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Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
THE POSTURE OF UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS
COMMAND AND UNITED STATES CYBER COMMAND

Tuesday, March 7, 2023

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON COURT REPORTING
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1 HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
2 THE POSTURE OF UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND AND
3 UNITED STATES CYBER COMMAND
4

5 Tuesday, March 7, 2023
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7 U.S. Senate
8 Committee on Armed Services,
9 Washington, D.C.
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11 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:31 a.m.,
12 in Room G-50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack
13 reed, chairman of the committee, presiding.

14 Committee Members Present: Senators Reed [presiding],
15 Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King,
16 Warren, Peters, Manchin, Duckworth, Rosen, Kelly, Wicker,
17 Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Sullivan, Scott,
18 Tuberville, Mullin, Budd, and Schmitt.
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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM RHODE ISLAND

3 Chairman Reed: I would like to call this hearing to
4 order. Good morning. The committee meets today to receive
5 an update on the readiness and posture of U.S. Special
6 Operations Command and U.S. Cyber Command.

7 Our witnesses are Assistant Secretary of Defense for
8 Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict, Christopher
9 Maier, Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command,
10 General Bryan Fenton, and Commander of U.S. Cyber Command
11 and Director of the National Security Agency, General Paul
12 Nakasone.

13 On behalf of the committee, I would ask our witness to
14 convey our appreciation to the men and women you represent
15 and their families for their service and professionalism.
16 We live in a complex and dangerous global security
17 environment. From Russia's aggression in Europe to China's
18 malign influence in the Indo-Pacific, to persistent threats
19 from Iran, North Korea, and violent extremist groups,
20 prevailing in this environment will require the tailored
21 and often clandestine capabilities that only our special
22 operations and cyber forces can provide.

23 The United States has been reducing its footprint in
24 conflict zones around the world. As such, the special
25 operations community is at an inflection point, but is no

1 less relevant to the future challenges we face. As the
2 Defense Department's recently released Joint Concept for
3 Competing makes clear, the object of our nation's
4 adversaries is to win without fighting.

5 The Concept warns that if we do not adapt to the
6 realities of long-term competition, the United States risks
7 ceding strategic influence, advantage, and leverage, while
8 preparing for a war that never occurs.

9 The skills, knowledge, or perhaps most importantly,
10 the relationships with foreign partners that our special
11 operations forces have developed over the past 20 years of
12 combat make them well-positioned to contribute
13 significantly to the strategic competition. Assistant
14 Secretary Maier and General Fenton, I look forward to an
15 update regarding your efforts to focus and prepare our
16 special operations forces for the challenges ahead.

17 In particular, I would ask that you discuss the
18 capabilities we need to build an enduring advantage over
19 our competitors, and what lessons can be drawn from the
20 ongoing conflict in Ukraine. As part of this, I would like
21 to know how you are shaping the force of the future through
22 new recruiting and retention efforts, including building a
23 culture of accountability.

24 A number of high-profile misconduct cases have
25 reflected poorly on the special operations community and

1 additional efforts to build upon SOCOM's 2020 Comprehensive
2 Review of Culture and Ethics, seems necessary. I also want
3 to hear how you are addressing the unique challenges faced
4 by special operations family.

5 The Office of the ASD SO/LIC plays a critical role in
6 the oversight of and advocacy for our special operations
7 forces, as the service Secretary-like civilian for SOCOM.
8 I believe more must be done to assure ASD SO/LIC is
9 provided the necessary authority and resources, including
10 manpower, to fulfill these responsibilities. I look
11 forward to hearing more about the Department's efforts on
12 this front.

13 Turning to Cyber Command, I would like to commend our
14 cyber forces and the intelligence community for their
15 performance over the past year in exposing Russia's
16 activities and helping Ukraine defend itself against both
17 kinetic and cyber-attacks. Intelligence officials are
18 understandably cautious about revealing hardware insights
19 on adversaries, but this current surge has proven highly
20 effective in strengthening the international community's
21 response and creating dilemmas for Vladimir Putin.

22 This is a great example of competing effectively in
23 the information domain, and I hope we will get to make this
24 kind of creative use of intelligence. Some of the tools in
25 our toolbox, like the Section 702 authority from the

1 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, or FISA, are
2 critical to our ability to counter our adversaries' malign
3 activities.

4 The committee would appreciate your views on the
5 importance of Section 702 of FISA, which sunsets at the end
6 of this year, and why we believe it is essential that we
7 renew that authority. We would like also to know what
8 guardrails are in place to give the public confidence that
9 the authority is being used judiciously.

10 General Nakasone, you have been working to mature the
11 cyber force in advance its capabilities to conduct
12 offensive, offensive, and supporting intelligence
13 operations. It is widely recognized that our cyber mission
14 forces are struggling with shortfalls in personnel numbers.
15 We know that addressing this issue is your highest
16 priority.

17 The military services must also ensure their personnel
18 management provides qualified and trained personnel to your
19 Command at the beginning of their tours, so both the
20 personnel and the Command can take full advantage of the
21 time of their assignment to your force. I would also note
22 that the private sector has realized the immense value of
23 our cyber operatives and offering them very high
24 compensation to leave the military.

25 The services must adjust accordingly by providing a

1 creative combination of incentives to compete for and
2 retain these personnel. Finally, over the last decade, a
3 recurring debate has been waged over whether to sustain the
4 dual hat arrangement whereby the Commander of Cyber Command
5 also serves as the Director of the NSA.

6 Recently, an independent panel established by the
7 Director of National Intelligence and the Secretary of
8 Defense and led by former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of
9 Staff, General Joe Dunford, concluded that the dual hat
10 arrangement should be sustained. We would welcome your
11 thoughts on this issue.

12 Thank you again to all witnesses for your service and
13 appearance before us today. I look forward to your
14 testimony. Now, let me recognize the Ranking Member,
15 Senator Wicker.

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. ROGER WICKER, U.S. SENATOR FROM
2 MISSISSIPPI

3 Senator Wicker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for that
4 very fine and thorough statement. I very much appreciate
5 that, and I want to thank our witnesses for being with us
6 once again. The United States faces the most complex and
7 daunting set of security challenges since the height of the
8 Cold War, and our witnesses today are on the front lines of
9 those challenges.

10 From the Chinese Communist Party's unprecedented
11 military buildup, growing hegemonic ambitions, to Russia's
12 brazen and unprovoked attack on Ukraine, our adversaries
13 are testing American resolve. Our foremost adversary and
14 competitor, the Chinese Communist Party, has stressed both
15 SOCOM and CYBERCOM in ways we never imagined a decade ago.

16 Last year, General Nakasone said Chinese advances in
17 cyber operations are unlike anything he has seen before.
18 He also noted the People's Republic of China is a more
19 difficult adversary than the Soviet Union because they are
20 much more tolerant of risk. So, this presents new
21 challenges to our deterrence posture.

22 Although Beijing may be our foremost adversary, others
23 are not far behind. The cyber capabilities of Russia,
24 Iran, and North Korea have continued to surprise many. I
25 would appreciate an update on DOD's work to implement a

1 zero-trust architecture and provide defensive cyber tools
2 across the Department and the industrial base.

3 I also look forward to discussing how collaborative
4 cyber activities with our allies and partners such as hunt
5 forward operations have helped to identify vulnerabilities,
6 mitigate threats, and strengthen our network defenses.
7 Military success in cyberspace depends on the readiness of
8 our cyber mission forces. I hope to hear about how we can
9 improve our cyber force readiness and accelerate
10 development of cyber capabilities, particularly on the
11 offensive side. General Fenton is no stranger to the
12 determination of the People's Liberation Army.

13 Having served as Commander of our Special Operations
14 Forces in the Pacific, and the Deputy Commander of
15 INDOPACOM, his challenge is twofold, to build a force
16 capable of enhancing our deterrence and warfighting in the
17 Western Pacific, even as the threat environment facing our
18 nation demands that SOCOM should remain fully engaged in
19 the fight against violent Islamic terrorist groups across
20 the world, from Africa to South Asia.

21 His Command's work is critical to our country's
22 security and is often the first to respond to our nation's
23 most pressing, unforeseen emergencies. In the 2022
24 National Defense Strategy. General Fenton's forces have
25 been asked to assume significant risk.

1 I think this committee will want to ensure his Command
2 is fully resourced to mitigate that risk to the degree
3 possible, and I would also ask General Fenton and Mr. Maier
4 whether their authorities and resources in the upcoming
5 year are sufficient for mission tasks. What is clear to me
6 is that the role and importance of special operations
7 forces is only increasing as the nature and complexity of
8 threats facing our nation increase.

9 The resources we provide to Special Operations Command
10 should reflect that reality. Our first job in this
11 community is to provide the tools our military needs to
12 deter, and if not successful there, to defeat these
13 threats. There is no doubt that continued real growth in
14 the defense budget top line above inflation remains
15 essential to our national security. This requires action
16 now, not later.

17 Our adversaries are not waiting, neither should we.
18 This committee led the bipartisan charge to increase the
19 defense budget in last year's cycle. Mr. Chairman, I
20 frankly have little confidence that the Administration
21 budget request this year will be sufficient. If it is not,
22 this committee will again need to step up to ensure that
23 our military has the resources it needs to defend the
24 nation.

25 So, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to our

1 witnesses. Look forward to hearing from you.

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

3 We will begin with Secretary Maier, please.

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1 STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER MAIER,
2 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPECIAL OPERATIONS AND
3 LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT

4 Mr. Maier: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Wicker, and
5 distinguished members of this committee, thank you for
6 providing the opportunity to testify on the global posture
7 of our nation's Special Operations Forces, or SOF.

8 I am honored to appear alongside General Fenton and
9 General Nakasone. I could not ask for better teammates
10 than General Fenton and Command Sergeant Major Shane
11 Shorter in ensuring your SOF enterprise is prepared to
12 address the threats facing the United States today and in
13 meeting the challenges to come.

14 I start with thanking Congress, and especially this
15 committee, for your enduring support of the men and women
16 of SOF. I am particularly grateful for your assistance in
17 building the organization I lead, Special Operations and
18 Low Intensity Conflict, or SO/LIC, with dedicated and
19 gifted public servants.

