I'll stop on that one. There is -- the

1 necessity and the importance of search and rescue cannot be
2 overstated.

3 Ma'am, we have been working with Turkey on some very
4 key things. One I can talk about in this venue, our
5 training and equipping missions is now up and running.

6 Senator Ernst: Very good.

7 General Breedlove: And so, we've made progress there.

8 Senator Ernst: Very good.

9 General Breedlove: On the other two, I would like to
10 have someone come by and talk to you about --

11 Senator Ernst: Absolutely.

12 General Breedlove: -- the progress there.

13 Senator Ernst: We will do that.

14 Thank you very much, General.

15 And my time is expired. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

16 Chairman McCain: Senator Shaheen.

17 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

18 General Breedlove, can you describe the importance of
19 providing security assistance training to our NATO allies,
20 particularly in eastern Europe? And is there more that we
21 can do? And I understand that there's -- there may be some
22 question about authority to actually provide the assistance
23 that we might want to. And is this something that this
24 committee should be looking at as we look at making sure
25 you have the ability to do what you need to do with respect

1 to training?

2 General Breedlove: So, ma'am, this is important. May
3 I just make a couple of key examples?

4 Senator Shaheen: Please.

5 General Breedlove: Georgia and Romania, today the
6 number-two and number-four contributor of forces to
7 Resolute Support. The number-two troop-contributing nation
8 to our efforts now, our NATO efforts and U.S. efforts in
9 Afghanistan, is Georgia, a non-ally. We've had a great
10 program with our U.S. Marine Corps in training Georgian
11 troops, and Georgia has gone to Afghanistan during the
12 kinetic fighting, and they've died alongside our forces in
13 the toughest parts of southern Afghanistan, where they
14 fought without caveat. So, all of these efforts that we
15 have, where we train our eastern allies and partners --
16 Romania being an ally, and I'll talk to them in just a
17 moment -- but, these efforts that we have, where we train
18 our allies and partners means two things: their nations
19 draw closer to our Western values and morals and
20 capabilities; and, two, as they serve alongside of us, that
21 means our soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen do not
22 have to go there in the same numbers. And so, it's
23 absolutely key.

24 Romania, now, the number-four contributor to Resolute
25 Support and, I think, an anchor in the south on the Black

1 Sea, and the things that they're doing in our NATO RAP
2 program, where they are providing headquarters to lead in
3 the south -- so, the bottom line is that these allies and
4 partners are incredibly important to us a nation and an
5 alliance as we address in the future.

6 And, ma'am, there are a lot of authorities out there.
7 What we have asked is to be considered to have one created
8 for eastern Europe, because we don't compete well sometimes
9 with other places in the world where fighting and things
10 are going on, and that's what we've asked you to consider,
11 ma'am. And we would appreciate your support.

12 Senator Shaheen: And so, just to be clear, this is
13 something that would need to be done through statute, and
14 it's something that we can consider as we're looking at the
15 authorization bill this year.

16 General Breedlove: Yes, ma'am. And if you're
17 interested, we will have the right people talk with your
18 staff.

19 Senator Shaheen: Absolutely. Thank you.

20 Can you -- you mentioned in your statement, the
21 European Reassurance Initiative, which I think is something
22 that has not gotten a lot of attention. And I wonder if
23 you could assess how it's working, talk a little bit more
24 about what key areas we should be investing in. How is the
25 implementation of this going?

1 General Breedlove: Ma'am, I would never sound like I
2 was correcting. Maybe it doesn't get a lot of interest
3 back here, but let me tell you, in Europe and amongst our
4 European allies, it gets a lot of attention, and it's being
5 used well. We are using this year's ERI to do a myriad of
6 things: rotational force, the division that has been
7 rotating into our northern nations now in that rotational
8 army force funded by the ERI; bringing aircraft over, such
9 as the A-10s in Campia Turzii and others -- these are
10 brought over in these funds.

11 Second of all, if I could show you on a map where all
12 of the investments in infrastructure have been made, you
13 would see a very clear move to the east and the south into
14 our newer nations, providing them with small things that
15 would help us if we had to rapidly reinforce -- fixing
16 railheads, fixing landing strips and cargo pads, things
17 that allow us to more quickly join that partner, if we had
18 to in the first, and plot it on a map, you would see a
19 string of investments that is demonstratively in the east
20 and in the south to address these new nations.

21 And so, the ERI has had a direct impact already. And,
22 as you know, ma'am, we have asked for it to be continued in
23 '16.

24 Senator Shaheen: So, you are feeling positive about
25 how it's going, and the response from our European partners

1 has been very positive.

2 General Breedlove: Yes, ma'am.

3 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

4 My time is up. But, I just wanted to echo the
5 comments that you made about Georgia's contributions to the
6 Afghanistan effort and to support for NATO. I agree, I
7 think they've been a terrific partner, and hopefully will
8 continue to be.

9 Thank you, General Breedlove.

10 Chairman McCain: Senator Ayotte.

11 Senator Ayotte: Thank you, General, for your service
12 and leadership.

13 I wanted to ask you, if another Benghazi-type attack
14 occurred tomorrow or tonight in North Africa, would
15 European Command be better prepared to respond more quickly
16 and effectively to this type of attack in a region that we
17 see even more activity, more terrorism, and more
18 instability at this point?

