

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES
EUROPEAN COMMAND AND UNITED STATES
TRANSPORTATION COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE
AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2020 AND THE
FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Tuesday, March 5, 2019

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2 THE UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND AND
3 UNITED STATES TRANSPORTATION COMMAND
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9
10 U.S. Senate
11 Committee on Armed Services
12 Washington, D.C.
13

14 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:29 a.m. in
15 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James M.
16 Inhofe, chairman of the committee, presiding.

17 Committee Members Present: Senators Inhofe
18 [presiding], Wicker, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis,
19 Sullivan, McSally, Scott, Blackburn, Hawley, Reed, Shaheen,
20 Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, Warren, Peters, Manchin,
21 Duckworth, and Jones.

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

3 Chairman Inhofe: Our meeting will come to order.

4 The Senate Armed Services Committee today meets to
5 continue receiving the posture statements from our combatant
6 commands. Testifying today are General Curtis Scaparrotti,
7 Commander of the United States European Command, and General
8 Stephen Lyons, Commander of the United States Transportation
9 Command. I welcome both of you here and thank you for your
10 service.

11 The Senate Armed Services Committee's top priority is
12 to ensure the effective implementation of the National
13 Defense Strategy. That is our blueprint. We pretty much
14 agreed to that. It means that we need urgent change at a
15 significant scale to address the challenges of strategic
16 competition with Russia and China.

17 I just got back from Munich, Kosovo, Djibouti, Algeria,
18 and these areas, and that is where Russia and China is. And
19 we need to be aware of the strength and what the competition
20 is. Putin has demonstrated both the capability and the
21 intent to use force to achieve his objective, most notably
22 in Georgia, Ukraine, and Syria. Putin will not hesitate to
23 use other tools in his arsenal as well, whether it is cyber
24 attacks, election meddling, or assassinations with chemical
25 weapons. Perceived weakness will only provoke further

1 aggression from Putin.

2 That is why efforts such as full support for the
3 European Deterrence Initiative that is made up of primarily
4 the old Soviet Union countries provides the defensive lethal
5 assistance to Ukraine and why they are so important.

6 Likewise, we need a defense budget that is of
7 sufficient size and invests in key capabilities we need in
8 Europe, areas like long-range fires, cruise missile defense,
9 anti-submarine warfare, and the supporting infrastructure.

10 I was in Munich 2 weeks ago, and it was clear that we
11 cannot be successful in the strategic competition with
12 Russia without a strong, unified NATO alliance. America is
13 safer and stronger because of our NATO alliance. And,
14 General Scaparrotti, I look forward to your thoughts along
15 these issues.

16 General Lyons, you have had a long history with
17 TRANSCOM serving as its Deputy Commander for 2 years before
18 assuming your current role. I look forward to hearing your
19 assessment of the services and the resources that you have
20 there because I know that there is some discussion even of
21 some privatization in that area. So we will be anxious to
22 hear your statements.

23 Before I turn to Senator Reed, I would like to remind
24 all of our members that we will have a classified, closed
25 briefing, informal briefing, at 2:30 in the Visitors Center

1 with both of our witnesses.

2 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. Let
4 me join you in welcoming our witnesses this morning.

5 General Scaparrotti is returning to testify before the
6 committee for the third time on the U.S. military posture
7 and programs in Europe. He is dual-hatted as Commander of
8 U.S. European Command and NATO Supreme Allied Commander, or
9 the SACEUR. And welcome, General Scaparrotti.

10 General Lyons, I want to welcome you to your first
11 posture hearing before this committee.

12 Let me thank both of you for your many decades of
13 military service, and please extend our appreciation to the
14 dedicated men and women serving under your commands. Thank
15 them very much for us.

16 Over the last several years, the security challenges in
17 the U.S. European Command have grown increasingly complex.
18 Russia has reemerged as an aggressive opponent of the rules-
19 based international order, which Russia views as a counter
20 to its strategic interest in reclaiming great power status.
21 The National Defense Strategy issued last year highlights
22 the need to counter a revanchist Russia with a credible
23 military deterrent that demonstrates that any military
24 aggression against the sovereignty and integrity of NATO
25 members or threat of such aggression will not succeed.

1 General Scaparrotti, I am interested in your assessment of
2 the progress of our force posture in Europe in meeting NDS
3 requirements.

4 In addition to its military modernization and
5 aggressive military posturing, Russia is conducting a
6 campaign of hybrid warfare, below the level of military
7 conflict, using all tools of national power to advance its
8 strategic interests. Our democracy was attacked in 2016,
9 and we have been persistently under attack ever since,
10 including during last year's midterm elections. I would be
11 interested in hearing from General Scaparrotti whether EUCOM
12 is getting the cyber resources and personnel it needs and
13 whether we are investing in the right non-military tools of
14 national power to counter this hybrid warfare.

15 An additional challenge is the unprecedented strain on
16 alliance cohesion within NATO. Former Secretary of Defense
17 Mattis stressed that the United States' strength is
18 inextricably linked to our systems of alliances and
19 partnerships. Yet, a recent report from the Harvard Belfer
20 Center by Ambassador Doug Lute and Ambassador Nicholas Burns
21 describes a crisis within NATO, which they attribute in
22 large part to the absence of strong U.S. leadership. The
23 Senate and Congress as a whole have repeatedly gone on
24 record to reaffirm our strong commitment to NATO and the
25 transatlantic relationship as a core element of U.S.

1 national security. There should be no doubt among our
2 allies or our adversaries regarding the United States'
3 resolve to meet its NATO commitments to collective defense.

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

14 The Ready Reserve Force, or RRF, is a group of cargo
15 ships held in readiness by the Maritime Administration, but
16 it is aging and will need to be modernized over the next
17 decade. 2 years ago, the committee authorized the
18 Department to start a program to recapitalize the Ready
19 Reserve Force by authorizing DOD to purchase up to two
20 foreign-built vessels, while the Navy designed a family of
21 auxiliary vessels for a number of uses, including
22 recapitalizing the Ready Reserve Force. Then last year,
23 Congress authorized the Department to buy five more foreign-
24 built vessels as soon as the Department put forward a funded
25 plan to build new ships for the RRF in U.S. shipyards.

1 General Lyons, I am interested in the status and the next
2 steps for RRF recapitalization in fiscal year 2020.

3 The Defense Department also needs to ensure that the
4 Civil Reserve Air Fleet, or CRAF, program, which provides as
5 much as 40 percent of wartime airlift needs, remains viable
6 after operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and will be able to
7 provide needed surge capacity in the future. General Lyons,
8 I am interested in your view on the state of this fleet and
9 if anything needs to be done to ensure these capabilities
10 and their readiness.

11 Our global transportation capability, owned and managed
12 by TRANSCOM, has been one of our asymmetric advantages for
13 many years now. However, we cannot assume that potential
14 adversaries will allow us free rein in this area in the
15 future. Last year, General McDew told the committee that
16 TRANSCOM has been conducting analyses to assess requirements
17 for an environment where our mobility forces would be
18 challenged, and his assessment was that additional
19 investment in lift would be needed. However, when we
20 received the report of that analysis in the Mobility
21 Requirements Study earlier this year, the study's
22 conclusions differed from General McDew's assessment.
23 General Lyons, perhaps you could give us an update on why
24 there was a change.

25 Finally, TRANSCOM also faces a unique set of cyber

1 threats because of the command's extensive network with
2 private sector entities in the transportation and shipping
3 industries. General Lyons, I would like to get an update
4 from you on progress in the cybersecurity efforts you have
5 made since last year.

6 Once again, let me thank the witnesses for their
7 service and for their testimony.

8 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

9 You guys know the drill. First, you are going to have
10 5 minutes. Try not to exceed 5 minutes, but your entire
11 statement will be made a part of the record. We will start
12 with you, General Scaparrotti.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL CURTIS M. SCAPARROTTI, USA,
2 COMMANDER, UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND/NORTH ATLANTIC
3 TREATY ORGANIZATION SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER EUROPE

4 General Scaparrotti: Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member
5 Reed, distinguished members of the committee, good morning
6 and thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today
7 as the Commander at United States European Command. I am
8 honored to be here today this morning with General Steve
9 Lyons as well.

10 First and foremost, I want to thank you for Congress'
11 support of the service members, civilians, and families in
12 Europe. These warriors demonstrate selfless service and
13 dedication to Euro-Atlantic defense, a mission that is
14 essential to our national security and to maintaining global
15 peace and prosperity. We as a nation are blessed by their
16 voluntary and exceptional service. Thank you again for your
17 steadfast support of these patriots and their mission.

18 The threats facing U.S. interests in the EUCOM area of
19 responsibility, which includes Israel, are real and growing.
20 They are complex, trans-regional, all-domain, and multi-
21 functional. This remains one of the most dynamic periods in
22 recent history in my view. Russia has continued its
23 reemergence as a strategic competitor and remains the
24 primary threat to a stable Euro-Atlantic security
25 environment.

1 While the United States maintains a global military
2 superiority over Russia, evolving Russian capabilities
3 threaten to erode our competitive military advantage,
4 challenge our ability to operate uncontested in all domains,
5 and diminish our ability to deter Russian aggression.

6 In light of Russia's modernizing and increasingly
7 aggressive force posture, EUCOM recommends augmenting our
8 assigned and rotational forces to enhance our deterrence
9 posture. EUCOM also recommends further investments that
10 enhance European logistical infrastructure and capacity to
11 support rapid deployment of multi-domain U.S. forces in
12 Europe.

13 In addition to the threat from Russia, the risk of
14 terrorism in Europe remains high despite a decline in
15 fatalities from terrorist attacks in 2018. Violent
16 extremists present a clear and present threat to Europe's
17 people and their infrastructure.

18 Thankfully, the United States is not alone in facing
19 these other challenges across the Euro-Atlantic theater. As
20 our National Defense Strategy states, the NATO alliance
21 deters Russian adventurism, contributes to the defeat of
22 terrorism, and addresses instability along NATO's periphery.
23 Our allies and partners play a vital role in our collective
24 security, and they have made significant progress in
25 increasing cash contributions and capabilities that provide

1 our common defense. For almost 70 years, NATO has been the
2 cornerstone of Euro-Atlantic security. As NATO adapts to
3 remain relevant and fit for purpose, we will find, as we
4 always have that every challenge is best addressed as an
5 alliance.

6 Let me close by, again, thanking Congress and this
7 committee for your continued support, especially the
8 sustained funding of the European Deterrence Initiative,
9 EDI. EUCOM's future success in implementing our National
10 Defense Strategy and fulfilling our mission is only possible
11 with Congress' support. Thank you.

12 And I look forward to your questions.

13 [The prepared statement of General Scaparrotti
14 follows:]

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1 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, General Scaparrotti.

2 General Lyons?

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

3 General Lyons: Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed,
4 distinguished members, it is an honor to testify before you
5 today and represent the men and women of United States
6 Transportation Command.

7 I am pleased to join General Scaparrotti. He is one of
8 several but very important supported commands of the United
9 States Transportation Command, and his more than 40 years of
10 exceptional leadership remains a stellar example for all of
11 us.

12 I could not be more proud of the more than 120,000
13 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines and coast guardsmen
14 and civil servants that are assigned to United States
15 Transportation Command. They project and sustain the joint
16 force every day.

17 The Department's global deployment networks,
18 transportation capacity in air, on land, and over the sea
19 and our global command and control capabilities combine to
20 provide the United States with a strategic competitive
21 advantage unmatched around the world. Somewhere on the
22 globe a TRANSCOM aircraft is touching down every 3 minutes.
23 TRANSCOM ships are under way. Aerial refueling missions are
24 orbiting overhead, and planes converted to intensive care
25 units are moving our nation's ill and injured.

1 I should remind everybody, though, that the key to our
2 success is global access, and I would like to highlight that
3 our allies and likeminded partners that provide access to
4 key regions, support substantial basing, and reinforce DOD's
5 global reach are critical to our mission.