20 Sitting before this committee last year, I testified
21 we were at an inflection point in SOF's transformation to
22 focus more on the pacing challenge of China and the acute
23 threat posed by Russia, while maintaining enduring
24 capabilities to counter violent extremist organizations,
25 address Iran's destabilizing behavior, and conduct no fail

1 crisis response around the globe.

2 Today, in updating you on this progress and the work
3 that remains I will highlight three areas, SOF's ongoing
4 transition in support of the National Defense Strategy, the
5 development of SO/LIC, and our continued emphasis on
6 empowering and supporting our people.

7 First, we are transforming the SOF enterprise to
8 achieve the goals of the NDS. While SOF's role in
9 counterterrorism is widely understood and appreciated, my
10 team and I work daily to ensure the value proposition of
11 SOF in integrated deterrence and campaigning against
12 strategic competitors is accounted for and incorporated
13 into the Department's processes.

14 As it has been in every major military challenge this
15 nation has confronted since World War II, your SOF will
16 play an essential role. To start the deep relationship SOF
17 has forged with allies and partners over the last two
18 decades, often through shared challenges and sacrifice, has
19 produced an international SOF enterprise that provides us
20 unique, firsthand understanding of a global operating
21 environment.

22 It also has enhanced the resilience of our allies and
23 partners to resist aggression. Second, drawing on the
24 resilience -- second, drawing on those relationships and
25 our ability to reach some of the most difficult locations

1 on the globe, your SOF formations provide unique access and
2 placement that creates options for our nation's leaders,
3 and SOF as adept at creating dilemmas for our adversaries.

4 Here, I would highlight the many years of our
5 investment in transforming the Ukrainian forces into highly
6 capable force that is consistently outperforming Russia on
7 the battlefield today. Representing the value that SOF
8 brings to the Joint Force is one of my primary
9 responsibilities, and we continue to make progress
10 institutionalizing SO/LIC's role as Congress has directed.

11 Through my role providing civilian leadership for the
12 organized train and equip of SOF, we have established over
13 the last year in the Department a series of recurring
14 processes and delivered key outcomes for the SOF
15 enterprise. For example, the Special Operations Policy
16 Oversight Council, which I chair, provides a senior level
17 forum to address SOF unique challenges across the
18 Department.

19 We also have made progress on important initiatives to
20 deter our adversaries and fill warfighting gaps, especially
21 on irregular warfare and information operations. I am also
22 proud that SO/LIC played a central role in the Department's
23 landmark Civilian Harm and Mitigation Response Action Plan.

24 Finally, I would emphasize the first SOF truth remains
25 truer today than ever, humans are more important than

1 hardware. None of our efforts are possible without our
2 most important resource, our people. With the strong
3 support of Congress, we continue to evolve the Preservation
4 of the Force and Family, or POTFF Program, to address SOF
5 unique challenges and to optimize physical, psychological,
6 social, spiritual, and now cognitive performance.

7 We also continue to prioritize a diverse, capable
8 force by removing barriers to participation and advancement
9 of SOF, an operational imperative if we are to succeed in
10 an ever more complex geopolitical environment. Recent
11 publicized challenges remind us that we must continue to
12 evaluate our approach to force employment, accountability,
13 and most importantly, present and engaged leadership.

14 A healthy SOF culture that reflects our nation's
15 values is essential to readiness and core to ensuring we
16 remain the most lethal SOF enterprise the world has ever
17 known. Investing in our people is a cornerstone of
18 ensuring your SOF are ready to take on our nation's
19 toughest challenges, because it is not a question of if,
20 but when the call will come.

21 So, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this
22 committee, I thank you again for your partnership and
23 support, and for this opportunity to testify today. I look
24 forward to your questions.

25 [The prepared statement of Mr. Maier follows:]

1 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Mr. Secretary. General
2 Fenton, please.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL BRYAN FENTON, UNITED STATES
2 SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND

3 General Fenton: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Wicker,
4 and --

5 Chairman Reed: Could you bring that closer, General,
6 the microphone as close as possible?

7 General Fenton: Thank you. How is this, Chairman?
8 Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Wicker, and distinguished
9 members of this committee, thank you for the opportunity to
10 appear before you today. I am honored to testify alongside
11 the honorable Chris Maier and General Paul Nakasone, and I
12 am equally honored to be here on behalf of the dedicated
13 men and women of U.S. Special Operations Command.

14 Joining me today is Command Sergeant Major Shane
15 Shorter, USSOCOM's Senior Enlisted Leader. Command
16 Sergeant Major Shorter is representative of the incredible
17 USSOCOM team, particularly our noncommissioned officer
18 corps.

19 Our noncommissioned officers are the backbone of our
20 military and a decisive advantage within your special
21 operations community, and they make us the envy of every
22 military around the world. We are thankful for the
23 leadership and support of this Congress, particularly this
24 committee, a committee with the legacies of Senators Nunn
25 and Cohen, who had the vision and determination to

1 establish USSOCOM almost 36 years ago.

2 Thank you for your decades of steadfast support ever
3 since. Your special operations forces remain a national
4 advantage, as we enter a decisive era, an era where the
5 strategic competitors such as the People's Republic of
6 China and Russia seek to reshape the rules based
7 international order, and in response, your special
8 operations forces strengthen and sustain deterrence
9 globally as part of the Department of Defense's approach to
10 integrated deterrence.

11 With SOF's World War II origins and DNA rooted in
12 decades of experience in strategic competition, now drawing
13 upon are 20 plus years of hard-won combat credibility and
14 coalition experience, your SOF provide creative,
15 tailorable, and asymmetric options for our nation, while
16 creating dilemmas for our competitors.

17 And as part of the broader joint force, we campaign
18 every day to deter and prevent aggression, counter
19 coercion, close warfighting gaps, and tackle shared
20 challenges alongside allies and partners, all in support of
21 accelerating the Department of Defense's strategic momentum
22 towards our NDS objectives.

23 Yet your SOF also remain vigilant in protecting our
24 homeland and U.S. interests from the persistent threats
25 posed by global terrorist networks. In doing so, your SOF

1 work tirelessly alongside a trusted network of allies and
2 partners, U.S. interagency counterparts, and our Joint
3 Force teammates to disrupt VEOs wherever they may be.

4 And while we campaign for integrated deterrence and
5 counter violent extremists, your SOF capability to respond
6 to crisis represent a critical strategic edge and advantage
7 for our nation. Agile, tailored, modernized, and capable,
8 they enable us to undertake sensitive, high-risk missions,
9 crucial to safeguarding and rescuing our citizens, and
10 protecting vital national interests.

11 Foundational to all these efforts remains our
12 longstanding collaborative partnership with ASD SO/LIC
13 Chris Maier and his team. The oversight, policy guidance,
14 and advocacy within the Department provided by AS SO/LIC
15 are essential for the modernization, readiness, and well-
16 being of our SOF units and their families.

17 And together, we are committed to placing people as
18 our number one priority, and we are preparing for the
19 future by investing in them and by leveraging our nation's
20 diverse talent to solve diverse challenges. And to those
21 listening today who are considering service to our nation
22 know the profound sense of calling and purpose that those
23 of us serving in uniform share.

24 We know that a deeply rewarding journey lies ahead for
25 those who choose to join. You will be part of an

1 incredible team of men and women tackling the toughest
2 challenges for our nation. Just yesterday, I had the
3 privilege of hearing from Colonel retired Parris Davis, our
4 nation's most recent Medal of Honor recipient, and a Green
5 Beret.

6 At yesterday's ceremony to induct him into the
7 Pentagon's Hall of Heroes, he summed up his military
8 service and time with a Green Beret in three words,
9 purpose, opportunity, and pride. And as we speak here
10 today, more than 5,000 service members are USSOCOM are
11 deployed, and they share his sense of purpose and pride.

12 And they are defending our nation and standing
13 shoulder to shoulder with allies and partners in over 80
14 countries to make our world a safer place. The courage and
15 commitment of our special operations community, our
16 military inspires the CSM and me daily, and we are
17 immensely proud to serve with them. I look forward to your
18 questions.

19 [The prepared statement of General Fenton follows:]

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

2 General Nakasone, please.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL PAUL NAKASONE, COMMANDER UNITED
2 STATES CYBER COMMAND/ DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY/
3 CHIEF, CENTRAL SECURITY SERVICE

4 General Nakasone: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member
5 Wicker, and distinguished members of the committee, I am
6 honored to testify beside Assistant Secretary Christopher
7 Maier and General Bryan Fenton.

8 Joining me today is Command Sergeant Major Sheryl
9 Lyon, the U.S. Cyber Command and National Security Agency
10 Senior Enlisted Leader. We are honored to represent the
11 military and civilian members of U.S. Cyber Command. In
12 the contested cyberspace domain, U.S. Cyber Command acts
13 against foreign adversaries that threaten our nation
14 through malicious cyber activity and enables action by our
15 Federal, private, and allied partners.

16 For instance, a combined U.S. Cyber Command NSA
17 Election Security Group countered malicious cyber actors
18 and oversaw measures to enable the Department of Homeland
19 Security and the FBI, among other domestic partners, to
20 defend the recent midterm elections.

21 The 2022 election cycle proceeded from primaries to
22 certifications without significant impacts due in part to
23 our effort. Going forward, success for U.S. Cyber Command
24 will be measured by how effectively foreign adversarial
25 actors are prevented from achieving their strategic

1 objectives.

2 Last year saw significant maturation for U.S. Cyber
3 Command but our work is not done. In 2023, we must
4 continue to focus on our people, our partners, and our
5 ability to deliver a decisive advantage. We must improve
6 readiness, bolster our resilience, and maintain a culture
7 of continuous improvement.

8 We will continue to deliver warfighting advantage for
9 the Joint Force and partners throughout competition,
10 crisis, and conflict. We are doing so by executing our
11 service like authorities to build and sustain campaigns in
12 and through cyberspace and the information environment.

13 Through these efforts, we seek to counter adversaries
14 in competition, to deter conflict, and prevail against
15 aggression. Aligning efforts of both U.S. Cyber Command
16 and NSA is essential to achieving these goals and is in the
17 best interest of the nation and national security. It all
18 starts with people, the men and women of U.S. Cyber Command
19 working with NSA and partners here and abroad.

20 We win with people. Then men and women of the United
21 States Cyber Command are grateful for the support of this
22 committee and Congress that has been given to our command.
23 I look forward to your questions.