19 General Breedlove: Senator, first and foremost,
20 AFRICOM would be better prepared to respond to this attack.
21 And part of the reason AFRICOM would be better prepared is
22 because of our hosting, preparing, training, on a day-to-
23 day basis, of those forces that AFRICOM would use. As you
24 know, AFRICOM, we share forces with AFRICOM. Our Special
25 Forces, our airlift forces, our fighters that are on alert

1 are all EUCOM assets, but are at the ready to rapidly
2 support AFRICOM if it goes forward. AFRICOM has been given
3 a Special-Purpose MAGTF Crisis Response, which we host --
4 we, EUCOM, host primarily at --

5 Senator Ayotte: You host that response team, correct?

6 General Breedlove: I do, ma'am.

7 Senator Ayotte: Yup.

8 General Breedlove: And Moron Airbase, in Spain. And
9 today we have several pieces of it deployed forward to be
10 even more ready because of concern.

11 Senator Ayotte: So, the answer would be, we'd be in a
12 better position, I hope?

13 General Breedlove: Yes, ma'am.

14 Senator Ayotte: Good. That's really important. I
15 appreciate that.

16 And one of the questions I wanted to ask about -- the
17 Associated Press reported today that Russia has
18 significantly deepened its command and control of the
19 militants in eastern Ukraine in recent months. And this
20 greater level of Russian involvement has evidently resulted
21 in a new term, called "combined Russian separatist forces."
22 General Breedlove, can you comment on that? Have you seen
23 increased levels of Russian command and control of the
24 separatists, which I think none of us were any -- under any
25 illusion from the beginning that they were controlling

1 these separatists, but it seems that they're upping their
2 game in that regard.

3 General Breedlove: I do agree with that, and I agree
4 with the reporting.

5 Senator Ayotte: And if that's the case, and we look
6 at what's happening right now -- and I know that you were
7 asked earlier about some of Russia's other activities,
8 including its violation of the INF Treaty -- you know, one
9 of the things that concerns, I think, all of us is that
10 Russia doesn't seem to be getting the message with the
11 sanctions that are in place alone right now, and with some
12 of the support we're providing in the absence of lethal
13 weapons. So, how do you provide assurance to us that we
14 can stop Russia from further destabilizing eastern Ukraine,
15 and that the -- the world understands. I mean, we -- you
16 know, these separatists are really -- we might as well just
17 call them what they are: Russian agents.

18 General Breedlove: Ma'am, it's a broad question, and
19 I'll try to attack it in a couple of pieces, here.

20 We do see a very distinct Russian set of command and
21 control in the eastern part of Ukraine. And that, I think,
22 has become necessary for them, because there was disunity
23 in some of the earlier attacks. I think the -- command and
24 control is also required because they are bringing so much
25 capability in there, it needed to be structured, and it

1 needed to be arranged in a way that it could accomplish the
2 goals there in eastern Ukraine.

3 So, command and control, air defense, support to
4 artillery, all of these things increased and making a more
5 coherent organized force out of the separatists -- I've
6 never called them "separatists," I've always called them
7 "Russian-led separatists" or "Russian-backed separatists."
8 There is a new term out there. I think that term is being
9 created because it is becoming much more structured by
10 Russian leadership.

11 How do we get the -- whether Russia is getting the
12 message or not? There has been a lively conversation about
13 whether what we have done has affected Mr. Putin's
14 calculus. I must admit that, in the past, I did not think
15 much so. But, I do now believe that Mr. Putin is concerned
16 about further sanctions in some of the things. And that
17 may be affecting how he currently does things in eastern
18 Ukraine. But, we really have no way of knowing, one way or
19 the other.

20 Senator Ayotte: So, can we expect -- since we've
21 heard from some of our European partners, including
22 Germany, that they don't believe we should provide lethal
23 weapons, can we expect them to double down on sanctions, at
24 least, in terms of where Russia is right now? And I hope
25 that this is something that they don't back off on and, in

1 fact, we increase sanctions.

2 General Breedlove: Ma'am, I really am unable to speak
3 to what our allies are thinking about, but we hear all of
4 these discussions and debates going on now about keeping
5 the pressure on. And I think there is a strong current
6 which says that both sides of the agreement are -- need to
7 be held to meeting this 12 February agreement that was made
8 in Minsk, and that that will have a direct bearing on
9 whether sanctions are relieved, or not.

10 Senator Ayotte: Thank you. I think all of us are
11 very frustrated, because we've been calling for so long for
12 what needs to be done in Ukraine to push back on Russia.
13 And I just hope that the administration is listening to the
14 -- what we've heard, which has been continuous testimony,
15 consistent in this committee, about providing lethal
16 support and additional sanctions.