6 We know we must never take our success for granted.
7 For decades, we could generally deploy our forces when we
8 wanted, assemble them where we wanted, and operate how we
9 wanted. With the rise of great power competition, we can no
10 longer assume that we can operate with impunity.

11 Before closing, I would like to acknowledge the letters
12 that I received from more than a dozen Members of Congress
13 concerning the Defense Personal Property Program, which
14 relocates the household goods for our service members,
15 civilians, and their families. Simply put, I agree. We
16 lack the capacity during peak season, and we lack measures
17 to hold industry accountable. Our most important resource
18 is our people and we owe them better. So in consultation
19 with the service secretaries and the service chiefs and on
20 behalf of the Department, TRANSCOM is leading an initiative
21 to restructure our relationship with industry in an effort
22 to improve quality, capacity, and accountability.

23 In closing, I am proud to support DOD's enduring
24 mission of providing a combat-credible military force to
25 deter war and protect the security of our nation. Our

1 nation relies on United States Transportation Command to
2 respond with immediate force on short notice and seamlessly
3 transition to project a decisive force when needed. I am
4 fully committed to retaining this strategic competitive
5 advantage.

6 Thank you for your support to the Department and your
7 support to United States Transportation Command, and I look
8 forward to your questions.

9 [The prepared statement of General Lyons follows:]

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1 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, General Lyons.

2 Senator Reed brought up in his opening statement the
3 question as to whether or not, General Scaparrotti, that we
4 have the right posture and the capabilities in EUCOM to
5 handle the credible deterrence against Russian aggression in
6 Europe. What is your feeling about that?

7 General Scaparrotti: Chairman, thank you.

8 We have clearly made progress in European Command,
9 thanks to the support of Congress. We have added forces and
10 capabilities. We have improved the readiness. But I would
11 tell you in response to your question that I am not
12 comfortable yet with the deterrent posture that we have in
13 Europe in support of the National Defense Strategy.

14 Chairman Inhofe: Where are the shortfalls, as you see
15 them?

16 General Scaparrotti: Sir, I have shortfalls in our
17 land component and the depth of forces there -- I would like
18 to get into more detail in that in the closed hearing -- and
19 in our maritime component as well, both of those in
20 particular when you look at both the building capability and
21 the modernization of the Russian forces that we face there.

22 And then finally of concern is my intelligence,
23 surveillance, and reconnaissance capacity, given that
24 increasing and growing threat of Russia. I need more ISR.
25 And again, in the closed hearing, I can go into detail.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Okay. You will have that opportunity
2 at 2:30 today.

3 General Scaparrotti, we keep hearing from sources that
4 maybe we have some redundancy in our nuclear program. Now,
5 we have been guilty I think for a long period of time in not
6 addressing our nuclear modernization. We now are faced with
7 a situation where we have both Russia and China with what we
8 would call a triad system. And I think that people with
9 your background need to respond as to why a triad system is
10 not redundant and is necessary.

11 General Scaparrotti: Well, sir, first of all, our
12 strategic nuclear force is critical to our deterrence and
13 our security, and a triad as a part of that force is
14 important as well. Each one of those legs of the component
15 gives us specific qualities that are somewhat different, and
16 we need those differing qualities just for a safeguard
17 within the component itself, but also to make it complex for
18 our adversaries to determine or believe that they have the
19 opportunity to strike and gain dominance. And I think with
20 the triad I am certain that they cannot. I would note that
21 they also have a triad as well.

22 Chairman Inhofe: Yes, and it needs to be repeated
23 because the suggestions keep coming on.

24 In Ukraine, Russia is now in their sixth year at war
25 there. We have talked about and we have actually had

1 language in our defense authorization bills to send lethal
2 help to Ukraine, and to my knowledge, there has only been
3 one case where we actually were using lethal assistance.
4 That was in the Javelin.

5 Can you tell us why we have not been able to
6 successfully do that since the authorization is there?

7 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I think as
8 recommendations for Ukraine, particularly on the lethal
9 side, work its way, it has to go through the policy
10 deliberations that provide authority to deploy those kinds
11 of weapon systems. And as you stated, we got the authority
12 with Javelin. The Ukrainians in my view have trained very
13 well for the use of that. They have been responsible in the
14 security and the deployment of it, and we watch that
15 closely. So they have handled that well.

16 There are other systems, sniper systems, ammunition,
17 and perhaps looking at the Kerch Straits, perhaps
18 consideration for naval systems as well here in the future
19 as we move forward.

20 Chairman Inhofe: Well, we have an authorization bill
21 coming up. Is this something that you think that we might
22 need some more language on?

23 General Scaparrotti: Well, as you will see, I will
24 have recommendations for that.

25 Chairman Inhofe: Good.

1 General Scaparrotti: And I would like consideration of
2 those recommendations.

3 Chairman Inhofe: Okay. I appreciate that.

4 General Lyons, I know there is a problem in trying to
5 get all the service materials transported out where they are
6 needed, and recently there has been some suggestion that
7 maybe some of that should be contracted out. Now, we have
8 gone through some problems with the housing program recently
9 on contracting out.

10 Do you have any comments to make about that as being
11 one of the solutions to the problem that we face getting
12 this material out?

13 General Lyons: Chairman, if you are referring to the
14 joint deployment enterprise, we are heavily linked to
15 industry on multiple levels. If we are referring
16 specifically about the household good program -- I think
17 that is what you are referring to, sir?

18 Chairman Inhofe: That is what I am referring to and
19 that is where the suggestion has come out.

20 General Lyons: Yes, sir. And what I would say on that
21 is that is 100 percent commercial industry. It is not an
22 effort to privatize whatsoever, but it is an effort to
23 restructure our relationship with industry in a way that
24 delivers higher quality capacity and holds carriers and the
25 government accountable.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Good.

2 Senator Reed?

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

4 Again, gentlemen, thank you for your service and for
5 your testimony.

6 Last March, General Scaparrotti, you testified before
7 the committee, I do not believe there is an effective
8 unification across the interagency with the energy and the
9 focus that we could attain. Is that still your view?

10 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Senator, it is still my
11 view. We have improved, and Congress, as you know, has
12 committed funding to some of the entities in the interagency
13 to help us with this. But it is still my view.

14 Senator Reed: I presume, based on your response, that
15 we need a synchronized campaign prosecuted in a unified
16 manner across the interagency, which is multiple
17 institutions, to counter Russian hybrid warfare and to deter
18 anything greater than that. Is that accurate?

19 General Scaparrotti: That is correct, Senator. We
20 need a whole-of-government approach to this.

21 Senator Reed: Where are the gaps right now? Where is
22 it that we are not making the investments in your view?

23 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think actually we need to
24 probably get greater focus and energy into actually a
25 strategy, a multifaceted strategy, to counter Russia. As

1 you know, General Gerasimov just made another speech that
2 underscored their view of indirect activity, the use of
3 whole-of-government activities as a part of their spectrum
4 of warfare. We have to approach this in a way that we can
5 counter that and I think specifically within information
6 operations, challenging their disinformation, and cyber
7 areas that we need to continue to press.

8 Senator Reed: And that would presumably require State
9 Department activity. Again, I am old enough to recall the
10 Voice of America, which is something that was very
11 pronounced in the 1950s and the 1960s. Those types of very
12 proactive information campaigns -- they are not being
13 conducted at this point. Are they?

14 General Scaparrotti: Not in the way that you recall,
15 when I recall, and I think we have the talent to pursue
16 particularly when it goes to underscoring our values, which
17 I think is important.

18 Senator Reed: And all of this is designed, obviously,
19 to deter and to disrupt Putin's plans or aspirations, and
20 without it, he has more of an open field. Is that correct?

21 General Scaparrotti: Well, they have a good deal of
22 agility, and they seem to have no constraints on what they
23 are willing to say publicly.

24 Senator Reed: Thank you.

25 General Lyons, thank you for mentioning in your

1 comments the defense personal property program, DP3. As the
2 chairman indicated, we are receiving some comments, and I am
3 going to follow up with some specific questions for the
4 record because I think this is an important issue. There is
5 a proposal to move to a single mover manager. Again, this
6 has some echoes of some of the discussions we are having
7 currently about housing issues in the military. So we want
8 to be ahead of the game. And so we will send those
9 questions to you for your response.

10 Even before you took charge at TRANSCOM, the command
11 was concerned about war planning. For many years, we
12 assumed that we would be operating in a benign atmosphere.
13 We could fly civilian aircraft unprotected. We could move
14 ships in unprotected, et cetera.

15 Last year, General McDew, your predecessor, hinted
16 that, for example, the KC-46 tanker that we are buying might
17 be too expensive to purchase because the number we would
18 need in a challenge situation to replace and to overmatch
19 the adversary would be significantly more than projected.

20 As a result, we asked TRANSCOM to produce a mobility
21 requirements study, and the report essentially came back and
22 said there is no problem with our ability to support
23 contingencies, we have got the right mix. It essentially
24 was disconnected with the comments that I heard, at least my
25 perception of what General McDew was talking about.

1 What has changed? We all recognize this is going to be
2 a much more hostile environment to move equipment in, and we
3 do not seem to be responding in an appropriate way. Your
4 comments, sir.

5 General Lyons: Sir, thanks for the question.

6 I think you are referring to the Mobility Capabilities
7 Requirements Study that the NDAA directed in 2018. And that
8 study was directed between the Department and TRANSCOM to
9 look at force sizing and sufficiency of the mobility force
10 against the program essentially out to 2023. We did that
11 and we did that based on a demand signal from the existing
12 plans that exist on the books today.

13 But I would acknowledge to you today -- and I think
14 General McDew was alluding to this -- as we emerge our
15 defense planning scenarios to be more reflective of the
16 defense strategy, as we emerge and develop globally
17 integrated plans, which are happening right now in the Joint
18 Staff, we do see the potential for an increased mobility
19 requirement, particularly in the area of aerial refuel,
20 which is the lifeblood of the joint force.

21 Senator Reed: So what you sent up to us has been
22 overtaken by events, more or less.

23 General Lyons: Sir, I would say we still have work to
24 do on the plans on which it is based. So the demand signal
25 is emerging right in front of us. We will adapt the study

1 to the plans as they evolve. Yes, sir.

2 Senator Reed: Thank you.

3 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

5 Senator Wicker?

6 Senator Wicker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 General Scaparrotti and General Lyons, thank you very
8 much for your work, and I think it is clear that we have
9 great leadership in your area of responsibility.

10 General Scaparrotti, about 3 weeks ago, this Congress
11 sent five delegations, House and Senate, to the Munich
12 Security Conference. That show of force was followed on
13 then by a delegation going to the NATO parliamentary
14 assembly and another delegation going on a week later to the
15 OSCE parliamentary assembly.

16 Does that volume of participation by House and Senate
17 Members send a positive statement? Is it helpful to you in
18 dealing with your friends in Europe -- with our friends in
19 Europe?

20 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir. First, it is very
21 helpful, and it is helpful to us as a nation. You know, at
22 Munich, that was the largest congressional delegation that
23 they have ever had there. It was noted by everyone. That
24 in and of itself is a strong message of commitment to our
25 allies in Europe. And then I would tell you the

1 congressional delegations that traveled during the year to
2 different spots within European Command have a very positive
3 influence, again another sign of commitment and actual
4 discussion about the issues of the day. I routinely get
5 feedback from the chiefs of defense, ministers of defense,
6 and others when our congressional delegations visit. So I
7 know that it has an impact.

8 Senator Wicker: Okay. Well, I could guess we could
9 have a debate about whether there is a crisis in NATO. I
10 hope there is not. But I do hope that the strong statement
11 of wanting to be involved was heard. And I appreciate your
12 comments in that regard.

13 General Scaparrotti, you are recommending augmenting
14 our forces in Europe. Specifically with regard to sea
15 power, what are your suggestions? For example, there are
16 four destroyers in Rota, Spain now. Do we need six? And
17 what else needs to be done? What specifically can you tell
18 us in an open hearing that would help with regard to our sea
19 power aspect of helping you?