24 [The prepared statement of General Nakasone follows:]

25

1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General Nakasone.
2 Gentlemen, thank you for your testimony. And as I
3 indicated in my opening statement, Mr. Secretary, we have
4 made progress in strengthening the ASD SO/LIC to act as a
5 service Secretary-like position regarding SOCOM, but there
6 is more to do, particularly with respect to personnel,
7 facilities, and other aspects of your office. Could you
8 comment on what more must be done?

9 Mr. Maier: Thank you, Chairman. And again, I would
10 think this committee in particular for the ongoing and very
11 consistent support for the ASD SO/LIC position, and indeed
12 my staff.

13 So, Mr. Chairman, I give you a quick snapshot to say
14 that I think we have established a degree of momentum and a
15 bit of irreversibility, which certainly wasn't the sense of
16 things when I first took this role, and a lot of that has
17 to do with the continued support of Secretary Austin,
18 Deputy Secretary Hicks.

19 I think, as I have testified in this committee before,
20 the best snapshot I can give the committee is when the
21 Secretary of Defense convenes his service secretaries, it
22 convenes the Secretary of the Army, the Secretary of the
23 Air Force, and the Secretary of the Navy, and me as ASD
24 SO/LIC to ensure that SOF voice and perspective is in the
25 room.

1 To your question, Mr. Chairman, on areas of growth, I
2 think we do need to continue to add staff. We have added
3 about 20 or 25 people over the last two years with support
4 from this committee, and that is against about 50 people
5 currently.

6 So, it is a very small staff compared to the services,
7 even with our limited authorities relative to them. And
8 then I think most importantly, leadership billets. We need
9 more ability for people in a very hierarchical Defense
10 Department to be able to participate in meetings at the
11 right level of seniority, sir. So, I would highlight
12 those.

13 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.
14 General Fenton, what is the value of SOCOM in having
15 properly empowered service Secretary-like civilian like
16 Secretary Maier?

17 General Fenton: Senator, thank you very much for that
18 question. And I would say on a couple of fronts, very,
19 very, very big value. First and foremost, as the Secretary
20 Major just mentioned, his ability to be at the service,
21 excuse me, of Secretary tables with the SecDef and
22 represent issues for the SOCOM team along the lines of
23 people, education, training, and even as he mentioned,
24 where SOF will be and play a big role in terms of
25 integrated competition. Excuse me, that is extremely

1 important for the SOCOM enterprise.

2 I would say, next, his ability to be with the service
3 secretaries and represent issues from SOCOM back to the
4 services that we take our folks in from is very important
5 for us, and we are very grateful for that.

6 And certainly, his direction, in many ways, throughout
7 the Department in terms of how SOCOM views not only
8 integrated deterrence but crisis response in
9 counterterrorism has been a welcomed guidance for me.

10 So, I am very grateful to have a service Secretary,
11 and as I told you. I think, Chairman, when I was that
12 confirmation, I looked forward to testifying next to my
13 service Secretary.

14 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General. General
15 Nakasone, the issue of readiness with cyber mission forces
16 has been a persistent issue we have discussed at the
17 committee on numerous times.

18 The Cyber Mission Forces play a very key role and they
19 have very demanding task. They require personnel with
20 special aptitude, training, and experience. And one of the
21 ironies, of course, is when you develop such a person, he
22 or she becomes very attractive for outside employers, so
23 you have a retention problem as well as other problems.

24 And in some cases, in the past, it has been indicated
25 that the services are not providing you the skilled and

1 trained individuals you need, which does not provide you
2 with the maximum possible use.

3 So, could you comment on the present situation with
4 respect to Cyber Mission Forces, and also any steps that we
5 should be taking to improve their readiness?

6 General Nakasone: Chairman, as we take a look at the
7 readiness of 133 teams, it really comes down to three Rs.
8 It is the readiness piece of it -- I am sorry, it is the
9 recruiting piece of it. It is the training piece of it.

10 And it is the retention piece of it. And so, when you
11 look at that, where I see this right now is the fact that
12 the services have done a good job of recruiting the forces
13 that I need. Assigning the numbers are one of the things
14 that we are working with right now to make sure that we
15 have all of the folks that we need. We have worked very,
16 very hard to get the training to a very simple and
17 predictable level.

18 That continues to improve. The other piece that we
19 need to work hand in hand with the services is the
20 retention piece, which you highlighted. The challenge of
21 someone that has this type of training is very, very
22 attractive, to the outside.

23 But several of the services, the Marines included,
24 have made tremendous progress in this, in being able to
25 focus their Marines on doing what these Marines wanted to

1 do, which is cyber operations. In being able to stay
2 within our force for long periods of time, we see a
3 reflective retention rate that is much higher.

4 Chairman Reed: Well, thank you very much. Gentlemen,
5 again, thank you for your testimony. Let me recognize
6 Senator Wicker.

7 Senator Wicker: Thank you. First question to General
8 Fenton, and this is about the naval small craft instruction
9 and technical training school, NAVSCIATTS, which provides
10 training to foreign forces on small boat operations and
11 unmanned aerial systems. The annual operating cost is
12 \$14.8 million, and that is divided across multiple
13 stakeholders, including the Navy, SOCOM, and our foreign
14 partners.

15 So, General Fenton, let me ask you, do you agree with
16 General Richardson, the Commander of SOUTHCOM, who said the
17 school generates outside return on investments? Ukrainian
18 troops were being trained there last year when President
19 Putin launched his unprovoked and illegal attacks on their
20 country.

21 Do you agree, sir, that NAVSCIATTS provides value to
22 our Combatant Commanders and key foreign military partners?

23 General Fenton: Senator, thank you for that question.
24 I am absolutely familiar with these NAVSCIATTS, as you
25 refer to. I was more familiar with it when I was in

1 INDOPACOM as a Deputy Commander, and there I saw value in
2 that type of training, and I will say in many types of
3 training, certain.

4 And we think this committee for a number of efforts
5 that SOCOM has at its disposal in terms of 333, the 1202,
6 and 127-echo that increase the capability of our forces and
7 create partnerships in the way that we need those
8 partnerships, and in SOCOM we call those partnerships
9 pacing --

10 Senator Wicker: And \$14.8 million is a relatively
11 modest investment, would you agree?

12 General Fenton: Senator, I am not familiar with the
13 budget. I am familiar, again, with the type of training
14 that NAVSCIATTS produces.

15 Senator Wicker: Okay. So, we have established that
16 there is value there, so I appreciate that. Let me turn
17 then to General Nakasone. Tell us about cyber in support
18 of our Ukrainian allies and the Russian use of cyber in
19 support of their illegal and aggressive invasion of
20 Ukraine.

21 General Nakasone: Senator, the story begins on the
22 3rd of December 2021, when we deployed a hunt forward team
23 to Kyiv. That began a 70-day journey for us to ensure that
24 Ukraine was at a much higher state of cyber readiness.

25 As you know, we saw early attacks on specific

1 Ukrainian sites within their government, and we also saw
2 continued attacks as the invasion approached. What we were
3 able to do during that time was work with a series of
4 partners to bring the tools and technology to Ukraine that
5 was able to assist them as Russia conducted continued
6 attacks.

7 We continue today with support to a number of
8 different Combatant Commands, U.S. European Command, and
9 the training mission for Ukraine. Also too U.S. Strategic
10 Command, as we take a look at ensuring that our NC3
11 network, our nuclear command and control and communications
12 network, is the top and most important network and is fully
13 secure.

14 As we move forward, we continue full spectrum
15 operations with a series of partners to include Ukraine to
16 provide them assistance as they battle the Russians.

17 Senator Wicker: Well, okay. Do you expect Russia is
18 able to intensify new capabilities in a spring offensive
19 this year?

20 General Nakasone: From the cyber perspective, we are
21 watching this very carefully, Senator. They are a very
22 capable adversary. We continue to work very tightly with
23 our other partners within the U.S. Government, CISA, FBI,
24 to ensure that our U.S. critical infrastructure is
25 protected, and NATO in general to ensure that they are

1 aware of the tradecraft of the Russians might use.

2 Senator Wicker: Okay, Secretary Maier, what more do
3 you need? You were asked and you said you need to add
4 staff, and then you need more attention to the leadership
5 billets.

6 Do you have what you need in terms of funding right
7 now to do this and to deal with your enormous challenges?
8 And if we give you the same amount you got this Fiscal Year
9 with an inflation adjustment, will that be enough?

10 Mr. Maier: So, Ranking Member, speaking just to my
11 specific office, I think we are probably on a good pathway
12 just in terms of funding. I already highlighted some of
13 the other requirements.

14 In terms of the entire special operations enterprise,
15 I think our priorities are represented, understanding full
16 well that the challenge with inflation means that if our
17 budget is flat, that reduces our buying power, so that is
18 something we will need to keep a close eye on, sir.

19 Senator Wicker: And yet you need additional staff and
20 you need increased leadership billets.

21 Mr. Maier: Yes, sir. So, I think we are on a good
22 trajectory with the leadership billets. We are part of
23 that conversation in the Department. I think especially in
24 outyears years, we are going to need to add more staff to
25 build that capability to really help this transition I have

1 described, from counterterrorism crisis response to also
2 include the peer competition that we have talked about and
3 I expect we will talk about more, sir.

4 Senator Wicker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Wicker. Senator
6 Shaheen, please.

7 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, gentlemen, for being here
8 this morning, for your testimony, and for your service to
9 the country.

10 I think I would start this question with you,
11 Secretary Maier, because SOCOM and CYBERCOM really are at
12 the nexus of DOD's efforts to address the weaponization of
13 information, which I think has become as much an issue for
14 us as we are looking at our ability to be successful around
15 the world as our military capability.

16 So, can you, Secretary Maier, talk about DOD's role in
17 addressing that misinformation, and how DOD coordinates
18 with other agencies and Departments within Government to
19 address disinformation?

20 Mr. Maier: Yes, thank you for the question, Senator
21 Shaheen. So, I would broadly start with describing DOD
22 information as rooted in military objectives. So, as we
23 talk about how this fits into the interagency, we have a
24 distinct role and a value to play, but not for broad
25 messaging, not for all the work that, say, the State

1 Department or some other entities would do.

2 And I think we have looked at significant components
3 of the information operations enterprise and really tried
4 to tighten and target it more so the value proposition and
5 the measures of effectiveness are there. This is really a
6 journey we are on, and I think it is one that the
7 leadership of the Department is very, very focused on.