17 Thank you.

18 Chairman McCain: Senator McCaskill.

19 Senator McCaskill: Thank you.

20 Let's -- I'd like to talk a little bit about the
21 immigration crisis. We now have some of our NATO allies
22 that are down to spending less than 1.5 percent of their
23 GDP on defense. Obviously, we have had a tragedy that has
24 occurred with hundreds of people going to their death
25 because of their efforts to immigrate to Europe from Africa

1 and parts of the Middle East. Can you tell me in what ways
2 the American military are involved in supporting or working
3 with our European allies as they work to humanely deal with
4 all of the refugees that are attempting to get to Europe?

5 General Breedlove: Ma'am, if I could dissect just a
6 little bit. There is a big problem, as you have
7 identified, with this flow of immigrants across from North
8 Africa into southern Europe; probably most acute in Italy,
9 but there is a big problem. We have talked today, and I
10 agree with the supposition, that this is primarily an
11 immigration problem, but also inside of these immigrants
12 are organized crime and very likely also terrorists and
13 foreign fighters that are attempting to get across. So,
14 this is a problem broader than just the immigration. But,
15 certainly that is a major driver.

16 First and foremost, the nations have addressed this,
17 as we talked about earlier. The Italian operation, Mare
18 Nostrum, worked this hard, and then the European Union has
19 taken this mission over and now is beginning to work that.

20 Your direct question about what the U.S. is doing, we
21 have a broad NATO network of sharing of information about
22 what's going on, on the seas, where things are moving. To
23 explain the military term, we have a maritime cop, which is
24 just the picture of what's going on, on the sea, that we
25 help our neighbors understand and characterize what their

1 -- what is -- they're facing.

2 Senator McCaskill: I just worry that, as Italy is --
3 you know, they're spending so little on defense, and it --
4 if they are using any of their resources to address this,
5 it certainly limits their ability to participate in NATO
6 with us in a more robust fashion.

7 You know, I just am curious if you have any take on
8 the rise of the Scottish National Party, and what, if any,
9 impact you see. And if you want to take it for the record,
10 you can, General. I just -- it's fascinating to me. These
11 elections are coming in a few days after they voted to not
12 leave the U.K. You're seeing a remarkable surge of
13 political power for the Scottish National Party. And a lot
14 of commentators are now saying that the Scottish National
15 Party is going to be the kingpin, in terms of the formation
16 of a government in what is obviously one of our most
17 important allies on the planet. Have you all discussed
18 this? Is this being talked about? It is -- you know, I
19 mean, Labor is really getting swamped, according to the
20 polling, by SNP. And what impact is that going to have on
21 U.K. and their robust participation with us as an ally,
22 particularly in NATO?

23 General Breedlove: Ma'am, can I take your generous
24 offer and take that for the record --

25 Senator McCaskill: Absolutely.

1 [The information referred to follows:]
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1 Senator McCaskill: What about Europeans leaving to
2 fight for the Islamic State? Are there any specific
3 actions that the European Command is taking to assist the
4 effort of identifying -- they have a much bigger problem
5 than we do, in terms of citizens of Europe leaving to go
6 and join the fight with ISIS -- is there any specific
7 actions that you all have taken in regards to this problem?

8 General Breedlove: Ma'am, the short answer is yes.
9 Much of that, we can't talk about in this room, and I would
10 like to send some of my people to maybe brief you and your
11 staff.

12 Senator McCaskill: That would be terrific. We would
13 be interested in understanding what our role is in trying
14 to assist in stopping this flow of fighters to these
15 barbarians.

16 Thank you very much, General, for your service. And
17 thank you, to your team.

18 Chairman McCain: Senator Hirono.

19 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Thank you, General, for your service.

21 This is a question relating to the U.S. rebalance to
22 Asia while threats continue to materialize in other
23 regions. In the case of Russia, which crosses both the
24 European and Pacific Command areas of responsibility, do
25 you see a potential for leveraging our Asia-Pacific posture

1 to influence Russia and its actions in the European AOR,
2 and vice versa? If you can briefly comment. Because you
3 did talk about the need to change Putin's decision calculus
4 by -- i.e., possibly arming the Ukrainians or of further
5 economic sanctions.

6 General Breedlove: Senator, you have hit at the heart
7 of the matter. The -- Russia does touch many COCOMs --
8 essentially, EUCOM, PACOM, NORTHCOM, because of the
9 existential nuclear capabilities in Alaska and the northern
10 passage. Russia also touches many of our specific non-
11 geographic COCOMs: STRATCOM, CYBERCOM, TRANSCOM. There
12 are so many that Russia touches.

13 We have had a model in the past in Asia that is called
14 the Chinese Strategic Initiative, and it has been a great
15 model to bring focus to the Asia-Pacific area. We have
16 been treating Russia as a partner for many years, and now
17 we see that we're going to have to take the same broad
18 approach in Russia. And so, EUCOM has led the formation of
19 a Russia Strategic Initiative, where we've brought together
20 all of the COCOMs that touch Russia, and we are working on
21 just these concerns and these opportunities that you
22 mentioned in your question.

23 So, yes, we intend to look at Russia more
24 holistically. We've had a great start. And I expect that
25 this will be a good investment of stafftime.