20 General Scaparrotti: Well, as you know, specifically
21 for the maritime component, what we are looking at is we are
22 looking at an evolving and modernizing Russian fleets, and
23 in the closed hearing, I plan to go through just the changes
24 I have seen in the 3 years that I have been in European
25 Command. If we want to remain dominant in the maritime

1 domain and particularly under sea, which we are today, we
2 have got to continue to modernize, and I think we need to
3 build our capacity.

4 So specifically for destroyers, yes, I have asked for
5 two more destroyers within EUCOM. I would like to go into a
6 little more detail on that in the closed hearing rather than
7 here. But again, we do need greater capacity, particularly
8 given the modernization and the growth of the Russian fleets
9 in Europe.

10 Senator Wicker: In addition to the two destroyers, can
11 you tell us publicly what else you are asking for in terms
12 of ships?

13 General Scaparrotti: Well, this primarily has to do
14 with capabilities that deal with the numbers of Russian
15 ships that we see within our theater today and also for
16 anti-submarine warfare. And I would like to go into the
17 more detailed piece in the closed hearing.

18 Senator Wicker: Are we going to need more ships or
19 fewer ships?

20 General Scaparrotti: Well, you know, that is a service
21 question as to how they --

22 Senator Wicker: In your area.

23 General Scaparrotti: In my area, more. And I would
24 like to see -- or at least the rotation of naval component,
25 carrier strike groups, amphibious strike groups at a little

1 better pace than I have seen in the 3 years that I have been
2 in command.

3 Senator Wicker: General, at the Halifax Security
4 Conference and at the Munich Security Conference, a number
5 of us met individually with the defense minister from
6 Turkey. At the military level, are we doing better with
7 Turkey than it would appear on the front pages of the
8 newspapers? What is the news out of Turkey recently, and is
9 there any good news?

10 General Scaparrotti: Well, I would say, first of all,
11 that we have a good, very strong mil-to-mil relationship
12 with our counterparts in Turkey. I know very well their
13 chief of defense and their minister of defense, who was the
14 chief prior to this, prior to him becoming the minister. We
15 do have some differences, as you know and you can see in the
16 paper. But we have very candid and frank conversations, and
17 we have been very successful at working through mutual
18 interest to this point. Our mil-to-mil relationship, as it
19 reflects in the deployment of our forces, in my view has
20 improved over the past year. So that is what I would hope
21 that our work together will continue to do here as we look
22 at the tough issues we have got to face within European
23 Command.

24 Senator Wicker: So in terms of military-to-military,
25 things are a little better than they were a year ago.

1 General Scaparrotti: They are. They have improved,
2 and I think we have a good candid relationship.

3 Senator Wicker: Thank you, sir.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Wicker.

5 Senator King?

6 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 First, General Lyons, I noted your concern about the
8 movement of personal items and want to volunteer as a
9 consultant. 50 years ago, I worked for Allied Van Lines in
10 this area moving military families. So if you need
11 technical assistance, it is a lot better, for example, to
12 move a carton, to pick up a carton of lamp shades than it is
13 books. I learned that the hard way. So anyway, I could not
14 resist. You brought back a lot of memories when you talk
15 about moving furniture for military families.

16 General Scaparrotti, I know you touched on this, but
17 game out for me what happens if little green men appear in
18 Lithuania or Latvia? Have we war-gamed what happened in the
19 Ukraine and Crimea? How do we respond? It seems to me this
20 is a real challenge for our whole deterrent posture.

21 General Scaparrotti: Yes. We have taken a close look
22 at both what has happened in the past and what we think
23 could potentially happen here in the future.

24 The first thing I would say is that as a result of
25 that, we have worked with our allies in the Baltics, Poland,

1 Romania, Bulgaria along the eastern border on what we have
2 learned and also on the capabilities that we think we need
3 as an alliance, both them and us, in order to deter this.
4 And our first perspective is what do we do today to ensure
5 that Russia fully understands the commitment of article 5
6 for an alliance.

7 Senator King: But the question is what is the
8 definition of attack. It seems to me that is the gray area
9 that we are in to know when and how to respond when it is
10 not clear that tanks are not rolling across the border.

11 General Scaparrotti: You have hit it on -- I mean, the
12 thing that I worry about most --

13 Senator King: You can continue with that, you hit it
14 on the head, Senator. I like that in the record.

15 [Laughter.]

16 General Scaparrotti: Well, you did.

17 The thing that is difficult is not necessarily an
18 actual attack that you can see coming. It is actually the
19 kind of subversive undermining of both the nation's
20 authority, one of the nations that they are undermining,
21 which is what they do, and other elements of power that are
22 not necessarily military. The military would be one of the
23 last that they want to use. So that is the most difficult.

24 But we also work with our interagency to the point that
25 Senator Reed made. That is the importance of all of our

1 elements of power here. When you can combine 29 nations
2 with their elements of power in response to Russia's, it is
3 a slam dunk. There is no doubt that we can handle this, and
4 they will be deterred. But we have got to work together.

5 Senator King: A question about funding and budgets.
6 We have not seen a budget yet, but there is talk that there
7 will be a significant increase in the military budget but
8 primarily in OCO as opposed to line items. Give me your
9 thoughts about having money in OCO rather than allocations
10 and authorizations that you can put to work in your AOR.

11 General Scaparrotti: Well, primarily those budgets
12 that come in within the base budgets itself, laid out in a
13 FYDP, give me greater stability and knowledge of what is
14 coming in the future. So really what we need is
15 predictability. OCO tends to fluctuate each year. And so I
16 personally underscore the greater predictability we have and
17 stability in our budget as we look forward. Obviously, the
18 more efficient we can be with our funding and the more sure
19 that what we need in terms of force capability, readiness,
20 et cetera, can be planned and we can deliver it.

21 Senator King: Thank you. I appreciate that.

22 General Lyons, you mentioned in your testimony -- and
23 it is clear -- that a large part of your responsibility is
24 met through civilian enterprises, shipping, airplanes. And
25 I know you talked about this, but please outline for us your

1 level of satisfaction and confidence in the cybersecurity of
2 the private sector partners.

3 General Lyons: Sir, we acknowledge this is a
4 significant challenge. We work very closely with our
5 industry partners. As a matter of fact, we have introduced
6 language into our contracts. We require self-assessments.
7 We do a level of analysis on that, and we work more closely
8 to ensure that their resiliency is improving.

9 However, I would admit to you that if an advanced,
10 persistent threat actor were on their systems today, it
11 would be problematic. There is no question about that.

12 Senator King: Do you red team their systems? Self-
13 analysis does not make me sleep a lot better at night. Do
14 you have a red team capacity where you can mock attack them
15 to show them their vulnerabilities?

16 General Lyons: No, Senator, we do not.

17 Senator King: I would urge you to consider that as an
18 option. In other areas of the government, that has been
19 very effective. It has a way of waking people up when a
20 skull and crossbones appears on the CEO's computer.

21 General Lyons: Sir, I agree with that.

22 Senator King: Thank you, General.

23 Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator King.

25 Senator Fischer?

1 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 General Lyons, as you know, Nebraska is the home of the
3 155th Air Refueling Wing, and that plays an important role
4 especially during deployment with your command. I am proud
5 of those airmen. I just met with them a couple of weeks ago
6 back in Nebraska.

7 But my question to you is when we are looking at the
8 challenges and the risks that we are facing in order to meet
9 the future demands -- you kind of touched on that earlier --
10 what is the biggest issue you see contributing to the
11 limiting capacity of the fleet?

12 General Lyons: Ma'am, specifically in the area of
13 aerial refueling?

14 Senator Fischer: Yes.

15 General Lyons: I think you alluded to this. I mean,
16 aerial refueling is the lifeblood of the joint force's
17 ability to project power immediately. There is nothing in
18 the joint force we can do without that capability. And so I
19 was very pleased to see the Air Force accept the KC-46 and
20 begin that modernization process. I think that is a very
21 important first step.

22 The other initiatives that the services are working --
23 the service in this case, the Air Force -- is improved
24 readiness against the KC-135 fleet and the potential
25 deferment of divestiture of some of those weapon systems so

1 that we do not have a dip in capability over time.

2 Senator Fischer: I am happy to hear you say that. As
3 you know, the KC-46 -- it is online, but it is going to take
4 quite a while to make it an important part of the fleet.
5 And as we look at the 135, there are maintenance issues, and
6 we are seeing delays in that.

7 Are you confident that there is a good balance between
8 active, reserve, and guard when it comes to refueling?

9 General Lyons: Ma'am, I am. I will defer to the
10 service on the force mix specifically, but I think you know
11 very well we have guardsmen on alert, 2 hours trip alert
12 today. It is a total force effort in everything we are
13 doing. Over 60 percent of our capability does exist in the
14 Guard and Reserve.

15 Senator Fischer: What would you offer us as
16 suggestions so that we can mitigate some of the obstacles we
17 are facing with that limited refueling fleet that we have
18 with their capacity? Do you have any suggestions for us?

19 General Lyons: Well, ma'am, in the near term, it is
20 really about generating higher levels of readiness. So in
21 the KC-135 fleet, for example, we are unable to meet that 85
22 percent goal. The Air Force is working very, very hard to
23 improve that readiness. In the near term, that would
24 generate more tails available for mission.

25 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

1 General Scaparrotti, I would like to ask you about some
2 logistic challenges that I think you face in EUCOM. There
3 have been quotes in the past, in fact, from you when you
4 said the expansion of the alliance to include former Eastern
5 Bloc countries has exacerbated the lack of common
6 transportation networks between the newer NATO members in
7 the east and the more established allies in the west. For
8 example, Germany just allows trucks loaded with tanks to be
9 on their highways at night on weekdays. The rails on the
10 Baltic railroads -- the gauge is set wider apart than we
11 have in the western standard. It is my understanding trains
12 have to be unloaded and then reloaded near Poland's border
13 with Lithuania.

14 As we are looking at movement of troops and to be able
15 to respond quickly, to some of the possible challenges that
16 we are looking at in that area, how serious is this issue
17 today? And what steps have you taken in order to address
18 that?

19 General Scaparrotti: Well, thank you.

20 It is true what you stated in terms of the status today
21 in Europe. It is a serious issue because we need to be able
22 to move 360 within Europe with our forces and the allies' as
23 well.

24 If there is good news, the good news is that, as you
25 know, Congress has supported, particularly through EDI, some

1 of the key infrastructure improvements that we need,
2 particularly in the east, to support our movements,
3 reception of our troops, support of the troops that we put
4 in place there, but also it helps the allies. And the
5 allies, as well, are financing, along with many of those
6 projects, things that they should do with regard to
7 airfields, fuel lines, rail, et cetera.

8 Senator Fischer: I apologize for interrupting you, but
9 are we trying to facilitate some changes so that our NATO
10 allies can make those changes? Are they working together as
11 well?

12 General Scaparrotti: They are. So within NATO and EU
13 both, NATO had a study, you know, the infrastructure and
14 logistics support that needed to happen. EUCOM was very
15 involved in that. We provided help with them, and we also
16 provided to the EU who did a mobilization study. That has
17 resulted in about \$7 billion the EU is going to invest in
18 logistics and infrastructure over the next 5 or 6 years.
19 Much of what we recommended was, in fact, accepted. So we
20 now have a study. We know what our issues are. We have got
21 insight within both EU and NATO on that, and we have got to
22 follow up and make sure that that investment goes to the
23 right places and actually makes a difference in military
24 mobility.

25 Senator Fischer: And to be able to have a rapid

1 response.

2 General Scaparrotti: That is correct.

3 Senator Fischer: Thank you, sir.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Fischer.

5 Senator Peters?

6 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 And to our witnesses, thank you for your testimony and
8 your service over many years.

9 General Scaparrotti, you are well aware that if there
10 is ever a major conflict in Europe, the first shots are
11 likely to be cyber. They are not going to be kinetic. And
12 we have to be prepared for that. And I know since the
13 Russian attack against Estonia in 2007, the Baltic countries
14 have been really leaning into this in a pretty major way.
15 Estonia created the Cyber Defense League, established NATO's
16 Cooperative Cyber Defense Center of Excellence, and as you
17 know, Latvia is home to NATO's Strategic Communications
18 Center of Excellence.