8 So, I would leave you with the idea that this is much
9 more of a priority in the context of integrated deterrence
10 that the national defense strategy calls out, because
11 information is so critical, as you said, to all the aspects
12 of success, especially as we start to think about
13 adversaries we are trying to deter, ma'am.

14 Senator Shaheen: So, as you think about our efforts
15 to recognizing -- you are saying that we are trying to be
16 more focused and how we address information at DOD. But
17 clearly, what happens at State and in other Government
18 agencies affects what DOD does. So, are there policy
19 changes? Are there resources? Is there coordination that
20 should be done that we should be thinking about? And I
21 would ask General Fenton and Nakasone to respond to that as
22 well.

23 Mr. Maier: Briefly, ma'am, I think we need to invest
24 more in the DOD information operations enterprise. It has
25 not been one that has frequently been a focus, frankly.

1 And I think with more capability in the Department and all
2 hands, our ability to coordinate in an interagency
3 standpoint, that is still very much a work in progress,
4 ma'am.

5 Senator Shaheen: General Fenton.

6 General Fenton: Senator, I would echo all of
7 Secretary Maier's comments. And then I would add that the
8 integrated deterrence approach, I think, does demand a
9 whole of Government approach in information operations, and
10 SOCOM is one part of that in the Department side, but we
11 also coordinate with other agencies of the Government to
12 ensure that we are integrated and that folks know that the
13 SOCOM piece is a traditional military activity.

14 The information operation space, as I like to say, is
15 a place we absolutely have to be as part of a military,
16 traditional military activity, and to get effects for
17 Commanders either to message an adversary, to see
18 misinformation and provide that to a host nation.

19 So, Senator, I think our key message to the SOCOM
20 enterprise as we move forward is, we remain aligned with
21 the Department and certainly as part of the whole
22 Government approach. It is a key part for us, and our
23 State colleagues and other colleagues in the U.S.
24 Government are very important as we do that.

25 Senator Shaheen: General Nakasone.

1 General Nakasone: Senator, it begins overseas. We
2 are very familiar in how to do these operations. We have
3 seen it in the elections. We have seen it with Russia,
4 Ukraine. We have seen it with Iran.

5 The same actors that are interfering in our elections
6 are the same actors that are doing influence operations.
7 We go after them. This is what, you know, persistent
8 engagement is for U.S. Cyber Command and the National
9 Security Agency. We find them and we continue to ensure
10 that we understand exactly what they are doing.

11 We examine their tradecraft, and then we share it with
12 a series of different partners. This is only done
13 effectively, as both the Secretary and General Fenton have
14 indicated, is with partners. So, inside the United States,
15 sharing signatures with the FBI who share it with social
16 media companies, being able to work with allied partners
17 who have a broader understanding.

18 But then I think it is also with, you know, how do you
19 bring the totality of our Government against them. Whether
20 it is State Department, Treasury, FBI, being able to go
21 after them.

22 The one thing we have learned, though, on this is that
23 they never go away. They are always there, and you always
24 have to be persistent.

25 Senator Shaheen: So, the Fiscal Year 2020 NDAA,

1 trying to better focus the Department's efforts on
2 information operations and then establish a principal
3 information operations adviser, and ask the Secretary of
4 Defense to conduct information operations and require a
5 strategy and posture review that was due more than a year
6 ago.

7 It still hasn't been delivered by the Department. Can
8 you tell us what the status of that report is, Secretary
9 Maier, and when we could expect delivery?

10 Mr. Maier: Senator, yes, we understand both the
11 strategy and the posture review are overdue. They both are
12 now in senior level coordination, so above my level. They
13 passed through my review.

14 So, I would expect in a matter of weeks they would
15 come to you. I would say, in understanding the times out,
16 that these have helped to animate a lot of the
17 conversations and deep action within the Department to
18 really focus down it in on posture, and then the strategy
19 has prompted a relook at how we go about doing information
20 operations, per your opening question, ma'am.

21 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. So, I should assume we
22 would have it by maybe the end of April?

23 Mr. Maier: That is our intent. Yes, ma'am.

24 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Shaheen. Senator

1 Fischer, please.

2 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General
3 Fenton, in your nomination hearing last year, you agreed
4 with your predecessor, General Clark, that without
5 sustained CT pressure, we are going to continue to see
6 terrorist groups that are more able to focus on planning
7 and preparing for external attacks. Do you still agree
8 with that statement?

9 General Fenton: Senator, I absolutely agree with that
10 statement. And there is a direction to the SOCOM team from
11 the Secretary of Defense to have that as one of our three
12 main priorities, integrated deterrence, counterterrorism,
13 counter VEO, and crisis response.

14 Senator Fischer: I remain highly concerned that we
15 aren't seeing sustained CT pressure that we need in
16 Afghanistan, especially with respect to ISIS-K. And it is
17 my understanding that we have only had one single strike in
18 over a year.

19 I don't believe that that translates into sustained CT
20 pressure against ISIS-K. Can you describe the challenges
21 of conducting the over the horizon CT operations without
22 the reliable partners on the ground, without basing it in
23 neighboring countries, and without reliable access to
24 airspace?

25 General Fenton: Senator, thank you for that

1 opportunity to comment. On the first portion of that
2 reference to Afghanistan, I would defer certainly to
3 General Kurilla, his team. They have a more fulsome
4 insight with a series of partners, than I would have, and
5 additional challenges.

6 And SOCOM being one part of a whole Government team, I
7 am sure there are many others that would give you a
8 different insights and probably some more fulsome data.
9 But what I would tell --

10 Senator Fischer: Do your insights, sir, differ with
11 some of theirs that they have made to this committee?

12 General Fenton: No, but what I would tell you,
13 Senator, is that part of addressing ISIS in Afghanistan is
14 addressing it globally. And when I look at that question,
15 I certainly view it through the Secretary's priority, and
16 for us, defend the nation. And I think counterterrorism
17 and VEO, it is a very high priority for SOCOM.

18 And as we think about it, we certainly, first and
19 foremost know that your Special Operations Command team, in
20 partnership with COCOM, because ISIS is a global
21 organization, can sense, see, and strike anywhere in the
22 globe.

23 And in essence, many of our operations are in places
24 where we are not proximate to the target. And in fact,
25 last year, an operation that went off in Northwest Syria to

1 remove ISIS, number one, from the battlefield, we had to
2 fly across Syria to get there. So, we are very far from
3 that target.

4 But our ability to see it, sense it, and then strike
5 it, unquestionable. And I think we have been able to do
6 that globally throughout this year in places, Somalia with
7 sustained pressure on ISIS, against an ops and
8 communications node.

9 And I would add also that that global pressure for
10 SOCOM, in concert with partnerships, goes on even in the
11 Indo-Pacific. So, my sense to you, Senator, is that we
12 absolutely have to keep the pressure on ISIS, on any of
13 those terrorist networks.

14 And if I think about it with a number of the
15 operations that have occurred, and I would be happy to talk
16 more in a closed setting, it has been an extremely
17 challenging year for these extremist operations, with a
18 number of operations we put together, to include in Syria.

19 Senator Fischer: Well, SOCOM has been primarily
20 focused on counterterrorism mission for the last 20 years.
21 The special operation forces have a lot of capability that
22 they can bring to the Indo-Pacific. You earlier mentioned
23 your experience there, and I value your knowledge and
24 experience.

25 Can you provide an update on how you plan to rebalance

1 your forces that you have through restructure, training,
2 and exercises, or to develop any kind of unique
3 capabilities in order to meet the increased demand signal
4 that we are getting from INDOPACOM.

5 General Fenton: Thank you very much for an
6 opportunity to comment on that. I think as we -- Senator,
7 as we look at our priorities across the when category of
8 integrated deterrence, crisis response, and
9 counterterrorism, it is an adjustment.

10 I have heard it referred to in other places as a
11 pivot. I would tell you it is an adjustment for how we are
12 going to address strategic competition, integrated
13 deterrence. It is in our DNA. We have been doing it -- we
14 have, as your special operations forces, were really born
15 to do this. And in INDOPACOM, I think what it means is,
16 through the lens of prevention, deterrence, and
17 preparation, beginning with partnerships, partnerships with
18 nations in that region that want the U.S. there.

19 They want to see a U.S. capability. And frankly, in
20 many ways, when that US capability shows up, through the
21 lens of special operations forces, we are absolutely able
22 to move a partnership toward the U.S. and away from the
23 PRC.

24 I think that same type of partnership helped us in
25 Ukraine with the training that we were doing there with the

1 Ukrainians, from 2014 and on, saw the special operations
2 way of warfare and the way of doing business. All of that
3 is very applicable to what we are doing in the Indo-
4 Pacific, but I defer certainly to Admiral Aquilino for a
5 more fulsome of how he sees it, because I am always in line
6 with his requirements.

7 And we do that through our Theater Special Operations
8 Command, our TSOC, Special Operations Command Pacific. We
9 take lead from them at the SOCOM enterprise. But we are
10 invested there, Senator Fischer, in a way to deter, prepare
11 for, and then if needed, prevail in conflict.

12 Senator Fischer: Thank you, and thank all of you,
13 gentlemen, for your service.

14 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Fischer. Senator
15 Gillibrand, please.

16 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General
17 Nakasone, we have been working together on helping to
18 develop a greater cyber capability amongst new personnel,
19 and we created this cyber academy for civilian workforce,
20 which should be accepting its first class in 2024,
21 applications in 2024 for a class in 2025.

22 And we are using the universities that NSA has already
23 assessed as having the correct cyber capability and cyber
24 curriculum. But in light of your testimony, I wanted to
25 ask, would it be helpful to you to have a dedicated cyber

1 force training just for permanent Cyber Command personnel
2 for the military side as well? And if you did want that,
3 what would that look like?

4 General Nakasone: Senator, first of all, thank you
5 for the work that you have done to build a greater
6 population of cyber savvy folks. I am not sure that we
7 need an academy yet. What I am very, very focused on is
8 being able to look at the continued success we are going to
9 have with the program that you have worked with in New
10 York.

11 I am very interested in continuing the successes that
12 we have had across the National Guard with State
13 partnership programs. You are very, very familiar with the
14 New York National Guard's work with Brazil, and other
15 National Guard forces here.