1 Senator Hirono: So, I hope that, at some point, you
2 might be able to talk with us a bit more about how this
3 strategic initiative with regard to Russia is working out
4 with all of the different commands.

5 You -- okay, you -- I think you talked about the U.S.
6 ballistic missile defense, which is very much in high
7 demand. So, can you discuss the importance of the European
8 Phase Adaptive Approach and the benefits that Aegis Ashore
9 provides in this approach? And can you also update us on
10 the progress of installing Aegis Ashore in Romania and
11 eventually in Poland?

12 General Breedlove: Let me answer the second part,
13 because it's very easy, and then I'll use what time you
14 want for -- to talk more about EPAA.

15 Our two sites in -- first, in Deveselu, Romania, is on
16 course, on schedule to deliver technically on time. We're
17 slightly -- and I emphasize "slightly," because this is a
18 good-news story -- we're slightly behind in the
19 construction. But, the team completely believes that we're
20 on track for the technical handover on time. And we are on
21 or under budget, so far. So, this is good news.

22 To the site in Poland, we are -- just this week, have
23 signed almost every one of the agreements that are required
24 in order to start that work, so I think we are on track on
25 our site in Poland, as well.

1 So, these two missile sites will be, obviously,
2 incredibly important to our missile defense in Europe. And
3 I am very -- I am well over -- way over a "glass half full"
4 that we are on track with these.

5 To the larger question of European Phase Adaptive
6 Approach, the Europe -- the American contributions are all
7 moving apace. We will close out with our fourth destroyer
8 in Rota this year on time. Our first two, and now third,
9 are already doing their mission. And our connection and
10 our command and control C2BMC capabilities are all
11 proceeding apace. So, the U.S. contribution to EPAA is on
12 track. We see the -- where we lead, the Europeans follow.
13 And I think that we see good cooperation now from Europe as
14 they bring alongside what is called ACS, which is another
15 command-and-control structure which they have put over the
16 -- our -- not only our air, naval, and our ground
17 capabilities to control these assets. We see several of
18 the northern European nations now, one committing and one
19 thinking about upgrading their Aegis platforms to be able
20 to participate.

21 So, the goal in NATO is 28 for 28, every nation
22 contributes some way. It may just be ground-based defense
23 of a site, but we want all 28 nations involved in this.
24 And I am optimistic, at this moment.

25 Senator Hirono: Thank you very much.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My time is up.

2 Chairman McCain: Senator Wicker.

3 Senator Wicker: Thank you.

4 Well, along the lines of everyone participating, it
5 seems to me, General, that, in talking to European
6 Ministries of Defense recently, and parliamentarians from
7 various NATO and OSCE countries, that there is a
8 realization now among our European allies that they're
9 going to have to do a better job of getting to the 2
10 percent GDP. I think I'm learning that the French, for
11 example, aren't quite there, but there's a determination to
12 get to 2 percent of GDP for defense quicker. So, how are
13 we doing -- without taking my whole 5 minutes -- across the
14 board, in getting our NATO allies to realize that they need
15 to pony up as we're coming to that realization here in
16 Washington?

17 General Breedlove: Senator, I cannot confirm, but, on
18 the way here this morning, I read in the press that the
19 French have announced that they are going to raise their
20 defense spending. And so, I don't have any details. It's
21 literally watching the press releases as I came to this.

22 But, this is -- I think there are several nations that
23 are trending in the right direction, here. I must admit
24 that most of them are those nations that are in our
25 easternmost positions in our alliance. But, we do have

1 nations -- Poland, others -- that are doing the right thing
2 with their investments.

3 But, there are still challenges. The nations made
4 this pledge at Wales, as you know. They gave themselves to
5 2024 to arrive at that. We see nations moving out now. In
6 general, the trend is that --

7 Senator Wicker: Well, we certainly need movement in
8 the right direction well before that.

9 General Breedlove: Sir, I could -- I agree
10 completely.

11 Senator Wicker: And do you agree, General, that it's
12 not so much our persuasiveness as the reality of what they
13 see and the actions of people that would be our adversaries
14 over there?

15 General Breedlove: That is correct. And, Senator,
16 the other piece of this also is that, with their forces,
17 they are beginning to do all the right things. Great
18 commitment to the VJTF by six of our largest nations --
19 European nations committing to be the center brigade of the
20 VJTF. The United States will not be that center brigade
21 right now. And so, six European nations.

22 Senator Wicker: You know, with regard to the thing
23 that Chairman McCain started out talking about with the --
24 supplying defensive weapons to our Ukrainian friends, he
25 noted that Madeleine Albright, Henry Kissinger, Secretary

1 Carter -- and I think you said you agree with the Secretary
2 of Defense -- have all expressed, publicly before this
3 committee, support for arming our friends with defensive
4 weapons. And I would simply point out, they're -- these
5 are not jingoistic cowboys. You know, they're very
6 thoughtful people, some of the most preeminent experts we
7 have, and we have the benefit of their counsel here. It
8 seems to me that, with a substantial portion of our NATO
9 friends, there's a nervousness that somehow giving people
10 the ability to defend themselves with defensive weapons is
11 going to be a provocation to Mr. Putin and allow him to gen
12 up his propaganda machine. So, could you comment on that?
13 And then, I do want to ask you about being caught by
14 surprise with what happened in eastern Ukraine. So, if we
15 could squeeze that in, in my few moments.