19 But I would like you to give us an update and share
20 some of your thoughts on what you are seeing in the Baltic
21 countries, lessons learned, things that we may want to be
22 replicating in other places around the world.

23 General Scaparrotti: Well, you noted the changes that
24 have taken place. I would add as well that after NATO
25 determined that cyber was in fact a domain, which needed to

1 happen to give me as SACEUR authorities, we now have a cyber
2 center that operates within NATO. It is connected with each
3 of our nations. Most of them are building a cyber
4 capability. You noted the Cyber Center of Excellence, for
5 instance, that I think is a very good one. It is important
6 because it is through that process -- that is one of those
7 nodes that we are able to advance lessons learned, do
8 training, ensure that we can help with defense within NATO
9 but also to specific nations.

10 So like anything in cyber, though, it is a very dynamic
11 world. We are facing Russia, who is very agile in this and
12 good at it. And so we really cannot rest. We have got a
13 lot to do yet in cyber, particularly capacity. We have to
14 build the skills we need to man these centers.

15 Senator Peters: You know, one idea that has come to me
16 -- and I would love to have your comments on it as we try to
17 provide more resources into that and really leverage some of
18 the State partnerships we have with the National Guard. And
19 so, for example, in Michigan, we have a cyber unit in
20 Michigan, but those around the country as well. And I know
21 our partners in the Baltics would love to have more presence
22 of U.S. forces in country there as well.

23 Talk to me a little bit about whether or not it makes
24 sense to have rotations of particularly cyber National Guard
25 units. I mean, this would be good for morale. It would be

1 great for retention. It would be great for recruiting. It
2 would allow them to be at the tip of the spear while
3 exchanging great ideas. Is that something that makes sense
4 to you?

5 General Scaparrotti: It absolutely makes sense, and it
6 is something we are already doing particularly where you
7 have State partnership programs because they have a level of
8 trust that has been built, some over 25 years, and they have
9 that expertise. And it helps me in EUCOM because otherwise
10 I pull from my cyber center expertise, and I send that team
11 out to a nation. Here we can rotate forces through from a
12 State with the same expertise and ability to build that
13 capacity. So we are actually beginning to do more of that
14 in Europe today.

15 Senator Peters: I understand there might be some need
16 for additional funding through the National Guard to do
17 that, or are there adequate resources for you to conduct
18 that program or will you need more?

19 General Scaparrotti: You would have to ask the
20 National Guard for the specific answer to that, but my
21 general response is when you pick up an OPTEMPO like that
22 and you bring them in -- and generally, for the Guard there
23 is a funding issue, and one of us has to pick that up.

24 Senator Peters: So we can explore that further because
25 I think that is necessary for us to do that.

1 General Lyons, I am a former supply corps officer in
2 the U.S. Navy Reserve, and so I think there is a lot of
3 truth in General Omar Bradley's maxim that amateurs talk
4 tactics and professionals study logistics. And so it is
5 good to have you here.

6 I wanted you to comment a little bit about a recent
7 Defense Science Board Task Force Survivability Logistics
8 Publication that came out that talked about the decay in
9 logistic readiness was perhaps a result of insufficient war-
10 gaming that incorporated logistics. In a lot of war games,
11 they are typically just wished away. We know professionals
12 cannot wish away logistics or you are in a world of hurt
13 pretty quickly.

14 Could you comment on that report and give us an update
15 on how you are integrating combatant commanders with
16 exercises so the logistics is an integral part of war-gaming
17 and a real part of war-gaming, not just wished away?

18 General Lyons: Senator, thanks for the question.

19 I am familiar with the report. There are efforts
20 actually ongoing now, given the defense strategy and the
21 security environment, that will operate in the future to
22 better connect logistics outcomes, for example, in
23 TRANSCOM's case, mobility outputs and our ability to
24 generate the force with a campaign analysis, which is
25 currently disconnected. So we are working with the

1 Department to move in that direction in the future.

2 Senator Peters: General Scaparrotti, briefly. I know
3 we are running out of time. But how is that being
4 incorporated in your war-gaming?

5 General Scaparrotti: We work very closely here in
6 terms of our war-gaming and do a transportation feasibility
7 in each one of those. So our planners in fact work with
8 his, either coming back or they come when we do our war
9 planning. And that is just a standard part of what we do.

10 Senator Peters: And you do not think it is just being
11 wished away -- the logistics challenges and the war-gaming?

12 General Scaparrotti: No, I do not. In fact, if
13 anything, we have leaned into this trying to be very factual
14 about what our problems will be, particularly with respect
15 to those in Europe, as we mentioned earlier.

16 Senator Peters: Great. Thank you, gentlemen.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Peters.

18 Senator Cotton?

19 Senator Cotton: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Thank you, gentlemen. General Scaparrotti, welcome to
21 your last hearing and, General Lyons, to your first hearing.
22 I am sure there were no jokes made at General Lyons' expense
23 before this hearing began by General Scaparrotti.

24 General Lyons, with that smile on your face, I would
25 like to address some issues I have heard from logistics

1 companies, including some in Arkansas, dealing not just with
2 your command but with the Federal Government as a whole, but
3 obviously, your command is one of the largest if not the
4 largest in the entire government when it comes to moving
5 things and equipment. They express frustrations with the
6 kind of inscrutability or perplexed at the bureaucratic
7 challenges of dealing with the government. A lot of these
8 companies are either run by veterans or they have a large
9 veteran workforce, given the training that the military
10 gives its personnel in logistics. They would like to work
11 more with the government and with TRANSCOM in particular.
12 They just sometimes find it to be a challenge.

13 What kind of working groups, if any, does TRANSCOM have
14 with private industry to try to make what you do more
15 transparent to them so they can better serve our personnel
16 through your command?

17 General Lyons: Senator, it is a great question. We
18 are inextricably linked in our relationship with industry
19 and their ability to generate the force.

20 We have a relationship with our industry partners at
21 multiple echelons, all the way from action officer to
22 executive working groups that my three-star deputy leads. I
23 also meet at least two times a year with the senior
24 executives from our industry partners.

25 And I acknowledge your point that from time to time,

1 based on our federal acquisition regulations, it can be a
2 bit of an obstacle to work with the government. And so we
3 try to minimize that as much as possible, and in fact, that
4 is really, Senator, what is driving some of our restructure
5 initiatives on the household goods side of the house to open
6 up the market to more capacity.

7 Senator Cotton: Good. I would just like to encourage
8 that kind of linkage to continue. As the logistics industry
9 changes so rapidly through the use of information
10 technology, the more connections you can have to private
11 sector leaders and to the people who are out doing this on
12 the front lines I think it will just be beneficial to the
13 personnel that you are serving on the front lines, whether
14 it is moving household goods in the summer months or getting
15 material down range as well. And I would like to have my
16 office continue to work with your command to try to
17 facilitate some of those conversations.

18 General Lyons: Sir, that will be great. Thank you.

19 Senator Cotton: General Scaparrotti, I noted with
20 great interest that Vladimir Putin yesterday directed Russia
21 to withdraw from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
22 Treaty, which I find somewhat ironic since they have been
23 violating their commitments under the INF Treaty for the
24 last 10 years. Do you have any thoughts on that news?

25 General Scaparrotti: It would only be to underscore

1 what you just suggested and that was the fact that they left
2 the INF Treaty some time ago, years ago, by very
3 deliberately producing a weapon in violation, and they have
4 been deploying that weapon.

5 Senator Cotton: And the United States Government has
6 publicly recognized these violations under both the Obama
7 administration, the Trump administration. We recently
8 announced our intent to withdraw from the INF Treaty.

9 Was there any public opposition from a NATO partner or
10 was it uniform NATO support for the United States' decision
11 to withdraw from that treaty?

12 General Scaparrotti: NATO both in December and
13 February produced very strong statements in support of each
14 step that we took in terms of our withdrawal from the INF
15 Treaty.

16 I would say that our NATO allies understand that the
17 INF is a very important component to European security from
18 their view. They will emphasize -- I am sure you have heard
19 them -- with each step they would hope that we would
20 continue to work to bring Russia back into compliance before
21 we are fully out, the 6-month period, or that we would look
22 forward from that then to perhaps a new treaty that would
23 encompass the new weapon systems, et cetera. So they very
24 much understand the importance of this, but they did support
25 us strongly -- 29 nations strongly -- in our decision.

1 Senator Cotton: Thank you.

2 Obviously, one reason why it is in our national
3 security interest to withdraw from the INF Treaty besides
4 Russia's noncompliance with the treaty is that China has
5 been free to build intermediate-range missiles at unlimited
6 rates for decades now. And as you know from your time at
7 U.S. Forces Korea, that has a significant impact on our
8 security interest in the Pacific region.

9 But China is not just limited there. It wants to be a
10 global player. I noted with interest last year that the
11 Government of Denmark agreed to build some airports at
12 Greenland, which it controls, not exactly considered a
13 traditional EUCOM area, but it is within your area of
14 operations.

15 What are the implications of Chinese presence if they
16 were to get a foothold, which they were largely denied in
17 that airport construction project last year in the high
18 north?

19 General Scaparrotti: Well, it could have an absolute
20 impact. I mean, I am concerned personally about the
21 strategic investments that we see by China throughout Europe
22 in air and sea ports or vicinities of that in critical
23 technologies and companies that hold that particularly in
24 the high north where you note Greenland and Iceland both are
25 important bodies in that line of communication. So I think

1 we need to watch carefully China's investment in these
2 ports. And as you know, many of their commercial companies
3 are actually state-owned.

4 Senator Cotton: Thank you.

5 General Scaparrotti, I want to thank you for your
6 service to our nation for over 40 years. I know you have
7 been wearing that fourth star on your shoulder for longer
8 than anyone else in the armed forces right now. You have
9 well earned the retirement that you have ahead of you. But
10 I think I speak for most members of this committee when we
11 say that we would like to see you back in the employ of
12 Uncle Sam sometime in the future.

13 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Cotton.

14 Senator Shaheen?

15 Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you both for being here
16 and for your service to the country.

17 General Lyons, I want to follow up on some of the
18 concerns that have been raised by Senators Reed and Fischer
19 about the phasing out of our KC-135's and when the KC-46's
20 are going to arrive. It is my understanding that in New
21 Hampshire where we have the 157th Air Refueling Wing that
22 there will be a period of months between the time the 135 is
23 phased out and the 46 is delivered, given that it is already
24 behind schedule.

25 Can you comment on what we should assume will happen

1 during those months when there is no refueling capacity and
2 whether the intent will be to try and keep the 135's around
3 longer until the delivery of the 46's?

4 General Lyons: Ma'am, from my perspective, that is the
5 key issue is to maintain operational capability throughout
6 the conversion. And the Air Force is working that very
7 issue. In fact, they are working currently to delay the
8 divestiture of a select number of KC-135's so that we do not
9 have this exorbitant dip in capability over time. And so
10 the service is working that, ma'am.

11 Senator Shaheen: And should we assume that that is
12 going to happen? I mean, I appreciate that the service is
13 working it, but does that mean that we are going to see that
14 extension happen?

15 General Lyons: Senator, it has been my request. It
16 has been well received by both the air component and the
17 chief. Obviously, it is going to cost some money, and when
18 the money is put into the program, that is when we will
19 know. But the intent is to retain 28 weapon systems beyond
20 their currently scheduled retirement.

21 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

22 And in terms of Boeing's delivery of the 46's, I know
23 that they have accepted or made a commitment to address some
24 of the concerns that have been expressed about the tankers.
25 Do we know whether that is going to speed up the further

1 delivery, or should we assume that we are going to see
2 further delays?

3 General Lyons: Ma'am, the decision to deliver I think
4 was a good one. Right now, we are on a pause, as you may
5 know, based on some Boeing issues with a foreign object. So
6 I do not have a sense, until that is cleared up, for the
7 impact on the program. But I will talk to the Air Force
8 about that.