16 And I am also very, very focused on ensuring that the
17 ROTC and academy programs continue to have strong growth in
18 terms of the numbers of people that can be commissioned
19 into our force.

20 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Gillibrand.
21 Senator Cotton, please.

22 Senator Cotton: Thank you, gentlemen. Mr. Maier, you
23 acknowledge in your opening statement that the shift away
24 from counterterrorism is the primary role of our nation's
25 special operations forces.

1 But far from decreasing the need for those forces, I
2 would suggest that the current threat environment calls for
3 even more capability. The need to continue our
4 counterterrorism missions, support foreign and internal
5 defense activities to bolster allies, and engage in new
6 types of operations that are going to counter Chinese and
7 Russian aggression.

8 In that operating environment, would a decrease in
9 force size or budget seem like a reasonable step to you?

10 Mr. Maier: So, Senator Cotton, thanks for the
11 question. Yes, this is the crux of the challenge, right.
12 We are being asked to do more and our forces is probably
13 static. So, I would not advocate for a reduction in
14 forces, sir.

15 Senator Cotton: I regret that you are here today, and
16 not 48 hours from now when we are going to get the
17 President's budget. Because I am troubled that you may, in
18 fact get a reduction in budget or forces. Have any
19 thoughts on what we are going to see on Thursday?

20 Mr. Maier: Senator, as I think you know, I can't talk
21 to what is likely to be in the budget, but I think as
22 General Fenton and I both said, the priorities that we have
23 identified are represented in that budget.

24 Senator Cotton: That is okay. Well, if my fears are
25 proven out, I think you can count on many members of this

1 committee, probably in both parties, to try to make sure
2 that our special operations forces have the resources they
3 need. General Fenton, do you agree that SOCOM requirements
4 and your relevance are growing in this threat environment,
5 not decreasing?

6 General Fenton: Senator, I would agree with that. I
7 think that the SOCOM requirements to be in campaigning and
8 competition are absolutely important and exceedingly asked
9 for by Combatant Command teams, where I draw my
10 requirements from. Certainly, in line with our Theater
11 Special Ops Command, the TSOCs.

12 But we see it because much of this begins with
13 partnerships. Partnerships that we forge through the SOCOM
14 team and enable. And the payoff in many ways can be looked
15 at in the vicinity of Ukraine.

16 Senator Cotton: So, a decrease in either your budget
17 or your personnel levels would add risk to your mission and
18 therefore to our nation.

19 General Fenton: Well, Senator, I -- no one wants to
20 see a decrease in the personnel or the budget. I would
21 tell you that I think it would not reflect the
22 requirements, number one, a decrease of that. And number
23 two, we would be forced at some point to make hard choices,
24 because each and every time I think you will see me give
25 you the best Special Operations Command for the budget we

1 get.

2 Senator Cotton: Okay. Mr. Maier, when you talk about
3 your personnel, I want to return to something else you had
4 in your opening statement because I want to make sure we
5 are using this personnel budget the right way. You talked
6 about the need for more staff. I got to tell you, that
7 gets my hackles up pretty quickly.

8 I think we have plenty of staff in the Pentagon, way
9 too much. Frankly, I think we have too many people dressed
10 like you and me and not enough people dressed like the men
11 to your right in your left, performing these jobs. Could
12 you explain a little bit more about what kind of staff you
13 are talking about and why you would need more staff?

14 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, I was referring specifically
15 to the special operations low intensity conflict staff that
16 performs the Title 10 responsibility of the organized
17 train, equip for SOCOM.

18 So, frankly, sir, a lot of what these staff do on a
19 daily basis is try to articulate the SOF value proposition
20 back into the Department with the services. Some of my
21 concern is that as we go from the less intense environment
22 of counterterrorism or go towards a less intense
23 environment without the intense focus on counterterrorism,
24 that some of what SOF has traditionally been afforded will
25 be lost in that.

1 So, sir, sometimes this is just as simple as making
2 sure that we have the SOF value proposition represented in
3 resourcing, training, planning. I have been frankly
4 surprised at times of how that has been forgotten or too
5 narrowly defined as being a counterterrorism problem.

6 So, you know, my 40 some odd staff are very much in
7 that business. And, you know, it is the analytics. It is
8 supporting special programs, other things like, that that
9 are very, I think, akin to the SOF value proposition, but
10 don't have representation often within the broader
11 Department, sir.

12 Senator Cotton: Okay. General Fenton, one final
13 question. In your opening statement, you talked about the
14 strategic transition for the special operation forces.
15 Could you explain a little more about the role that special
16 -- that your force, the special operations forces, are
17 going to be expected to play in the future fight? And if
18 so, if you can at an unclassified level, maybe help share
19 that story.

20 General Fenton: Senator, thank you for that. I will
21 focus on integrated deterrence, and where the Secretary and
22 the Department have asked us to be aligned. And when I
23 think about that, I think about a long three, really three
24 lenses, prevent, prepare, and then prevail.

25 I think on the prevention side, it is all about being

1 forward, it is about being deployed, or our skills,
2 cultural understanding, language, and a familiarity with
3 many of these environments that come from organizations in
4 our enterprise that know those places as well, such as our
5 first Special Forces Group in the Indo-Pacific, for
6 instance, have a very deep familiarity with all things that
7 go on in many of the partner nations.

8 I think it is key to keep that certainly thick and
9 strengthened. So, part of it is being out training,
10 advising, assisting, building capabilities, and using many
11 of the tools this committee gives us in the form of
12 security cooperation, 1202, and counterterrorism tools.
13 That is a very key part.

14 I think it also allows us an opportunity to help the
15 Joint Force and enable them as we are out in those
16 environments and are able to prepare through our
17 understanding of everything from seabed all the way to the
18 space domain.

19 And then work in concert with General Nakasone and Jim
20 Dickinson in a SOF space cyber triad. I think those are
21 all very important. There is an acceleration towards that.
22 It began before, certainly under General Richard Clarke,
23 and we are accelerating that in the special operations
24 team, while we stay vigilant on the counter-terror mission
25 and certainly our crisis response duties as directed by the

1 Secretary.

2 Senator Cotton: Thank you, gentlemen.

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Cotton. Senator
4 Blumenthal, please.

5 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman. Let me
6 begin by adding an exclamation point to the point that
7 Senator Cotton just raised about the need for ample
8 resources devoted to our national defense, most especially
9 the kind of work that you are doing. I think your
10 testimony today reinforces my hope that we will have
11 bipartisan support for that kind of sufficient investment
12 in our national defense.

13 I have been to Ukraine three times over the roughly
14 last year, once before the invasion, and had an opportunity
15 to talk to some of the special forces trainers who were
16 there working with Ukrainian personnel. General Fenton, I
17 am hoping that there has been continued training outside of
18 Ukraine. I realize none of those special operations forces
19 are located physically there now.

20 When I was there last, a number of weeks ago, none
21 were there, at least visibly to us. But I am hoping that
22 that training mission is continuing outside of Ukraine.

23 General Fenton: Senator, thank you for that. It
24 absolutely is continuing outside of Ukraine in a number of
25 locations, bringing the capability that continues to assist

1 Ukrainians off as part of the entire Ukrainian military.

2 And that training goes on, along.

3 A number of the lines you have seen before, the
4 capability to defend themselves, the capability to mission
5 plan and orient, an understanding of the intelligence, and
6 certainly an understanding of creating dilemmas for the
7 Russian formation.

8 And so, the Ukrainian SOF is a key part of the
9 Ukrainian military's approach. We do that, as your special
10 operations team, certainly under General Cavoli's direction
11 and watching in concert with his teammates in order that
12 that is integrated with the entirety of the approach the
13 SecDef directed.

14 Chairman Reed: What is your assessment as to how well
15 the Ukrainian special forces have operated?

16 General Fenton: Senator, I think they have been
17 superb from the very beginning, and I will start the
18 journey in the 90s when Special Operations, and Special
19 Forces in particular, or ten Special Forces Group made
20 contact with Ukrainian forces after the fall of the Soviet
21 Union.

22 And that generational relationship, something that is
23 very, very important to your special operations community,
24 in my sense laid the pathway for in 2014 our ability to
25 really get after it after the first invasion by the

1 Russians.

2 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

3 General Fenton: So, they have done superbly well and
4 they have been extremely willing to prepare and to fight.

5 Senator Blumenthal: And to learn.

6 General Fenton: And to learn, yes, sir.

7 Senator Blumenthal: General Nakasone, I think a
8 number of experts have been somewhat surprised that the
9 Russians haven't been more aggressive in the cyber sphere
10 against Ukraine in this past year.

11 What is your assessment as to why they haven't been
12 more aggressive, why they have been somewhat apparently
13 quiescent, or maybe the Ukrainians have just resisted and
14 fended them off without our knowing it?

15 General Nakasone: Senators, the Russians have been
16 very active in Ukraine in terms of conducting a number of
17 cyber-attacks, including destructive and disruptive
18 attacks. I think there is several pieces of the story here
19 that are important though.

20 First of all, when you begin the plan and you think it
21 is going to be a very easy invasion, perhaps you don't do
22 enough planning with regards to your enabling activities.
23 Secondly, give full credit to the Ukrainians. They did a
24 tremendous job in terms of building their cybersecurity
25 resilience.

1 And the third piece is, is that this is again for
2 persistent engagement, my discussion previously, being able
3 to enable and act with your partners. The Russians have
4 not been as successful, and there is a number of reasons
5 for that.

6 And I would point also to the fact that we have been
7 able to bring a series of partners, including the private
8 sector, that have a tremendous capability and capacity
9 against the Russians.

10 Senator Blumenthal: I have been impressed when I have
11 spoken to President Zelenskyy with his focus on cyber. Do
12 you think that there is a greatly increased danger or risk
13 of Russian cyber-attack if the counteroffensive anticipated
14 this spring by Ukraine is successful?

15 General Nakasone: We are watching this very
16 carefully. This is the matter of vigilance that I spoke to
17 earlier, because by no means is this done in terms of the
18 Russia, Ukraine situation. And so, as Russia looks at, you
19 know, armaments coming into the country, as Russia looks at
20 different support, how do they react?

21 One of the things that we are charged with is ensuring
22 the security of the U.S. critical infrastructure and key
23 resources with our partners in DHS and FBI. And so, this
24 is something that we are working closely every single day
25 on, Senator.