16 General Breedlove: Senator, a weapon is a weapon.
17 And whether it's defensive or offensive is sort of in the
18 hands of the holder of the weapon. But, I -- there is, as
19 you have --

20 Senator Wicker: Acknowledged. Yes.

21 General Breedlove: Yeah. As you have described,
22 Senator, rightly, there is a conversation inside of our
23 alliance. There are nations that do want to provide lethal
24 weapons. And there are other nations who do believe that
25 this is not the correct approach. It is a lively debate.

1 And my position has been stated.

2 Senator Wicker: Well, let me just ask you. To me, it
3 was stunning to hear you admit that we were caught by
4 surprise. And I think you were referring to what happened
5 in Crimea and in eastern Ukraine. If we had -- and I think
6 you said that right before you advocated a small additional
7 investment in ISR -- if we had already had that small
8 investment, would that have prevented us from being caught
9 by surprise by these "little green men" coming into -- men
10 dressed in green uniforms -- coming into Crimea? And what
11 would we have done, had we not -- had we been aware, with
12 better ISR and better intel?

13 General Breedlove: Right. Senator, I'll have to go
14 back and look at the way I used those words. We have been
15 caught by surprise, but mostly it's as it relates to some
16 of these large exercises, like this last exercise that
17 started off being billed as an Arctic exercise; it really
18 turned into a western military district, southern military
19 district, and Arctic exercise. And, yes, sir, we were
20 caught by surprise for that. In fact, our first tipper to
21 that came from social media, which is an interesting thing.

22 But, my concern is that we are in a position where,
23 for all the right reasons over the past decade and a half,
24 we have refocused our intelligence apparatus, our analysts,
25 our tools on the wars that were going on, and on the new

1 threats. And so, I blame no one for these decisions. We
2 were focused in areas like Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria,
3 Levant, et cetera.

4 But, what I think we need to consider now -- what we,
5 as a Nation, need to consider, is, based on the new
6 approach that we see Russia taking to eastern Europe, we
7 should look at, Do we need to refocus any of those assets,
8 be them analysts or actual assets, towards the European
9 program? And I would like to compliment the intelligence
10 community, because they have begun a very dedicated
11 reallocation of analysts to bring to our problem. And it
12 -- I think the problem -- and that, I have to just
13 absolutely thank them for, but I think that also we need to
14 be rethinking our ISR and other platforms that allow us to
15 have this feel for what's going on in eastern Europe that
16 we have not considered important for some time now.

17 Senator Wicker: Thank you very much.

18 Well, I just commend you -- and I -- and I'll have to
19 say, we -- apparently, the decisionmakers in this town have
20 decided that we will rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific.
21 And that may be the right decision, or it may not. But, I
22 cannot think of a troop that's in a hotter spot than you
23 are. And I just -- I hope that this Congress and this
24 Government understands that the area of responsibility over
25 which you preside is, indeed, very, very consequential to

1 us right now, here and now.

2 Thank you, sir.

3 Chairman McCain: Senator Graham.

4 Senator Graham: Thank you.

5 What's the likelihood, in your view, that Moldova will
6 be in Putin's crosshairs in the next year?

7 General Breedlove: Senator, I think it is an area of
8 his concern and emphasis. I think you are aware, and it's
9 fairly open knowledge, that the forces in Moldova have been
10 retrofitted with new equipment, et cetera, across the past
11 year or so. And we see the sort of interest and rhetoric
12 in that Transnistria region --

13 Senator Graham: Right.

14 General Breedlove: -- that is concerning. And now we
15 --

16 Senator Graham: Is it kind of almost what we saw in
17 Crimea?

18 General Breedlove: Senator, I don't think it's to
19 that level yet, but it is the leading edge of these kinds
20 of issues.

21 Senator Graham: Do you agree with me it's most likely
22 to occur unless he changes his mind through some
23 recalculation of cost-benefit analysis of what he's doing
24 in the Ukraine right now?

25 General Breedlove: Senator, I agree that I think Mr.

1 Putin is not done in Ukraine.

2 Senator Graham: He's not done in the Ukraine.

3 Moldova may be next. Let's talk about the Baltic states.

4 Can you see a situation -- well, is it fair to say that the
5 Russians are trying to stir up problems for the Baltic
6 states with a Russian-speaking population? Is that ongoing
7 right now?

8 General Breedlove: Senator, I think some of the
9 information outreach to these Russian speakers around
10 eastern Europe, specifically in the Baltics, is very -- I'm
11 trying -- searching for the word -- it is very good. As we
12 talked about earlier, Senator, before you came --

13 Senator Graham: Good, from a Russian point of view.

14 General Breedlove: Sir, exactly.

15 Senator Graham: Bad for us.

16 General Breedlove: Very "sophisticated" was the word
17 I was looking for --

18 Senator Graham: Okay.

19 General Breedlove: -- and I couldn't find it.

20 Senator Graham: What's the worst-case scenario for
21 the Ukraine?

22 General Breedlove: Senator, I worry a lot about the
23 military problem. I worry almost more about their fiscal
24 issues. We desperately for Ukraine to be able to address
25 the things that the people of Ukraine voted for in their

1 last election, and that is to reform, in a lot of ways,
2 and, second, they need to get their fiscal business in
3 order. And it's hard to do when your military is in the
4 field, fighting.