9 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I appreciate that. And I
10 am sure that all of us hope that Boeing will do everything
11 they can to make sure those deliveries are done to address
12 the concerns that have been raised.

13 General Scaparrotti, you mentioned in your testimony
14 the concern about Turkey acquiring the S-400 at the same
15 time they are supposed to take delivery of the F-35's. And
16 I know that there has been an effort underway to try and
17 encourage Turkey to look at other alternatives and that
18 there was an offer made early in January for the sale of the
19 Patriot system. They have until the end of March, it is my
20 understanding, to decide whether they are going to take
21 delivery of that or not.

22 But the question I have is, if Turkey moves forward
23 with the agreement with Russia on the S-400, do we assume
24 that they should receive delivery of F-35's and what does
25 that do to their accessing that technology?

1 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I would say, first of
2 all, if they accept the S-400 and to establish it within
3 Turkey, there is, first of all, an issue that it is not
4 interoperable with NATO systems nor is it interoperable
5 inside of our integrated air missile defense system. So
6 that presents one problem.

7 The second has to do with the F-35. It presents a
8 problem to all of our aircraft, but specifically the F-35 I
9 believe. And my best military advice would be that we do
10 not then follow through with the F-35 flying it or working
11 with an ally that is working with Russian systems,
12 particularly air defense systems, with one of our, what I
13 would say, is probably one of our most advanced
14 technological capabilities.

15 Senator Shaheen: I am pleased to hear you say that,
16 but the question I guess I have is I understand that some of
17 the parts for the F-35 are being made in Turkey and what
18 happens to that assembly and who picks up that slack if
19 Turkey cannot receive the F-35.

20 General Scaparrotti: Well, that is one of the issues
21 that is being considered and will be considered I am sure,
22 as you know.

23 But for them, I would just underscore the fact that
24 this is a huge decision for Turkey. I have talked to them
25 personally as all of our leadership has. It connects in

1 many different ways to the employment and the integration
2 that they have within the system itself, the F-35, but also
3 the FMS and other systems that we sell to Turkey as well.
4 And so I would hope that they would reconsider this one
5 decision on S-400, one system, but potentially forfeit many
6 of the other systems and one of the most important systems
7 that we can provide them.

8 Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you. I share that view.
9 I think Turkey is an important ally, but it is one that we
10 hope to be able to depend on.

11 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

13 Let me inform you that some of the KC-46's have been
14 delivered. In fact, I flew the right seat of a KC-46 from
15 Seattle, Washington to Altus. It is running fine.

16 Senator Sullivan?

17 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 And, gentlemen, thank you for being here and your
19 service.

20 General Scaparrotti, I want to talk about a few things.
21 First, there is a narrative that I think has played out a
22 lot in the media that the administration or what you are
23 doing in your capacity is somehow being weak on Russia and
24 Putin. So I just want to talk about a few actions that
25 under your leadership we have been taking because is it not

1 true that the one thing that Putin understands more than
2 anything is power. Right? Would you agree with that?

3 General Scaparrotti: I would agree.

4 Senator Sullivan: Power of military forces, energy
5 production, not worth by actual power.

6 So does it help that we have now our forces deployed in
7 countries like Poland and the Baltics in the European
8 Reassurance Initiative, which this committee has supported
9 in a bipartisan fashion?

10 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir, very important.

11 Senator Sullivan: It does not get a lot of press, but
12 my colleague, Senator Ernst, was recently in Ukraine. And
13 as you know, the previous administration was reluctant and
14 never helped the Ukrainians with defensive weapon systems
15 that they could use to protect themselves. Under Secretary
16 Mattis' leadership when he got involved, we did provide the
17 Ukrainians the Javelin anti-tank missile system. How is
18 that working out?

19 General Scaparrotti: Senator, first of all, as I said
20 earlier in testimony, they have received the system. I have
21 been impressed with their training and their preparation to
22 utilize it.

23 Senator Sullivan: Do you think that makes Russian T-72
24 tank drivers in eastern Ukraine a little more nervous?

25 General Scaparrotti: I think it does. I think the

1 fact that they have a Javelin that they can employ and they
2 know how to employ it is a deterrent.

3 Senator Sullivan: Are we seeing any force posture
4 indications that they are taking that into consideration
5 when they are moving those kind of forces? I am talking
6 about the Russian forces.

7 General Scaparrotti: Not directly because we have not
8 employed them right on the line. The Ukrainians have not.
9 But I am sure that they are aware of them, and they take
10 that in consideration in the employment of their forces and
11 where they put them. They know it is a lethal weapon
12 system.

13 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

14 I do not know if you mentioned it -- I am sorry. I had
15 to step out prior to your testimony. But could you talk a
16 little bit about the Vostok 2018 exercise? My understanding
17 was it involved 300,000 Russian troops, 80 ships, notably
18 3,200 Chinese troops, including up to as many as 900 Chinese
19 tanks. Are those reports accurate and should we be
20 concerned about that?

21 General Scaparrotti: Well, first of all, the numbers
22 that they published are higher than what was factually
23 present. I can talk in more detail on this in a classified
24 hearing this afternoon. It was not that large, but it was
25 large. And, yes, we should take notice primarily because it

1 was designed for them at a very strategic operational level
2 to be able to command and control large forces in a force-
3 on-force type of exercise scenario. It connected them with
4 many of their -- multiple of their regional commands
5 specifically in order to practice that. It covered both
6 conventional long-range precision munitions training, as
7 well as nuclear training offset toward the end. And it
8 included China, as you noted, which is the first time I can
9 recall them providing forces in a partner training scenario,
10 which is quite unusual. So the size of it, the complexity
11 of it, the communications that they demonstrated, the fact
12 that it was a hybrid conventional and nuclear exercise I
13 think is all important.

14 Senator Sullivan: Thank you for that.

15 General Lyons, you and I had a discussion, and the
16 chairman I see was just talking about the KC-46 and the
17 deployment of that. I know that is not ultimately your
18 call, but certainly you are an advocate and you have a lot
19 of knowledge. I am going to ask just a couple quick
20 questions that I would just appreciate quick answers to.

21 But when you look at the places where you would want to
22 deploy that, either CONUS or OCONUS decisions, you know, the
23 National Defense Strategy prioritizes great power
24 competition with China and Russia, decisive action against
25 North Korea, would it make sense to place KC-46's in a part

1 of an American territory, State, or otherwise as closely
2 proximate to those places?

3 General Lyons: Senator, just to be clear, Alaska is
4 clearly a strategic location.

5 Senator Sullivan: So you are getting to my punch line
6 already. I have not even gone through the list. Let me go
7 through the list.

8 So we are close to all those places. We are the only
9 State where you are actually right at the seams of EUCOM,
10 PACOM, NORTHCOM, STRATCOM. The State of Alaska is in the
11 seams of every one of those. The OPLANs that support
12 contingencies all focus on Alaska. It has the fourth
13 largest fuel storage area of the Air Force in any place in
14 the world. It is going to have over 100 fifth generation
15 fighters in the next 2 years. 100. No other place on the
16 planet earth will have 100 combat-coded fifth gen fighters.
17 It has the existing infrastructure to support aerial
18 refueling operations. And JPARC will be the best training
19 place for fifth gen aircraft anywhere in the world.

20 So is your advocating for the KC-46 -- I mean, of
21 course, I am advocating for the State I represent, but I
22 would not do it unless I thought it made 100 percent
23 strategic sense. So just give me your thoughts on that very
24 quickly.

25 General Lyons: Sir, I know the Air Force is still

1 developing the basing plan. It is not complete yet,
2 particularly in the future years. I do have confidence that
3 they will look completely at the operational range and
4 capability to be able to swing and give us the flexibility
5 in TRANSCOM to employ that important weapon system. And I
6 am sure that Alaska is part of that discussion. I just do
7 not know the details, sir.

8 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

9 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Sullivan.

11 Senator Duckworth?

12 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I hope on
13 that right-seat ride, you did not try to get them to do a
14 hammerhead or anything, did you, with any aerobatic
15 maneuvers?

16 [Laughter.]

17 Senator Duckworth: Stay within the restrictions.

18 Gentlemen, thank you so much for your participation
19 today.

20 General Scaparrotti, I want to return to the discussion
21 about logistics challenges especially in the Eastern
22 European area. Illinois National Guard has been the sponsor
23 in the State Partnership for Peace program with the nation
24 of Poland for 28 years now I believe -- 27-plus years. So
25 through my service, I am somewhat familiar with the

1 challenges that we face there.

2 Could you update us on how the establishment of the
3 NATO Joint Support and Enabling Command is going? Let us
4 remind us of why it was created and what it will better
5 enable you to do in theater to respond to Russian
6 aggression. And when will this command be fully
7 operational?

8 General Scaparrotti: The establishment of JSEC, as you
9 called it, is moving I think on timeline. It is actually
10 ahead of pace in my view. The Germans who were the
11 framework nation for this headquarters in Ulm, Germany have
12 -- in my view they have really leaned into this. So they
13 have already got their commander designated. They have a
14 portion of the staff there. They have been present in my
15 headquarters in SHAPE to do the further planning that needs
16 to take place to ensure that it is right-sized, to make sure
17 that the planning, the understandings, roles, and
18 responsibilities are correct. So that is really the piece
19 that we are doing right now, but it is moving along very
20 well.

21 This fall is IOC, and it is another year before it
22 would be fully operational. So we have got some time here
23 before it would be fully operational. But I would say to
24 you that I think they will be ahead of that in terms of real
25 output. They are already making a difference in terms of

1 our logistics planning with other logistics commands within
2 the headquarters and throughout the component. So I think
3 they will actually be leaning into that before they are
4 actually fully established, so to speak.

5 Why did we set that up? Primarily because in a
6 European environment where we have got to be able to support
7 and move 360, not just to the eastern border, but north to
8 the high north, south, and west with a threat that is
9 actually 360 and then we needed to protect the central lines
10 of communication, critical ports, seaports, and
11 infrastructure in doing that because as has been testified
12 to here by General Lyons, we are now in a contested
13 environment. We needed a headquarters that both looked
14 logistically, as well as protection of those key assets.
15 And that is really why we stood up that command, and it is
16 well placed being in kind of the heartland of Europe, so to
17 speak, in Germany.

18 So it is a very important step for NATO to take, and I
19 think it demonstrates NATO's focus on making sure that it
20 will be relevant for the environment that we are in today.

21 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, General.

22 General Lyons, how would TRANSCOM plug into the JSEC,
23 and has this been tested yet? I mean, how would you plug in
24 during conflict, for example, and have we tested it?

25 General Lyons: Senator, first let me tell you thank

1 you for your understanding of logistics and the importance
2 of logistics to warfighting. I greatly appreciate that.

3 I have actually been to Europe several times, and I met
4 with the leadership that were developing the JSEC and I
5 understand that concept very well. I think it is a great
6 initiative that General Scaparrotti and his team are moving
7 out on.

8 I do not know that we plug in directly. We plug in
9 directly to his EUCOM headquarters through a European
10 deployment and distribution operations center and then
11 across at echelon to include his headquarters, and we would
12 take the signals that he would be sending on his priorities
13 for mobility and then meter them accordingly. Then he would
14 have the role then to integrate that from a coalition
15 perspective.

16 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

17 With that, I would like to return, General Scaparrotti
18 to an understanding of sealift. We had a discussion earlier
19 today. And I understand that recently NATO reactivated its
20 Atlantic Command to guard the sea lanes of approach into
21 Europe in the event of war.

22 Can you describe for me in general terms the amount of
23 sealift that would be required to move significant U.S.
24 forces to Europe in the event of conflict? And are you
25 comfortable with the amount of sealift at your disposal

1 right now in the event of a conflict?

2 General Scaparrotti: Well, Senator, when we go to the
3 closed session, I can probably get into more detail on that.
4 But I would say it is significant. And because of the types
5 of forces I move -- I think Steve would agree that we rely
6 on sealift largely for a lot of that bulk and heavy
7 movement.