1 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you. Thank you very much
2 to you all and thank you for your service.

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.
4 Senator Ernst, please.

5 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you,
6 gentlemen, excuse me, for being here today. Secretary
7 Maier and General Fenton, I really do commend your
8 submission of the joint statement to our committee.

9 It reflects both alignments and oversight from
10 civilian policymakers, as well as our uniformed leaders, so
11 thank you for submitting that.

12 Secretary Maier and General Fenton, as outlined in
13 your SOF vision and strategy, how does the SOF balance its
14 various missions with great power, competition,
15 counterterrorism, and crisis response, your three main
16 missions? Because right now we are seeing great power
17 competition increase, ever increasing with Iran, of course
18 our pacing threat with China, and of course with the
19 Russian incursion and war in Ukraine.

20 So how do you balance those missions, and how should
21 that great power competition affect your mission?

22 Mr. Maier: Thank you, Senator. And so, I will take
23 it from a more strategic level, and then ask General Fenton
24 to speak in more detail. So, I would say, first and
25 foremost, it is a risk assessment and it is weighing

1 against the requirements.

2 So, there is always more requirements from the
3 Combatant Commanders than we can meet as a force and those
4 numbers keep going up. But I think at the same time, we
5 are very focused on the idea that while the strategic focus
6 is, of course, on the pacing challenge of the PRC and the
7 acute threat of Russia, we can't be surprised by an attack
8 from another adversary.

9 And I think managing that risk is many cases what the
10 SOF enterprise does very well. We are in essence the hedge
11 against that risk. So it is a constant effort to look for
12 areas where we can innovate, to be able to do more, do
13 things on a more sustainable fashion, and in some cases
14 look for where we are getting what my New England friends
15 would call a twofer, where we are able to do
16 counterterrorism work and have those partnerships and
17 access that then helps us also on the NDS priorities,
18 ma'am.

19 Senator Ernst: Yes, thank you. General Fenton.

20 General Fenton: Senator, thank you for that question.
21 I think to your point on balance and adjustment, that is an
22 -- I am constantly focused on that in the Command. As you
23 mentioned, integrated deterrence, crisis response, and
24 counterterrorism operations, all of those extremely prior
25 -- extremely high priority for the SOCOM team.

1 I think on the integrated deterrence side, we take our
2 lead from the Combatant Commands and their requirements for
3 engagement in their regions, what they need for
4 partnerships, how they need capabilities build, and
5 Senator, in many ways our counterterrorism tools and the
6 form factors that we have in terms of how we present
7 forces.

8 Those are equally applicable in the integrated
9 deterrence, the requirements from the COCOMs, for
10 developing a force and competing with adversaries such as
11 the PRC, as they are for actual counterterrorism efforts
12 that you know very well. So, I think it is a balance.
13 Some of those tools are interchangeable.

14 We can bring them across a spectrum. Very often it is
15 about the relationships that then turn into things that we
16 have seen in Ukraine and we just have mentioned here, SOF
17 investment early, and we have seen that in many other
18 places as well.

19 Senator Ernst: Thank you. I appreciate that. And I
20 know that my colleague, Senator Cotton, talked about your
21 top line and strength cuts and how that would impact SOF.
22 I am very, very concerned about that.

23 And it doesn't matter what Commander it was, whether
24 it was General Tony Thomas, or Rich Clarke, or now you,
25 General Fenton, I have always brought this up in

1 discussions and every SOCOM Commander I have visited with
2 has said, you know, ma'am, we are going to make do. You
3 know, we will execute the mission regardless of the budget.
4 I get that.

5 But I just need to stress to this committee, how
6 important it is that we continue to fund you at the
7 appropriate levels. You give us the greatest bang for the
8 buck with what you do all around the globe, so we won't
9 question that.

10 But I do want to dig in a little more. I, General
11 Fenton, I have supported Section 1202, irregular warfare
12 authorities. That was done in the Fiscal Year 2018 NDAA.
13 And your joint statement describes this as essential for
14 applying SOF capabilities against malign actors.

15 So, in your personal opinion, would enabling those
16 partner forces that are responding to hostilities enhance
17 SOF's irregular warfare contribution to great power
18 competition?

19 General Fenton: Senator, thank you for that. And I
20 will thank this committee for, you know, the 1202
21 authority. That is a very important tool in the arsenal of
22 the special operations tools that we use to either develop
23 partnerships, build capability and capacity of a nation.
24 And certainly, then move forward.

25 So, thank you very much for that. It is key for us to

1 engage in partnerships at that level that involve irregular
2 warfare, our ability to operate and build up a capability
3 of a nation, also have it able to look at any malign
4 influences that is coming into it and identify those, and
5 then address them.

6 And those forces that we work with provide options for
7 their national command leadership, as well as dilemmas for
8 any adversary. So, Senator, I would say of a very small
9 investment in many ways.

10 Almost like your special operations team. It is a
11 very small investment, but for a very high return on the
12 dollar. So, I thank you very much for that and happy to
13 talk more about it in closed session.

14 Senator Ernst: Very good. Thank you very much,
15 gentlemen. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator. Just let me
17 recognize Senator Hirono and ask Senator King to preside
18 while I attend the Banking committee. Senator Hirono.

19 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you
20 all for your testimony today. And General Fenton and
21 Secretary Maier, thank you for meeting with me earlier.

22 General Nakasone, I have been deeply concerned by the
23 state of critical infrastructure on and off military
24 installations, crumbling and out-of-date infrastructure
25 lead to delays and maintenance schedules, and put

1 communities at risk for environmental disasters, as we have
2 seen in Hawaii.

3 But it also leaves infrastructure that is critical to
4 our national security, but often as an afterthought, like
5 wastewater treatment plants and pipelines, exposed to
6 cyber-attacks. That is why I very much appreciate
7 President Biden's National Cybersecurity Strategy's focus
8 on defending critical infrastructure, i.e. things like
9 wastewater treatment plants and pipes.

10 How would the Department of Defense collaborate with
11 other Federal agencies to implement the infrastructure
12 goals outlined in the President's National Cybersecurity
13 Strategy?

14 General Nakasone: Senator, from a cybersecurity
15 perspective, we begin, first of all with a focus on DOD
16 critical infrastructure. Two weeks ago, I was in Hawaii to
17 see Admiral Aquilino and to work with him in terms of
18 looking at the DOD critical infrastructure within the
19 islands.

20 We work with a series of partners when requested to
21 provide that assistance. That comes as a request for
22 assistance from other agencies to the Department, of which
23 then we would be part of that assistance.

24 Senator Hirono: Don't you think that maintaining our
25 -- the physical aspect of our critical infrastructure is a

1 very important part of your ability to do your mission?

2 General Nakasone: Certainly, we need a platform upon
3 which to operate. I agree with you, Senator. And so, what
4 we are focused on, though, is obviously the cyber elements
5 of that and then working again through the Department to
6 assist and answer those requests.

7 Senator Hirono: So, I think it is all -- you know, we
8 need to look at these things in a much more total kind of
9 an aspect. That is why it was really important for Admiral
10 Aquilino to ask for an assessment of the infrastructure
11 needs across the services in Hawaii, but I would say across
12 the country.

13 For, again, you, General Nakasone and General Fenton,
14 the Administration's NDS identifies China as the pacing
15 challenge for our military, and to create enduring
16 deterrence, it is critical that we remain the partner of
17 choice in the Indo-Pacific area, which is why I have
18 supported additional funding for exercises in the region
19 and building on long standing relationships, like the
20 compacts of free association, which we are concluding our
21 negotiations on.

22 What opportunities have your respective Commands had
23 for multilateral training last year, specifically in the
24 Pacific AOR, and how will you build from those going
25 forward? This is for General Nakasone and Fenton.

1 General Nakasone: Senator, we began with Cyber Flag,
2 which is our annual keystone exercise. We invited a series
3 of partners from the Pacific, that includes Korea, that
4 includes Australia, that includes other nations within the
5 Pacific that decided to come and exercise with us. That is
6 one piece of it.

7 The second piece is what I had spoken to previously,
8 which is a State partnership program, working very, very
9 closely with Hawaii, the Hawaii Army National Guard, Hawaii
10 Air Force Reserve and National Guard to be able to assist
11 them as they take a look at Indonesia and the Philippines,
12 two countries that are partnered with the State of Hawaii.
13 And so that is an area that I think has got tremendous
14 potential in the coming year.

15 Senator Hirono: General Fenton, I am particularly
16 interested in really strengthening -- I agree with your
17 area of focus, General Nakasone, but also, you know, the
18 Pacific Island nations such as Palau and Marshall Islands
19 and Micronesia. Can you add to the response, please?

20 General Fenton: Senator, I can. I will start with
21 your special operations team out there through the Theater
22 Special Operations elements, SOCPAC, Special Ops Command
23 Pacific, is part of all the INDOPACOM exercise events.

24 It is very key for us because our ability to build
25 partners and allies, along with the entire INDOPACOM team

1 for your special ops, is a pacing item. It is very
2 important and certainly a high priority for this nation and
3 the Secretary of Defense.

4 Below that we also have our own either bilateral or
5 multinational special operations training events in the
6 region or back in places around bases that we have in
7 CONUS. So, our ability to be linked up with the INDOPACOM,
8 desired in states for partners and allies, and really
9 enable that, plus what we bring in, it is in our nature, it
10 is in our DNA to be a partner force of choice, I think is
11 very, very impactful for Admiral Aquilino and INDOPACOM.

12 I would say to your, partnering anywhere is important
13 to us, so to the island nations, whether it be Oceania,
14 Micronesia, Melanesia, Polynesia, your special ops team has
15 relationships there already.

16 Some of that is not in exercise, but certainly in
17 contact or in deployments as we have had throughout the
18 years, and we will continue to do that, and strengthen it
19 as the INDOPACOM team and Commander would want.

20 Senator Hirono: Thank you. My time is up but I just
21 wanted to mention, General Fenton, that I did appreciate
22 that in your prepared remarks, you talk about diversity of
23 thought and background in our people as a critical enabler
24 of the American advantage. Thank you very much. And the
25 focus on maintaining that kind of diversity, I completely

1 agree with you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Senator King: Senator Tuberville.