5 Senator Graham: So, one way to bleed Kiev dry is to
6 keep the fight, keep them deployed.

7 General Breedlove: Keep the pressure on, keep the
8 Ukrainian military in the field. Investors are not going
9 to want to invest in a situation where there could be a
10 military conflict --

11 Senator Graham: So, that's one way of basically
12 dismembering the Ukraine without having to move to Kiev,
13 itself, right?

14 General Breedlove: I believe that's the case,
15 Senator.

16 Senator Graham: Mariupol, the port city, is there a
17 way for the separatists, in collaboration with the
18 Russians, to basically cut that port off from the Ukrainian
19 government?

20 General Breedlove: Senator, I believe that it is one
21 of the courses of actions that may be considered. The town
22 of Mariupol is a big one, about half a million people.

23 Senator Graham: So, you don't have to invade it, but
24 they can basically isolate it.

25 General Breedlove: That's correct, Senator.

1 Senator Graham: And what would that mean for the
2 economic survivability of the Ukraine?

3 General Breedlove: Mariupol is very important to
4 Ukraine, because it is the port that most of their
5 agriculture passes through, because that area is --

6 Senator Graham: So, if you were the separatists or
7 Putin, and you really wanted to punish the government in
8 Kiev, that would be a move you would make.

9 General Breedlove: It is a good option to do that --

10 Senator Graham: And would you agree with me, if he
11 takes that option, that is just an -- basically, an all-out
12 declaration of war through economic activity?

13 General Breedlove: That is an incredibly big step.

14 Senator Graham: Okay. So, if that step happens, what
15 should the Western response be?

16 General Breedlove: Senator, I can't speak for all of
17 the other nations, but I do know that most nations consider
18 Mariupol an important point --

19 Senator Graham: What will we do? Will they increase
20 sanctions?

21 General Breedlove: I -- Senator, I can't answer for
22 them. I think that's certainly one of the --

23 Senator Graham: Should we increase sanctions if they
24 do this?

25 General Breedlove: I think it's most important that

1 we maintain the ones we have, first, and not release the --

2 Senator Graham: But, do you see this as a provocation
3 taking the whole conflict to a new level?

4 General Breedlove: I do, Senator.

5 Senator Graham: So, they -- should be some red line
6 regarding this port city?

7 General Breedlove: Senator, I don't like to talk
8 about red lines. If you draw one --

9 Senator Graham: Well, I just want --

10 General Breedlove: -- you have --

11 Senator Graham: -- the committee and the country to
12 start thinking about what I think is almost inevitable.
13 And we need a plan. So, I -- you don't have to do it here,
14 but I want somebody from the Pentagon to tell me what you
15 recommend if they did this provocative act of basically
16 cutting off the port city, which would destroy the Ukraine
17 in a different fashion.

18 [The information referred to follows:]

19 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

20 Senator Graham: Finally, in one second -- you can
21 take a little bit of time -- how does sequestration, over
22 time, affect your ability to deal with the Ukraine, Russia,
23 and all the problems you have in your backyard from
24 migration, from a exploding Mideast, the ability to defend
25 our Nation from a rogue missile attack coming from the

1 Mideast, just the general ability of you to do your job?
2 And what kind of signal would that send to NATO nations if
3 we fully implement sequestration?

4 General Breedlove: Senator, thank you for that
5 question.

6 It -- sequestration would be very detrimental to our
7 ability to do our job forward. And I'll try to break it
8 into a couple of things, if the Chairman will give me a
9 minute or two. I can't do this in 10 seconds.

10 The first example, we talked about earlier. Part of
11 our budget in what we do in Europe is train our partners
12 and allies. As we talked about before, the ability to
13 train Russians -- or, Russians, excuse me -- Georgians and
14 Romanians so that they can serve beside us in places like
15 Afghanistan, that money will be cut, less Georgians will be
16 trained, more Americans would have to go to the field. So,
17 sequestration affects our ability to train and equip our
18 partners and allies.

19 This also affects things as close to us as problems
20 with having airfields open when we need them. That's --
21 the first BCA, the first \$478 billion cut, is what brought
22 us to having to make changes to things like Lajes, like
23 Moron, and only have Moron open during certain hours, which
24 affects our ability to use things like the Special Purpose
25 MAGTF, et cetera.

1 And then, finally, our own ability to train ourselves
2 and to bring rotational forces into Europe. If -- we
3 talked earlier about how the rotational forces are a part
4 of a way that we solve our forward-presence problem.
5 Sequestration would affect the funding for those rotational
6 forces. Our rotational force doesn't accomplish its
7 objective unless it is heel-to-toe, no air, and fully
8 funded.