8 You know, I am aware of the challenges to particularly
9 our reserve force for naval forces and our commercial
10 support. That is all important if we had a full conflict in
11 Europe. And so I would just underscore the importance of
12 funding that and making sure that we have the readiness in
13 the right place because we will rely on it heavily for any
14 crisis in Europe.

15 Senator Duckworth: Thank you. We will probably try to
16 follow up in the session later today. Thank you, gentlemen.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Duckworth.

18 Let me just, since you brought up the KC-46, remind all
19 of us here that is replacing eventually the KC-135. The
20 first KC-135 that was delivered to Altus Air Force Base was
21 in 1959. So it has been operating for 60 years. It gives
22 you an idea of the significance of the KC-46 to the distant
23 future of that capability.

24 Senator Hawley?

25 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 General Scaparrotti, General Lyons, thank you both for
2 being here. Thank you for your exemplary service, and thank
3 you to the men and women under your command.

4 General Scaparrotti, if I could just start with you, I
5 want to talk a little bit about the NDS Strategy Commission.
6 The NDS Commission, various RAND studies, and others have
7 clearly indicated that we are not optimally postured to deal
8 with a Russian assault into the Baltics in particular. And
9 the NDS clearly states that the joint force has got to be
10 prepared to blunt this assault and to prevent a Russian fait
11 accompli.

12 My question is building on the positive work in the
13 previous years, the European Defense Initiatives, and other
14 activities, could you give us a progress report? I
15 understand you may want to save some of this for the closed
16 session, but can you give us a progress report on our force
17 posturing developments to prevent that fait accompli? Where
18 are we on this in your judgment?

19 General Scaparrotti: We have made clear progress as I
20 stated up front in this regard, and largely thankful to the
21 support of Congress, particularly EDI, in funding the
22 changes that we need to make. So we made progress, I would
23 tell you, in every domain that is important to that,
24 including cyber in that, for instance. But we are not
25 postured yet where we need to be, and as you cited, the

1 studies that have come out recently have underscored that.
2 So in a closed session, I would like the opportunity to talk
3 to you more specifically about where we are at and what we
4 are short.

5 But, for instance, you know, we now have rotational
6 brigades, an armored brigade, a CAB in the east, a battalion
7 task force as a part of NATO. We have rotational air
8 forces. We have rotational bomber forces. We have had
9 twice now -- well, three times actually -- a carrier strike
10 group once already in the high north for the first time in
11 20 years. At the beginning of my time here, 3 years ago, we
12 were moving one brigade at a time and challenged. A month
13 ago, I moved four brigades, two armored, two CABs,
14 simultaneously in Europe. That is the progress. And thanks
15 to TRANSCOM and others that help us do the work, provide the
16 assets, increase the infrastructure to make that happen. So
17 clearly progress, but we are not there yet.

18 Senator Hawley: Again with the reservation I realize
19 you wanted to save the specifics for the closed session, I
20 think it is important to get some of this on the record as
21 we are about to, as you know, go into the authorization
22 season here and then the appropriations season where we will
23 be needing to be making the case for authorizing and then
24 spending what is necessary in order to get you what you
25 need.

1 So can you give us an overview at least about what more
2 you think we need, generally speaking, to get you to the
3 posture that the NDS recommends?

4 General Scaparrotti: Well, first of all, we will start
5 with the cyber domain. There is a plan and an increase in
6 my cyber capability, and I have been increased by CYBERCOM
7 as a priority. So that has happened. But I still have
8 personnel and skills in the numbers of around 50 personnel
9 yet. It would be very helpful to have them in place. So
10 that is one of those.

11 If you go to the land component, I need greater land
12 component capability not only in armored elements but with
13 my enablers, and I will go into more detail on that in the
14 other.

15 I have mentioned maritime, greater capacity there, as
16 well as specific capabilities to stay ahead of, frankly, the
17 modernization that we see in Russia's maritime forces.

18 The Air Force is presently on a rotational basis
19 providing fifth gen aircraft to me, bomber aircraft, et
20 cetera, which we need to employ for a deterrent factor and
21 also to ensure our readiness and capability. I am looking
22 forward to those being stationed permanently in some numbers
23 within Europe as well.

24 Senator Hawley: Thank you.

25 Let me ask you about our European allies. Can you give

1 us a report -- you mentioned some of this in your written
2 testimony. Can you give us a report on the work with our
3 European allies especially Germany to ensure that they are
4 meeting their NATO commitments and have a plan to do so
5 going forward?

6 General Scaparrotti: Well, as you know, we have been
7 working with all of our allies, and I mentioned up front the
8 cash contribution. So since 2016, our allies have put
9 another \$41 billion into defense. By 2020, it will be \$100
10 billion based on the plans that they had to provide here in
11 December. Their contributions have stepped up. We asked
12 for greater force structure to assist in Afghanistan. Our
13 allies responded. So I think when you look at that, they
14 are clearly responding, but we have a ways to go yet.

15 Germany in particular has responded as well. They plan
16 to bring their defense investment up to 1.5 percent. That
17 is not 2 percent yet. That is where it needs to be, but
18 they are clearly refocused on their contribution, as well as
19 their readiness. As you know, they have got some readiness
20 issues. That has been in the paper. I believe that is true
21 from what I have seen.

22 But they are providing the very high joint task force,
23 for instance, for NATO, and they made sure that they
24 produced a force that was ready and credible. And I have
25 seen it. We operated with that force in Trident Juncture,

1 for instance. So they understand the issue and they are
2 working hard to get their readiness up to where it is going
3 to be. But they spent a good deal of time, in particular,
4 as many of the other -- we did as well, but European nations
5 where they rested and they did not invest in their defense,
6 and now they are having to invest heavily to get back up on
7 step.

8 Senator Hawley: Great. Thank you, General.

9 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Hawley.

11 Senator Warren?

12 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13 So I want to discuss the national security threat that
14 cannot be addressed by traditional military power at all,
15 and that is climate change. The unclassified worldwide
16 threat assessment by the Director of National Intelligence
17 said -- and I am going to quote here -- global environmental
18 and ecological degradation, as well as climate change, are
19 likely to fuel competition for resources, economic distress,
20 and social discontent through 2019 and beyond. End quote.

21 That assessment also said, quote, damage to
22 communication, energy, and transportation infrastructure
23 could affect low-lying military bases, inflict economic
24 costs, and cause human displacement and loss of life.

25 I have asked this question to other combatant

1 commanders, so I want to make sure that I get this on the
2 record. General Scaparrotti and General Lyons, do you agree
3 with the intelligence community's assessment of the climate
4 change threat?

5 General Scaparrotti: I do, and I believe that, as you
6 noted, much of this will be drivers for potential conflict
7 or at least very difficult situations that nations have to
8 deal with.

9 The second, I would point you to the high north and
10 that is the increasing opening of the northern sea route and
11 the challenges that presents from a security perspective.

12 Senator Warren: Yes. Thank you.

13 General Lyons, do you also agree?

14 General Lyons: Ma'am, I agree. These are sources of
15 conflict, and we certainly have to be prepared to respond to
16 them.

17 Senator Warren: Good.

18 Could I then ask each of you very briefly because we
19 have very limited time just to describe how climate change
20 impacts your operations in your commands and what you are
21 doing to adapt to these changes? General Scaparrotti, would
22 you like to start?

23 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think the most apparent
24 to me is the one that I noted and that is in the Arctic. We
25 already are seeing longer periods of time that the northern

1 sea route is open. And so as a part of that, there is an
2 increased interest in commercial and resource capabilities
3 there. China, for instance, is pressing to get into the
4 high north and have some presence there. And so that
5 creates competition. Russia, because that northern sea
6 route is the one that follows most closely to their borders,
7 has increased -- reopened 10 of their airports there. They
8 now have radar systems up. They have begun to move, on
9 periodic times, different weapon systems up there for
10 control of the area. So those are all things --

11 Senator Warren: That is serious.

12 General Scaparrotti: -- that I have to bring into my
13 planning.

14 Senator Warren: And what has been your response to
15 that, just briefly?

16 General Scaparrotti: Briefly? We have updated our
17 plans as a result of that. We have had to change the
18 posture of some of our forces. We have changed our
19 operational patterns so that we, in fact, deter and we send
20 a signal of the importance of the Arctic to us. Those are
21 just some of the ways day to day that we have made changes
22 in our normal routine in order to demonstrate significance
23 and capability in the Arctic.

24 Senator Warren: Thank you.

25 General Lyons?

1 General Lyons: Ma'am, anything that degrades our
2 ability to project and sustain power globally at our time
3 and place of choosing is a concern. And we know that we
4 have to operate in any conditions whatsoever.

5 Senator Warren: So what are you doing by way of
6 response?

7 General Lyons: Ma'am, in other words, in our planning
8 and so forth, we consider all environments. But more
9 specific to General Scap's point about the more scientific
10 piece of it is, that is a little bit out of my area of
11 expertise.

12 Senator Warren: Fair enough. I really was not looking
13 for so much of a scientific answer, but as General
14 Scaparrotti said, how you have to kind of readjust where you
15 are and what you are doing.

16 If I can, I just want to say adapting to climate change
17 impacts our military readiness, and I am glad you both take
18 this threat seriously. I appreciate that.

19 In my remaining time, I just want to ask very briefly,
20 if I can, about the INF Treaty. We all know this is a
21 landmark arms control treaty with Russia negotiated in 1987
22 by President Ronald Reagan. The treaty prohibits both of
23 our countries from testing and deploying ground-launched
24 ballistic and cruise missiles with a range of 500 to 5,500
25 kilometers. Yes, we know that Russia is in violation of the

1 treaty since 2014, but rather than use the mechanisms within
2 the treaty or other tools available to us to try to get
3 Russia back into compliance, the administration is
4 abandoning the treaty entirely.

5 So I just want to ask what is our plan to prevent
6 Russia from building more INF Treaty-prohibited missiles in
7 the absence of the treaty? Do we have a plan here? General
8 Lyons?

9 General Lyons: Ma'am, I would have to defer on that.
10 That is a little bit out of my area of expertise.

11 Senator Warren: Okay.

12 General Scaparrotti?

13 General Scaparrotti: Well, Senator, I think that we
14 are still in a 6-month period here where we are looking at
15 what our options are. We, in fact, have told our allies in
16 NATO that we will do the planning in collaboration with
17 them. We have begun that. So I do not know that we have
18 plan today. I know that we are working on what we think
19 that plan might be. I personally think that it has to be
20 multi-dimensional. It has to be across all of our domains,
21 and it has to be whole-of-government in order to respond to
22 that.

23 I would finally say that from my point of view that
24 when you have a peer competitor, particularly a modernizing
25 one, that will be challenging us, such as Russia, that we

1 should look toward treaty capabilities in order to provide
2 some stability, to provide signals and communications and
3 limits that we understand that we can work from.

4 Senator Warren: Well, I am glad to hear that you are
5 trying to work with our allies. I think the Polish, for
6 example, have said that they are concerned about missiles on
7 their land. I just urge you to think about, instead of
8 withdrawing from the INF Treaty, whether or not we should be
9 redoubling our efforts to bring Russia back into compliance
10 with the treaty. We know that Putin cannot be trusted, but
11 we have a responsibility to prevent a dangerous and
12 expensive arms race in Europe and without the treaty I am
13 worried that is what we are doing.

14 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Warren.

15 Senator Warren: I apologize.

16 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Tillis?

17 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Thank you, both gentlemen, for being here.

19 General Lyons, I was down at Fort Bragg this past
20 Friday with Secretary Esper, and we were talking with folks
21 there who are in unacceptable housing conditions.

22 We also talked a little bit -- and I have had a number
23 of discussions in the past with families about some of their
24 household belongings being moved, some of the bottlenecks,
25 and unsatisfactory service.

1 So I like the idea of taking the personal property
2 program into what I would consider to be one throat to choke
3 sort of model. But maybe if you could briefly describe
4 where you think this is going to end up. I really want to
5 make sure that we get this right in terms of accountability,
6 predictability, and customer satisfaction so that any
7 relationship we create with this confederation of movers --
8 I get that you are going to have a consolidator, but you are
9 still going to have a number of individual providers. We
10 have got to get the compensation and accountability models
11 right so that we do not end up here honestly trying to do a
12 good thing and ending up where we are with the housing
13 situation.