3 Senator Tuberville: Thank you, Senator King. Thank
4 all of you for your service. Thanks for being here today.
5 General Nakasone, I like what you said in your opening, we
6 win with people. I think that is everything that we do,
7 especially our country.

8 You know, in your department, when you are looking to
9 recruit people, obviously cyber is your purview, what other
10 areas do you look for in young people? Information
11 technology? I mean, what all areas do you look for in
12 recruiting somebody for cyber?

13 General Nakasone: You look for someone that can do
14 critical thinking, Senator. That begins with -- there are
15 more than just information technology majors out there that
16 are successful in cyber. There are linguists, there are
17 mathematicians.

18 There are, you know, liberal arts majors. What we are
19 looking for is someone that has an interest, has a passion
20 to do this type of work. That doesn't want to leave work
21 until they are able to get the access that is necessary for
22 us to have an effect.

23 Senator Tuberville: Is that growing? Is -- are we
24 losing more to the private sector? How is that going?

25 General Nakasone: So first of all, on the recruiting

1 piece, the services have tremendous success in recruiting
2 cyber forces. They are not having a problem filling it. I
3 think the challenge becomes later on is there are a number
4 of choices that young people have. And so, I think we have
5 to think a bit differently here.

6 First of all, maybe we need to lengthen the, you know,
7 the obligation to become trained in cyber because it is so
8 attractive. Secondly, I do believe that when you come to
9 our forces, that is the only thing that you should do for
10 your career.

11 Much in the same way I have watched special operations
12 forces be successful. When you become a special operations
13 force operator, that is what you are doing all the time,
14 and that is what they want to do. Our force is the same
15 way you.

16 Senator Tuberville: Yes. How is retention in your
17 Department of young people once they fill their duty? Do
18 we have pretty good retention to re-up --

19 General Nakasone: So, it is a mixed bag service.
20 Senator, I can certainly come back to it with the numbers.
21 But the challenge, of course, is that there are a lot of
22 choices. And so that is what we have to make sure that we
23 are on guard for.

24 Senator Tuberville: How concerned are you about
25 TikTok and the influence that they are having on Americans

1 kids?

2 General Nakasone: So TikTok concerns me for a number
3 of different reasons. One is the data that they have.
4 Secondly is the algorithm and the control, who has the
5 algorithm. Third is the broad platform.

6 Influence operations, as we talked about previously,
7 it is not only the fact that you can influence something,
8 but you can also, you know, turn off the message as well
9 when you have such a large population of listeners.

10 Senator Tuberville: Yes, thank you for that.
11 General, you don't have a recruiting problem, do you?

12 General Fenton: Senator, I will start that we are
13 recipient of services and I would want all to know that we
14 are very integrated with their recruiting efforts, and
15 there are some challenges out there for the services.

16 Right now, your special operations team is not having
17 a recruiting problem. We are aggregated at a very high
18 level of recruitment. And the Department has got a
19 retention number, I think, that is one of the highest in
20 decades, and we are right there along with them.

21 Senator Tuberville: Yes, you require the most
22 rigorous training standards in military, correct?

23 General Fenton: Senator, we require very high
24 standards. And folks who want to come and be part of that
25 journey, who have determination, grit, initiative,

1 willingness to see something through, and frankly, what we
2 really look for is somebody -- a quiet professional. Maybe
3 he will do this mission and succeed, and then get ready to
4 do the next one.

5 Senator Tuberville: Would you agree that it is also
6 the most riskiest part in our military?

7 General Fenton: Senator, there is a lot of our
8 teammates out there across the services that do some
9 incredible feats of both their mission and bravery. I
10 would say we are one part of what our Department has as the
11 most incredible military formation in the history of
12 mankind.

13 Senator Tuberville: That is a pretty diplomatic way
14 to put it, General.

15 [Laughter.]

16 General Fenton: They do some really tough mission.

17 Senator Tuberville: Yes, very tough. You know, I
18 think there is a lesson here for the rest of our military,
19 and it is not everybody, but, you know, America's youth
20 want to serve an organization with purpose and patriotism.
21 I mean, we all saw that growing up. In light, it seems
22 people rise to standards that you set for them. I mean, I
23 saw that in my former life of coaching.

24 I mean, you set a standard and most of the time, if
25 you push them hard enough, no matter where they won't or

1 not, they will reach that standard. So, I want to thank
2 for what SOCOM does and everything that you all stand for,
3 because you are on the front lines every day and you are
4 usually the first one to get there and the last one to
5 leave. So, thanks to your group, and the people that stand
6 up for this country, and patriotism that they have for us.
7 Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Senator King: On behalf of the Chairman, Senator
9 Warren.

10 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. So, one of
11 the primary purposes of this hearing is to evaluate your
12 Command's budget requests. Most Federal agencies have to
13 balance their must haves against their nice to haves when
14 it comes to requests for money, and they have to account
15 for long term costs.

16 For example, the maintenance of fleet vehicles that
17 they want to buy, but not the Department of Defense. DOD
18 submits its budget for the things it wants, and then it
19 submits a second list of things that they want funded and
20 they don't add what the long-term costs will be. DOD calls
21 this second list unfunded priorities.

22 I call it a wish list. Now, last year, some parts of
23 DOD stuck to their budgets and didn't put anything on a
24 wish list, but not SOCOM, nope. SOCOM got \$13.2 billion in
25 its regular budget, then turned around and asked for \$656

1 million additionally.

2 Now one of the items on SOCOM's wish list last year
3 was \$8.7 million to ensure that a SOCOM armament facility
4 could meet blast exposure standards that protect service
5 members from traumatic brain injury.

6 General Fenton, do you agree that if SOCOM needs
7 funding for a project that will ensure that it is in
8 compliance with basic safety standards and help protect
9 workers from brain damage, that project should be part of
10 the Command's budget?

11 General Fenton: Senator, I put a high priority on
12 safety.

13 Senator Warren: So, should it be part of your budget
14 then?

15 General Fenton: Any budget I build will reflect my
16 priorities, and priority is safety, and certainly align
17 with the NDS.

18 Senator Warren: So that means you think that
19 something like this should be in the base budget?

20 General Fenton: Senator, I put a high priority on
21 safety and my budget will --

22 Senator Warren: But you are telling me your budget
23 reflects your priorities and somehow this didn't even make
24 it in the basic budget.

25 So, look, let me ask it this way then. This armament

1 facility improvements weren't funded last year. So, are
2 you going to put that in your base budget this year or are
3 you going to count on Congress to add extra money for it,
4 which it didn't do last year?

5 General Fenton: Senator, the first thing I will do is
6 get intimately familiar with the armament facility you are
7 discussing right now. I am six months of the job. I am
8 still working my way through a number of certainly
9 locations in the special ops community.

10 So, I will take that for the record and get back to
11 you, but my budget will be reflective of my priorities that
12 are aligned with the national defense strategy, and safety
13 of our entire force is certainly a high priority for me.

14 Senator Warren: Well, I appreciate that, but I just
15 want to make another point for the record. I wasn't born
16 yesterday. You know, I get what is happening here. SOCOM
17 and other commands are gaming the system.

18 They take costs that should be part of a base budget
19 request's essential programs, like funding to come into
20 compliance with brain injury prevention standards, and then
21 put them on the wish list, daring Congress not to fund
22 them, and that way they can boost their overall budget
23 allocation.

24 In January, I sent a letter to Secretary Austin, along
25 with Senators Braun, Lee, and King, telling DOD not to send

1 Congress any wish lists as part of this year's budget. So,
2 General Fenton, this is your first time submitting a budget
3 as the Commander of SOCOM.

4 You will be sending it over to Congress this week, so
5 you should be right on top of this. Will you pledge not to
6 request any unfunded priority items on top of your annual
7 budget request?

8 General Fenton: Senator, I will submit the budget
9 that reflects my priorities aligned against the NDS, and I
10 will submit that. And any UPL, required by law, that
11 reflects facts of life changes, accelerated capabilities,
12 and any additional NDS initiatives --

13 Senator Warren: Let me stop you right there. I just
14 want to be required -- you need to submit a list, you are
15 right. That is required by law. But you don't need to put
16 anything in it or ask for any funding from it.

17 The list from European Command and Transportation
18 Command were blank last year. That is, they lived within
19 their budget. They did not come back for an additional
20 bite at the apple.

21 And I am just asking if you will agree to do the same
22 thing. That is what budgets are about. They are about
23 making your priorities clear, and I want to know if you are
24 willing to live within the budget you have from the DOD and
25 not come back here for more.

1 General Fenton: Senator, I would submit a budget that
2 is aligned with my priorities and aligned with the NDS.

3 Senator Warren: Is that a yes or a no?

4 General Fenton: Senator, as requested by law and by
5 law, I will submit a UPL. I will take into consideration
6 any facts of life --

7 Senator Warren: Okay. That is, frankly, that is not
8 even a very artful dodge. Look, we don't have any other
9 part of the Federal Government behave this way and for good
10 reason. The budget process is about making tough choices
11 and setting clear priorities.

12 Anything in the regular budget must include an
13 analysis of the long-term costs, not things that are on the
14 wish list. I have a bipartisan bill to eliminate waste
15 like this, but DOD could shut it down voluntarily right
16 now, and I urge you to do that. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 Senator King: On behalf of the Chairman, Senator
18 Rounds.

19 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Gentlemen,
20 first of all, thank you for your service to our country.
21 And I have to admit, I like seeing options in the budget.
22 I like seeing alternatives. It doesn't mean that
23 everything that is on the budget is necessarily going to be
24 funded by or recommended by this committee.

25 But to see the other options out there, from my

1 perspective, I appreciate seeing those others that
2 sometimes may not make it all the way through the budget
3 process. General Fenton, SOCOM has undoubtedly been
4 reorienting from counterterrorism to preparation for a high
5 end, near-peer fight.

6 Assume a situation in which we had to respond under
7 Article 5 and support our NATO allies in Europe, and China
8 concurrently took military action to claim Taiwan. What do
9 you assess would be SOCOM's capability to support a two-
10 theater war concurrently in Europe and the Pacific?

11 General Fenton: Senator, what I can tell you now is
12 that your special operations team is already globally
13 deployed, 5,000 personnel in 80 different countries at
14 Combatant Command request, and at times a Departmental
15 request.