9 Senator Graham: Thank you for your outstanding
10 service. You've done a good job for us.

11 Chairman McCain: So, we didn't -- General, you didn't
12 mention the effect on morale and retention of this lurching
13 from one year to another. Do you want to mention that?

14 General Breedlove: Senator -- or, excuse me --
15 Chairman, clearly the things that we are able to do -- let
16 me first talk to the morale of some of those that are in
17 the fight. It's important that we, I think, show faith
18 with nations like Georgia and others who have come
19 alongside of us, and our ability to continue to train and
20 to provide, as you know, some incredibly good medical care.
21 I think you visited the five Georgian soldiers who were in
22 Walter Reed. And these things that we do for them with our
23 budget would be under challenge and clearly affect their
24 morale. For our troops, sir, you flew; you knew that, when
25 you were current and you had had enough flying hours, you

1 had one approach to your job; when you were less current
2 and had fewer flying hours, you had a different approach to
3 your job. And so, it's important that we give our own
4 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines the training
5 opportunities and support they need.

6 Chairman McCain: And they're not getting it under
7 sequestration.

8 General Breedlove: Sequestration will challenge our
9 ability to do that, Senator.

10 Chairman McCain: I just wanted to mention one other
11 issue very briefly. The Portuguese are our great friends,
12 and this issue of Lajes has turned into one of their
13 biggest issues. Have you looked at alternative uses for
14 the base, such as putting AFRICOM or SOCOM there, or move
15 intelligence? Would you evaluate that again for us? It is
16 such a huge issue for a small country that has been very
17 helpful to us in Afghanistan and Iraq and Iran. It's just
18 -- I've been visited, frankly, by their Foreign Minister
19 and many others that are deeply concerned. So, I'd
20 appreciate if you'd have another look at it to see if we
21 can have greater use of the -- of Lajes.

22 General Breedlove: Senator, we'll do that. You are
23 correct, they are a great ally. They are about to deploy a
24 pretty large aviation contingency into Romania to do air
25 policing in the middle part of our eastern part of our

1 alliance. Portugal is a great ally. And we have done a
2 lot of work already to try to make things better in this
3 Lajes issue. Even in the civilian sector, our business
4 executives and defense BENS have been there. So, we are on
5 this problem, Chairman.

6 Chairman McCain: Thank you very much.

7 Senator Inhofe.

8 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 And I'm sorry, General Breedlove, I had to be gone at
10 a news conference. And so, I'm not sure what all you've
11 covered.

12 I wanted to mention one thing that I was aware of.
13 First of all, I'm sure you've talked about the Ukraine. I
14 had occasion to be in the Ukraine at the time that they had
15 their elections. It was the first time that -- it takes 5
16 percent in order to get a seat in Parliament -- this is the
17 first time in 96 years that there will not be one Communist
18 in the Parliament of Ukraine. That's huge. That's really
19 a big deal. And I'm very disappointed in what the military
20 has done there. You know, immediately after that, you had
21 Putin come in, and he's still over there. And I'm sure
22 you've discussed this, but I just wanted to say to you
23 that, when I -- when you're there, as I was, and experience
24 a major change taking place that hasn't happened in 96
25 years, and it's all -- their allegiance to the West and to

1 the United States of America, we haven't done nearly as
2 much to assist them as I believe we should. What are your
3 thoughts about that?

4 General Breedlove: Senator, first of all, I -- as I
5 visit, I see the same things. Let me just make a silly
6 example. In the past, it has been said of what used to be
7 called "The Ukraine," rather than "Ukraine," that its
8 identity was primarily Russian. I know that, as you were
9 driven through the city to go see President Poroshenko or
10 Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, you probably saw the same thing
11 as I did: bridges painted blue and yellow. This is a
12 nation that has woken up to its nationality, and it is a
13 great people. And I believe they are worthy of our
14 attention and help.

15 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Well, I do, too. And I'm glad
16 you mentioned Yatsenyuk, because he's a different political
17 party --

18 General Breedlove: Yes, sir.

19 Senator Inhofe: -- than Poroshenko, and yet they are
20 together in this one thing, and that is their allegiance to
21 us and to the West.

22 Let me ask you about this, because I was following
23 this thing when their -- the idea of consolidating the
24 intelligence assets to Croughton -- is that pronounced
25 right? "Krowton"?

1 General Breedlove: It is, Senator, thank you.

2 Senator Inhofe: And it made sense to me, after what
3 happened in Molesworth. And it would seem the logical
4 place. Now, we're talking about the U.K. And yet, I
5 understand -- I guess in the House, where there is some
6 effort to move that to, of all places, the Azores or
7 someplace like that. I'd just like to get your -- do you
8 feel as I do, that it's -- when the -- you know, if it's --
9 it just seems to me that there is a reason to consolidate
10 these assets in a place like U.K. And I think it should be
11 done that -- what are your thoughts?