14 Can you give me some assurances or briefly describe how
15 that is going to work?

16 General Lyons: Senator, I can. This is definitely not
17 a privatization effort by any stretch of the imagination.
18 As a matter of fact, what I have offered to the service
19 secretaries and service chiefs is instead of this completely
20 de-aggregated, diffuse value chain of very little
21 centralized responsibility even inside the government, I
22 would look at them and I would say hold me accountable.
23 Allow me to develop an acquisition tool to hold industry
24 accountable. We have a track record of being able to do
25 that, as a matter, in other parts of the defense personal

1 property program like personal-owned vehicles. We do this
2 today.

3 I do know, Senator, that there is some concern in
4 industry. We get a lot of feedback from industry. Some are
5 very, very supportive where we are headed. They see
6 opportunities to enter the market. We want to grow the
7 market. Others are concerned about potential change. What
8 I tell them and what I have seen in our past acquisitions
9 that have been similar is that below the level, we still
10 need the same or greater number of movers out there who just
11 need a level of quality and accountability in the system.

12 Senator Tillis: And some peaking capability.

13 I would be very interested in maybe having the right
14 people in your organization meet with my staff to describe
15 what that really looks like operationally. In a simplistic
16 way, it would almost be this baseline guarantee of capacity
17 with some peaking capability that is almost uber-like in
18 terms of having the household know that they are going to
19 get their things moved at the appropriate time hopefully to
20 a house that is in much better condition than some of the
21 ones that I saw down at Fort Bragg on Friday, a separate
22 issue and not your problem.

23 General Scaparrotti, I appreciate the time you spent in
24 the office yesterday. I appreciate your years, decades of
25 service, and I associate myself with Senator Cotton's

1 comments that if you take your uniform off, we hope that
2 does not mean that we will not see you back here serving in
3 some other capacity.

4 I am going to save a lot of my questions for the
5 classified briefly, but I do want to highlight my concern
6 with the Turkey situation, particularly with the S-400's. I
7 know -- and you gave a great briefing on where we are
8 working together on a legitimate homeland security threat
9 that they are dealing with with the PKK. So on the one
10 hand, we are trying to partner and continue to build on that
11 relationship.

12 Turkey is a vitally important NATO partner in the most
13 complicated part of the world. So I understand some of
14 their behaviors, but I do not understand under any
15 circumstances why on earth they would be considering
16 purchasing a missile defense system that would not be
17 interoperable, that would require the deployment of
18 capabilities on the ground in Turkey that would threaten the
19 presence of our Joint Strike Fighter, why on earth they
20 would be considering a decision that would make us have to
21 rethink whether or not they can actually even be in the
22 supply chain for the Joint Strike Fighter, let alone
23 deploying assets that are scheduled to be there in 2020, but
24 even raising doubts about whether or not we can legitimately
25 manufacture and distribute parts in the supply chain for the

1 production of Joint Strike Fighters.

2 And the message that I want to send to the Turkish
3 leadership is this is an area -- Congress got educated quite
4 a bit on the Joint Strike Fighter and on Turkey last year
5 when we were dealing with a matter involving a pastor from
6 my State. I think we are very well briefed on it now and
7 some of the risks there. So I would just encourage the
8 Turkish Government and the leadership to recognize that they
9 should not have this one decision put all the other great
10 things that we are doing, that we will do in the future in
11 the balance and have Congress potentially in a position
12 where we would have to act.

13 General Scaparrotti: Senator, thank you. As you know,
14 we, the United States, have a team there today talking to
15 the Turks, and I am sure a very candid conversation about
16 the S-400 and the potential consequences are a part of that
17 conversation.

18 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Tillis.

19 Senator Blumenthal?

20 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 General Lyons, let me first ask you a question about
22 privatization. As you are familiar, as you know, Army
23 veteran and military spouse Megan Harless recently wrote an
24 op-ed that criticized TRANSCOM's plan to privatize the
25 military move program. She stated that the military move

1 advisory panel convened by TRANSCOM has not been consulted
2 regarding privatization, and TRANSCOM also has not solicited
3 feedback from military families or from the moving industry.

4 Do military families support privatization? Does
5 industry support it?

6 General Lyons: Senator, there is no initiative
7 whatsoever to privatize the household goods industry. This
8 is a 100 percent -- every task inside that value chain is
9 conducted by commercial industry today.

10 What we are proposing, however, is a restructure of how
11 the government approaches this with industry. To be honest
12 with you, Senator, I have received more letters on this
13 particular issue in the 6 months that I have been Commander
14 than any other issue that TRANSCOM deals with. And in fact,
15 I agree with the criticisms of the program. I think we need
16 to take action to remedy the program as it exists today. We
17 have been studying this since 1996.

18 Senator Blumenthal: Will you commit to prioritizing
19 the needs of those military families in any kinds of reforms
20 that you may consider?

21 General Lyons: Sir, there is no question about it.
22 This is all about improving curbside service for military
23 families. That is our north star. That is the only reason
24 that we are doing this, sir.

25 Senator Blumenthal: And will you commit to consulting

1 with the TRANSCOM advisory panel?

2 General Lyons: Yes, sir. We consult regularly with
3 industry. Some very much support where we are headed, and
4 some are very, very concerned.

5 I do know, Senator, that the moving associations, for
6 example, are drafting language to insert in the NDAA that
7 would delay any kind of progress in this area, perhaps to
8 study it for 2 more years. I can just say I really think
9 that would be a gut punch for our military families.

10 Senator Blumenthal: General Scaparrotti, talking about
11 the Ukraine, is there evidence of the Russians meddling in
12 the Ukrainian elections that are planned?

13 General Scaparrotti: Well, in terms of their
14 influence, they certainly are supporting the parties where
15 they believe they can have the most influence and those
16 individuals. There is certainly disinformation as a part of
17 that. They are playing in that way. I think, for instance,
18 Russia's seizure of their ships and their 24 sailors and the
19 fact that they have not been released is likely also another
20 way that they have some leverage and influence on the
21 outcome of that election.

22 Senator Blumenthal: Has there been an increase in
23 disinformation or other Russian interference?

24 General Scaparrotti: Well, just generally it has been
25 targeted at undermining the present government and the

1 president.

2 Senator Blumenthal: What is your command or other
3 American resources doing to counter it?

4 General Scaparrotti: Well, both not only my command --
5 I deal with the military aspects of this, but there are
6 others diplomatically, for instance, in State that we are
7 working with in this regard. But we do have personnel there
8 that support in military means their defense of
9 disinformation, appropriate information, and cyber defense
10 as well. In the closed hearing, I can be more specific
11 about precisely what we are doing.

12 Senator Blumenthal: Just to reassure the American
13 people -- and that is the purpose of an open hearing really
14 to inform the American people -- can you provide some
15 description of what is being done in the cyber domain by
16 your command to bolster the Ukrainian defenses?

17 General Scaparrotti: Well, I guess I would underscore,
18 first of all, what we do with the others is just to make
19 sure that this is a free and fair election. And within the
20 cyber domain, mine is to help them with their defense of
21 their systems. So it is not selected by any means at all.
22 It is primarily defense and help them to understand how they
23 ensure that they do, in fact, have a free and fair election.

24 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

25 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.

2 Senator Blackburn?

3 Senator Blackburn: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 And I will tell you it has been such a pleasure for me
5 to go through this series of hearings with our different
6 commands in your area of responsibility and hear repeatedly
7 from you all some of the needs and stepping up our game, if
8 you will, dealing with Russia and China and especially with
9 cyber.

10 General Scaparrotti, I am from Tennessee, and I have
11 got some National Guardsmen that are under your command at
12 this point, folks in the Ukraine and Poland. And we
13 appreciate their service, and we appreciate you and the
14 leadership that you have shown throughout your career to our
15 men and women in uniform and to those that are currently
16 under your command.

17 Let me stay with looking at our enemies, Russia, China,
18 the cyber component, and we will come back to that this
19 afternoon in the briefing. But what I would like to know,
20 General, as you look at Europe and as we talk about the
21 rollout of 5G and you are looking at that European
22 Deterrence Initiative, do you have what you need? Where do
23 we need to be planning forward on that, and how are you
24 approaching the integration and the utilization for really
25 what some of our troops at Fort Campbell -- when I talk to

1 some of our special ops guys, 5th Division, 160th, this is
2 very important to them, 5G and the utilization of that,
3 knowing that that is going to help fuel artificial
4 intelligence, et cetera, knowing they are going to use that
5 with some of the ISR capabilities. So if you will just
6 touch on that briefly, and then we will explore it a little
7 more this afternoon.

8 General Scaparrotti: Well, first of all, I will just
9 start with the 5G part of this. This is a considerably
10 different capability than what we have today. It is not
11 just a modernization or an upgrade.

12 Senator Blackburn: It is a whole new world. It is
13 like going from analog to digital.

14 General Scaparrotti: That is right. It is a different
15 world. And what we have to know is that we have a secure 5G
16 capability. That is one of the reasons that when you now go
17 to our allies, that we have said they need to be very
18 careful about Chinese investment --

19 Senator Blackburn: Yes. No Huawei and no ZTE.

20 General Scaparrotti: -- in their telecommunications
21 capabilities because we also want to know that we are secure
22 with our allies that we can act with. And there may be an
23 outcome where we cannot connect with our allies unless they
24 change the composition of their systems. So we are trying
25 to get ahead of that.

1 Senator Blackburn: So is this an open discussion that
2 you are having?

3 General Scaparrotti: Yes, it is an open discussion.

4 I would say to you that just to give you an idea of how
5 this has come along, 2 years this would not have been a
6 topic. A year ago, it was starting to come in, and now --

7 Senator Blackburn: It is front and center.

8 General Scaparrotti: Now it is front and center, and
9 we are beginning to have the right conversations as a
10 security issue.

11 Senator Blackburn: Good. That is great.

12 General Lyons, TRANSCOM has had some problems with some
13 breaches, and I think it was a couple of years ago, Chinese
14 hackers got into the network like 20 times. What you do and
15 with logistics -- and we have talked about different points.
16 I think Chairman Wicker brought up Rota, Spain. And as you
17 look at the integration and all that comes under you, give
18 me an update on the security of your systems and then how
19 are you dealing with contractors that are a part of your
20 system.

21 General Scaparrotti: Yes, ma'am. As you indicated,
22 this is an area of concern and it is a high priority for the
23 command. I tell folks this is a warfighting domain. So
24 there is no one thing that is going to solve this. We have
25 got multiple things going on, everything from just operator

1 discipline, through cyber hygiene, through defense, through
2 infrastructure, and a high level of collaboration with Cyber
3 Command to create conditions to allow us to operate.

4 As for our industry partners, we are also upping our
5 game there through our contractual language and their
6 compliance with NIST standards, basically their assessments
7 and collaboration and information sharing. But that is a
8 much more complex area outside of the DODIN where a level of
9 protection is lower, and that does become a vulnerability in
10 the enterprise.

11 Senator Blackburn: We will talk a little more about
12 that in this afternoon's hearing.

13 Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

14 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Blackburn.

15 Senator Kaine?

16 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

17 And thanks to the witnesses for your service and your
18 testimony.

19 A House bill to overturn President Trump's emergency
20 declaration is pending before this committee and will likely
21 be voted on on the floor of the Senate within the next 10
22 days or so.

23 There are at least two issues that Senators are
24 grappling with about the bill: one, the question of whether
25 there is an emergency. General O'Shaughnessy of NORTHCOM

1 testified before us last week and said in a very
2 straightforward way there is no military emergency at the
3 border.

4 But a second issue we are grappling with is where will
5 the money come from. The President has proposed to use \$6
6 billion from the Pentagon to direct toward this non-military
7 emergency: \$3.5 million of MILCON funding and \$2.5 billion
8 of drug interdiction monies within the DOD budget.

9 I want to ask you about these proposals because we are
10 trying to get information about exactly how the moving of
11 the \$6 billion is doing to affect military operations.

12 Have either of you in your commands been asked to
13 provide lists of MILCON projects that should be either
14 delayed or reduced or eliminated with respect to this
15 particular \$3.5 billion proposal? General Scaparrotti?

16 General Scaparrotti: Not with respect to this
17 proposal, no, sir.

18 Senator Kaine: General Lyons?

19 General Lyons: No, sir. But it probably would not be
20 appropriate. TRANSCOM relies on the services for their
21 MILCON.

22 Senator Kaine: Right, so that you do not have the big
23 MILCON back list that the others do. I understand.

24 General Lyons: That is correct.

25 Senator Kaine: And, General Scaparrotti, you say not

1 with respect to this proposal. So I gather what you mean by
2 that is you are often putting together MILCON lists. That
3 would be one of the things you would do in EUCOM is looking
4 at MILCON needs within that command. And so you have been
5 doing that, but you have not been asked with respect to this
6 proposal what MILCON projects could be reduced, delayed, or
7 eliminated.

8 General Scaparrotti: With respect to the budget as a
9 whole, well prior to this question, we went through the
10 normal process of our discussion within DOD as to what the
11 priorities were across the Department with respect to my
12 MILCON.

13 Senator Kaine: Right.

14 General Scaparrotti: And so we had to prioritize. We
15 did delay some, but that was well before this conversation.

16 Senator Kaine: Do you know if and when a decision is
17 made about where the \$3.5 billion of MILCON projects, which
18 will be affected -- do you know whether you will be in that
19 decision loop or whether it will be made by others?

20 General Scaparrotti: I expect I will be in the
21 decision loop within the Department. We have a close
22 relationship with them. We generally would have. No one
23 has discussed it with me, and I am confident they would when
24 and if that should --

25 Senator Kaine: And the "they" would probably be the

1 service secretaries and the SecDef?

2 General Scaparrotti: It would be the service secretary
3 or the SecDef, probably the SecDef as well. I mean, I
4 actually talked to the SecDef personally about the potential
5 delay, et cetera that I just told you about as we were going
6 through the budget.

7 Senator Kaine: Let me ask the second half of the
8 question. The other funding that is suggested could be used
9 is the \$2.5 billion drug interdiction account at the
10 Pentagon. Reporting suggests that there is not \$2.5 billion
11 in that account. There is about \$750 million, of which only
12 \$85 million is available for use right now. And there is a
13 suggestion that what the Pentagon would do would be to take
14 monies out of other accounts to fill up the drug
15 interdiction account to \$2.5 billion prior to using it for
16 the emergency proposal that the President has suggested.

17 Have either of you been involved in any discussions
18 about funds within your bailiwick that might be used to pull
19 into the drug interdiction account?

20 General Scaparrotti: No, Senator, I have not.

21 Senator Kaine: General Lyons?

22 General Lyons: No, sir.

23 Senator Kaine: General Scaparrotti, let me ask you
24 about this. The 70th anniversary of NATO is in April, a
25 really important one. NATO has a headquarters both in

1 Brussels and also in Virginia in the Hampton Roads area. I
2 have a proposal, a bill that is a bipartisan bill, that
3 would stipulate that NATO, a treaty that the Senate ratified
4 -- the U.S. should not unilaterally withdraw from that
5 without either a Senate vote or an act of Congress. The
6 bill is a bipartisan one, and it is meant to send a strong
7 signal of congressional support for the NATO alliance at the
8 70th anniversary.

9 Would that message be positively received by our NATO
10 allies?

11 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I believe it would. And
12 the votes by Congress that you have taken in the past to
13 reinforce our commitment to our allies have been helpful as
14 well.

15 Senator Kaine: Great. Thank you.

16 No further questions. Thanks, Mr. Chair.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Ernst?

18 Senator Ernst: Thank you, gentlemen, very much for
19 being here today and willing to answer questions.

20 Like so many of my colleagues, I do want to make sure
21 that you have the tools and resources necessary to enable
22 you in your missions and make you successful.

23 As Senator Sullivan mentioned just a little bit
24 earlier, I did recently return from a trip to Ukraine, and
25 during that trip, I was able to see firsthand the Russian

1 aggression that is being exhibited in that region against
2 what is a very important strategic partner to us. So not
3 only do we want to push back against Russia because of
4 Ukraine and Europe but, of course, for many of our other
5 allies around the world as well.

6 And, General Scaparrotti, I would like to start with
7 you, sir.

8 Of course, while I was in Ukraine, the Ukrainians
9 expressed a very strong desire for military assistance,
10 defensive assistance and lethal assistance. And Senator
11 Sullivan mentioned that we have provided Javelins to the
12 Ukrainian army.

13 So I met with members of the defense establishment
14 there, as well as members of the Ukrainian parliament, and
15 those that I had the opportunity to meet with in Kiev and
16 also the joint forces headquarters near the eastern front --
17 they really appreciated that assistance.

18 What more can we do for the Ukrainians in that regard
19 for lethal assistance? Is it just simply more Javelins, or
20 is there additional assistance we can provide?

21 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think personally -- and
22 you will see soon here a list. I think it has already been
23 provided to Congress. But as you know, we provide that
24 prior to it being authorized, the actual purchase from the
25 funding that you have given.

1 But from my point of view, the things that we need to
2 continue is to continue their support for counter-battery,
3 Q-36/37, that they have the assets and the systems that they
4 need to do that well. They have asked us for help in
5 communication at an operational level, and they do have a
6 distinct need for that because while we focus on the line of
7 contact, their chief of defense is also focused on other
8 areas of the country that are a threat, that Russia could
9 present a threat as well. So he is trying to determine --
10 he is trying to establish a good communications system for
11 his entire force, as well as just the front.

12 They have asked us specifically for some assistance to
13 help with sniper proficiency, the right kind of ammo and
14 weapons, grenade launchers.

15 And then finally the area that I would say is that we
16 need to study how we help their maritime component, their
17 navy, which as you know, is not large to begin with, given
18 the portion of the fleet that Russia took when it annexed
19 Crimea, and they just lost a couple of ships as well in the
20 Kerch Strait. So I think there are some areas there that we
21 can help them get this navy back up and begin to supply it
22 with what they believe they need to defend themselves and
23 deter Russia's aggressive actions.

24 Senator Ernst: I appreciate that very much, sir. And
25 thank you for bringing up the Kerch Strait incident because

1 they are still holding those 24 sailors, as you referenced
2 earlier, and using those sailors as leverage with the
3 elections coming up. So I do appreciate that you think we
4 need to do more on the maritime front, not only in assisting
5 them with their navy, but is it possible that we as an
6 American force need to have more of our naval forces in the
7 Black Sea region?

8 General Scaparrotti: Both the United States and NATO
9 has stepped up its presence in the Black Sea. As you know,
10 the Donald Cook just departed yesterday or the day before,
11 and it is the second time that we have had a destroyer in
12 the Black Sea here in the past 2 months. So we believe
13 there is a need for that. We have stepped up and our allies
14 have as well. NATO has a fleet right now in the Black Sea.

15 Senator Ernst: Do you think it is sending a clear
16 message to President Vladimir Putin?

17 General Scaparrotti: I think it is. I mean, they
18 frankly do not like us in the Black Sea. And it is
19 international waters and we should sail and fly there.

20 Senator Ernst: And that is a great thing, and I love
21 it. So thank you, sir.

22 The presidential elections are coming up. And I will
23 just close with this. I think it was very important that I
24 take this trip to Ukraine and spend time with the folks
25 within their defense sector and also spent time with some of

1 their brand new special operations forces that had just
2 graduated from their Ukrainian Q Course, which is run by our
3 American special operations forces. I appreciate what we
4 are doing in that region, sir. I appreciate your leadership
5 in that region.

6 Gentlemen, thank you very much for being here today.

7 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Ernst.

8 Senator Jones?

9 Senator Jones: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Thank you both for being here today and for your
11 service. General Scaparrotti, I appreciated you coming by
12 the office the other day. I enjoyed that very much.

13 I also appreciated your candid answers concerning
14 climate change. I think we sometimes get caught up in the
15 political discussions about climate and not really focus on
16 the real world consequences that are affecting us today.

17 Earlier today, you spoke with Senator Cotton about
18 China's investments in your AOR. And if you can, I would
19 like to have you discuss what, if any, actions EUCOM may be
20 taking to counter China's activities in Europe today.

21 General Scaparrotti: Well, most of all, in terms of
22 EUCOM, it is discussions with our counterparts and leaders
23 about the concerns of China's what I would say is strategic
24 investments. Most of this is diplomatic at this point, but
25 we do try to ensure that we can point out to them not only

1 economic benefits which China demonstrates and make sure
2 they are aware of, but also the security aspects of their
3 control of seaports, airports, critical key terrain,
4 investment in infrastructure particularly with technology
5 that is critical to security. So we try to emphasize the
6 security aspects of their investments.

7 Senator Jones: Has the administration's tactics with
8 regard to the tariffs and European tariffs -- have you seen
9 any effect on that with any of our allies -- the economic
10 impact?

11 General Scaparrotti: Well, it is certainly a point of
12 discussion among the allies and one of concern because our
13 country and Europe has a very significant trade and economic
14 linkage there. But in terms of the direct impact for me,
15 the mil-to-mil relationships are strong. That essentially
16 is dealt with on the diplomatic side.

17 Senator Jones: Thank you, sir.

18 General Lyons, I want to kind of go back to a
19 conversation you had with Senator King on cybersecurity. If
20 you can in this hearing as opposed to the closed hearing,
21 could you please maybe describe the impact on operations of
22 a nation state cyber attack on TRANSCOM's networks and how
23 this could impact your discussions and your ability and
24 interaction with COCOMs?

25 General Lyons: Senator, anything that would degrade

1 our ability to project power is a concern. Cyber as a
2 warfighting domain does create an area of vulnerability
3 across what is largely an unclassified surface of
4 employment. And so we are working very, very hard to
5 prioritize and to ensure that we have the appropriate level
6 of resiliency and to move to an infrastructure that is more
7 secure. And we are moving very, very rapidly in that area.

8 Senator Jones: Right.

9 Just staying with you, General Lyons, you mentioned
10 earlier that there was a plan to improve the household goods
11 shipment process using a single contractor to manage
12 transportation service providers. How will that change
13 improve the process? What will it cost, and will it
14 increase accountability?

15 General Lyons: Senator, it will definitely increase
16 accountability, and I believe it will also increase
17 capacity. And those are the two major issues. Those are
18 the two major complaints. The way that enhances capacity is
19 it is a longer-term investment with our industry partners,
20 and so they are willing to invest in capacity over time, as
21 well as reducing barriers to entry into the market that we,
22 unfortunately, create for ourselves.

23 There is no question that it will improve
24 accountability. Today, there are 950 various transportation
25 service providers that compete for work on a transactional

1 basis. Very, very difficult across the services and
2 TRANSCOM to maintain accountability and all that. But the
3 business folks know the business, and that is the right
4 relationship to have with a single move manager.

5 Senator Jones: Great. Thank you both for being here.

6 Mr. Chairman, I will yield back the remainder of my
7 time. Thank you.

8 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Jones.

9 Well, it looks like we have run out of members here so
10 we will close it.

11 Several people during the course of this hearing,
12 General Scaparrotti, have speculated this may be your last
13 time that you attend this hearing. It is also your birthday
14 today. Is this a birthday present to you?

15 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir. It is Congress'
16 birthday present, I assume. I have enjoyed it.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Well, we thank you so much for all of
18 the service. Both of you, but particularly you because you
19 have appeared so many times, and as has been pointed out by
20 Senator Reed, you have held the fourth star longer than
21 anybody else in existence here. And so you have served your
22 country in a way that many others have not. Thank you so
23 much for that service.

24 Anything else?

25 Senator Reed: No, Mr. Chairman. Just let me join in

1 thanking both General Scaparrotti and General Lyons,
2 particularly General Scaparrotti. Thank you.

3 Chairman Inhofe: We are adjourned.

4 [Whereupon, at 11:26 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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