12 General Breedlove: Senator, thank you. The -- there
13 was a lot of work done when the siting of this
14 consolidation was considered. Many locations were
15 considered. The business case, first, is a first point.
16 It points to the current siting plan in the U.K. There are
17 other intangibles. The communication pipes in the U.K. are
18 extremely good, and would not have to be altered to take on
19 the new -- in Croughton, would not have to be altered. We
20 were -- we would be there, close to our U.K. and other
21 allies who have a great relationship with us in intel.

22 In my NATO job, the NIFC, we call it, the NATO
23 Intelligence Fusion Center, is there in U.K. It would not
24 be able to relocate, because this is 28 nations who have
25 negotiated with the U.K. to stay there. And I think the

1 synergies of keeping our U.S. and AFRICOM and EUCOM
2 capabilities next to our U.K. partners, next to the NATO
3 NIFC -- all of these synergies point to a good solution
4 there at Croughton.

5 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. But, you know, I -- and I
6 agree with that. You're making my argument, there. And
7 you -- and for all those reasons. Can you tell me, is
8 there a specific reason that you know of why somehow the
9 Lajes location might be attractive?

10 General Breedlove: Senator, I think there are --
11 there are opportunities there, because there is room that
12 is being created by the downsizing of our mission there.
13 There would have to be some changes made, as --

14 Senator Inhofe: Yeah.

15 General Breedlove: -- I mentioned before --
16 communications capabilities, et cetera.

17 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Well, I appreciate that.

18 My time is expired, but I'm looking forward to the
19 chip of the old block, Dan, coming in to be my intern.
20 Looking forward to that.

21 General Breedlove: Sir, thank you. I am -- I will
22 make sure that he is squared away.

23 [Laughter.]

24 Senator Inhofe [presiding]: Yeah. Thank you.

25 Are there others who want to be heard?

1 Senator King: I want to, as well.

2 Senator Reed: I want to -- just a brief comment.

3 The Chairman and Senator Inhofe raised the issue of
4 Lajes. This is an issue of very great importance. We've
5 worked very closely with the Department of Defense. Any
6 efforts that you could bring to bear to repurpose the
7 facility, to provide continuing presence of a significant
8 nature, would -- I would appreciate personally, also,
9 General. And again, thank you for your efforts.

10 Senator Inhofe: Thank you very much.

11 Senator King.

12 Senator King: General Breedlove, this comment really
13 isn't directed at you. I -- and so, I don't want you to
14 batten down the hatches, or pull over the canopy, I guess,
15 in your case.

16 This government spends over \$70 billion a year on
17 intelligence. And I hate hearing the word "surprise" in
18 any hearing. And I get frustrated when I hear about your
19 need for ISR. And I have the greatest respect for the
20 people in the intelligence community. I work with them
21 quite frequently as a member of the Intelligence Committee.
22 But, I want you to think of yourself as a customer and
23 suggest that you might talk to your colleagues in the other
24 commands, because I think sometimes we forget who needs the
25 intelligence. And you -- you're the guy that needs it,

1 you're the customer, and you need to advocate for the --
2 for adequate intelligence resources, whether it's from the
3 civilian intelligence community or the Department of
4 Defense, which, as you know, has a very substantial
5 intelligence budget. And I think this is something we need
6 to continue to think, because -- think about, because
7 sometimes these agencies go on their own momentum and lose
8 track of who needs the information and what they actually
9 need.

10 So, this really isn't a question, General, except a --
11 more of a suggestion. But, I've got to tell you, when I
12 think about \$70 billion of the taxpayers' money, like I
13 say, I don't like hearing the word "surprise" in any of
14 these hearings.

15 I appreciate your testimony.

16 General Breedlove: Senator, at risk -- can I -- may I
17 respond, just a little?

18 Senator Inhofe: Yes, certainly.

19 Senator King: Absolutely.

20 General Breedlove: I want to pay the proper respect
21 to decisions that have been made across the last 15 or 20
22 years, because I do believe we've been trying to make
23 Russia a partner, and we have come into conflicts in Iraq,
24 in Afghanistan, we've come into great issues in the
25 northern part of Africa. So, I do not want to stand as

1 critical to the decisions that have been made with the
2 limited assets of intelligence. And I believe that our
3 intelligence community has kept a great focus on -- those
4 things are very dear to us in Russia, if I can stop at that
5 point.

6 But, I think that you are absolutely correct, that now
7 we see that there is a different problem, and we need to
8 look at how we apportion and allocate. I already see, as I
9 mentioned earlier, the intelligence community making clear
10 decisions to reallocate analytical capabilities, et cetera.
11 And I will be a customer, sir. I have been vocal, and I
12 had it in my opening remarks, here, as you saw. I am
13 beginning to advocate that we look at reapportionment of
14 those assets, as well. So, I agree with your line of
15 logic, Senator.

16 Senator King: Minimal trust and lots of verification
17 may be this answer.

18 General Breedlove: Yes, sir.

19 Senator King: Thank you, General.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator King.

22 Senator Wicker, anything else?

23 Senator Wicker: No, thank you.

24 Senator Inhofe: All right. We will adjourn this
25 meeting. Thank you so much for your attention today and

1 for your service.

2 [Whereupon, at 11:41 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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