16 Our ability to address the integrated deterrence
17 piece, crisis response, and counterterrorism, we were
18 absolutely able to do all that. We are able to do the
19 front-end competition, integrated deterrence with training,
20 building capability partners and allies, and at the same
21 time, we are also ready to prepare an environment for the
22 Joint Force and prevailing conflict.

23 Senator Rounds: I think what I am really trying to
24 get at is, is it seems as though our policy here is not
25 necessarily to win in two theaters. We need everything

1 that we can do to be in a position to give the young men
2 and women on the front lines every opportunity. We should
3 be talking about now before it ever happens.

4 And I just and with regard to a budget which you will
5 prepare, and bring in, and lay out, would it be fair to say
6 that there are other items that could be done in the very
7 near future that could help us do a better job of preparing
8 for a two front defensive capacity?

9 General Fenton: Senator, I stay focused daily on
10 readiness and training, and providing the President and
11 Secretary a range of options for whatever conditions they
12 may put in front of us.

13 As you describe, some level of potential two front, or
14 we stay trained and ready to provide options across a
15 number of contingencies that the Department has asked us to
16 plan for, along with the Combatant Commands.

17 At the same time, also providing dilemmas for the
18 adversaries, both either in integrated deterrence or in --
19 high in conflict.

20 Senator Rounds: Thank you. General Nakasone, as we
21 all know, the Cyber Mission Force comprises elements
22 provided by all of the services. Is there anything we
23 should do to better execute this construct?

24 General Nakasone: Senator, I will be coming back to
25 the committee under 1502, the NDAA section that came out in

1 the recent NDAA, to talk about the shortfalls. So that
2 comes at the end of March.

3 That will be the first indicator that I will have to
4 be able to communicate with the committee. I suspect
5 between that and section 1534, which requires me to come
6 back at the end of June with the Secretary and the Chairman
7 to talk about shortfalls in readiness, we will be able to
8 outline exactly what we think are the areas.

9 There are some, and there are areas that we can work
10 with the services to improve.

11 Senator Rounds: Thank you. Also, General, last year
12 we discussed the benefit of an SPM13 and SPM21, and what
13 they provided the Command to effectively conduct cyber
14 operations, recognizing that they are both classified in
15 nature, but basically, they have streamlined and lay out a
16 collaborative effort in which to provide accelerated
17 timeframes for cyber operations.

18 As you look over the year since, what, if anything,
19 has changed in your assessment and the impact they have had
20 on cyber operations?

21 General Nakasone: Senator, really very little impact.
22 If I can rewind the clock just a bit, 2018, as you recall,
23 you assisted with us to make sure that within the NDAA that
24 we saw cyber as a traditional military activity, that was a
25 huge step forward for us.

1 I would also say that the policy memorandums that you
2 talked about there, they are their foundation for what we
3 do, any matter that is much more predictable, both for
4 ourselves and for policymakers. So, we continue to work
5 with it. We are continuing to move forward.

6 Senator Rounds: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Senator King: Thank you, Senator. General Nakasone,
8 on a scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is essential for the
9 national defense and 1 is nice to have, where would you
10 rank Section 702?

11 General Nakasone: 10 plus and let me talk a little
12 bit about 702. Thank you, Senator, for that question. As
13 you know, FAA 702 allows the U.S. intelligence community to
14 collect the information and communications of foreign
15 targets of interest operating outside the United States
16 that use U.S. infrastructure services.

17 So, outside the United States, the intelligence
18 community can collect against foreign targets of interest.
19 It is critical for what we do. And what have we seen since
20 FAA 702 was enacted in 2008 and reauthorized two times? It
21 has disrupted terrorist plots. It has alerted us to cyber-
22 attacks.

23 And finally, it has uncovered CI threats. Last year,
24 we are able to utilize this in a series of ransomware, in a
25 series of being able to uncover what adversaries were

1 trying to do to us against our critical infrastructure.
2 And most importantly, as General Fenton can testify, is,
3 you know, what we were able to do against -- an essential
4 piece that we need as a nation.

5 Senator King: I think the key word is essential.
6 Thank you, General. Talk to me about the relationship
7 between electronic warfare and cyber. Is elect -- who is
8 in charge of electronic warfare. Because in a conflict,
9 electronic warfare and cyber is going to be where it
10 begins.

11 General Nakasone: So traditionally the service has
12 had electronic warfare capabilities that they deploy with
13 their forces. I think what you speak to is a
14 synchronization of this battlefield in cyberspace, which we
15 are starting now to work very, very closely with the
16 Combatant Commands.

17 Senator King: I am concerned that if electronic
18 warfare is scattered among the services, it is not going to
19 have the attention, for example, that cyber has because we
20 have Cyber Command.

21 And electronic warfare is definitely going to be part
22 of the conflict, whether it is jamming or disabling
23 satellite communications, those kinds of things. There is
24 no central -- what you are telling me is there is no -- it
25 is not part of your Command and there is no Central Command

1 that controls it.

2 General Nakasone: Is not part of my Command. But
3 again, a lot of the electronic warfare that is done, is
4 done in support of service requirements. And so, they have
5 service forces that do this.

6 I think what you are speaking to, Senator, is, you
7 know, much in the same way we have tactical forces that
8 assist the services, is there some type of national
9 capability that we might need? And I think that is
10 something that we have to look very carefully on.

11 Senator King: I worry about coordination and
12 duplication, two sides of the same coin. You mentioned
13 briefly in your opening statement, election interference in
14 2022. Is election interference, in terms of cyber, an
15 ongoing problem? It hasn't gone away.

16 General Nakasone: It hasn't gone away. This is
17 something we will deal with for as long as I can look at
18 the future and we see cyberspace and the ability for
19 adversaries to influence what goes on.

20 Senator King: Is it things like hacking and meddling
21 with the system, or is it more in terms of disinformation?

22 General Nakasone: So, what we have seen, Senator,
23 really, when you talk about infrastructure, that is more of
24 an interference piece. We see the influence piece much
25 more prevalent these days and being able to operate outside

1 the United States, go after trolls and other different
2 actors that are trying to create influence.

3 Senator King: And these are -- can be Russia, Iran,
4 North Korea, China. They are actively involved in trying
5 to affect and interfere in our politics. Is that correct?

6 General Nakasone: You have hit the top four plus
7 proxies.

8 Senator King: China cyber capability, is it on the
9 rise? They have been not as aggressive in terms of
10 elections and interference as the Russians have been over
11 the last 10 years or so. Is China starting to become more
12 aggressive or are you seeing more activity, less worry
13 about reputational risk, and those kinds of things?

14 General Nakasone: So, they have a different playbook,
15 I think, than the Russians, from what we have seen. The
16 other piece is that as I mentioned last year, this is a
17 very capable, capable force. And so, we can cover many of
18 the areas that I can discuss in closed testimony, but
19 again, a very formidable foe.

20 Senator King: The new national cyber strategy was
21 just issued last week. Any gaps? I don't expect you to
22 criticize it, but do you have any suggestions you can share
23 with us?

24 General Nakasone: I am really pleased with the
25 National Cyber Strategy. I think that this is something

1 that we have long wanted in terms of what is the
2 responsibility of both the Government and the private
3 sector, and being able to meld that is critically important
4 for us.

5 I think in the weeks to come, obviously the Department
6 of Defense's cyber strategy will nest within that, and so I
7 think for the first time, we will probably have, you know,
8 from the Government all the way down to our department
9 something that is very effective.

10 Senator King: Think of that as a coherent Government
11 wide strategy.

12 General Nakasone: Yes, Senator.

13 Senator King: Thank you, General. Senator Budd.

14 Senator Budd: Thank you all for being here. So,
15 General Fenton, you know, there has been a series of
16 concerning incidents, suicides, murders, overdoses, drug
17 trafficking arrests surrounding the special operations
18 community at Fort Bragg.

19 But I think you and members here of the committee, we
20 know that those reports, they are not indicative of the
21 thousands of incredible men and women at USASOC. I am
22 hoping that you can discuss some of the issues that we are
23 actually seeing in Bragg, including those, and if you can
24 describe what SOCOM is doing to combat these challenges.

25 And I will just also just say that our office is here

1 to help, and I am sure on both sides of the aisle, all of
2 us are here, on your team in that regard.

3 General Fenton: Well, Senator, thank you very much
4 for an ability to comment on that, for an opportunity.
5 That very issue hits at the heart of our number one
6 priority, our people, who are competitive in comparative
7 advantage and who we place a lot of trust and confidence
8 in.

9 And this type of behavior, atypical to the 70,000 plus
10 that are doing the right thing almost every single day,
11 each and every day the majority are absolutely doing that,
12 is first and foremost it disrespects that type of work that
13 our SOCOM enterprise is known for. Second, it certainly,
14 it is not behavior that is welcomed.

15 I want everybody to know that is not the type of
16 behavior that is welcomed in this formation and is not
17 indicative of an organization in whom the nation has placed
18 a lot of trust. We hold ourselves to a higher standard.

19 And the Command Sergeant Major and I are -- first of
20 all, we are very angry when we get reports like that, and
21 we are deliberately laser like focused on this. And in
22 fact, we talk about it as a corrosive.

23 These are corrosive toward the trust and confidence
24 that this committee, the Secretary, and certainly the
25 nation has in us, and we are we are laser focused on

1 eradicating that from SOCOM enterprise. One is too many,
2 but we recognize we are not immune. So, we look at it
3 through a number of lenses.

4 First, it is a leader issue in preventing this,
5 reinforcing the standards, the behavior of a drug, some
6 type of other untoward illegal, not moral and ethical
7 behavior. Not who we are, not who we want our formation.
8 And we asked our whole formation to be on alert and to help
9 point that out for us and let us as leaders start to take
10 action.

11 Second, it is reinforcement policies that tell folks
12 this in the event they just came into this formation and
13 they didn't know any better, and they are at risk of doing
14 something like that that disrespects decades of successful
15 operations of many, many who came before and those who come
16 after.

17 Responding. I think a key piece in that one is
18 holding folks accountable. And you will see us do that
19 because that sends a very big signal back, when
20 appropriate, Senator, back to the enterprise about this
21 behavior is absolutely not welcomed and not part of the
22 SOCOM enterprise.

23 So, you got my commitment on this, Senator. I have
24 been -- in about six months, it has been a top priority
25 because of what it does, not only to the trust that this

1 committee and others have in the SOCOM team, but to our
2 overall readiness. And that readiness is important because
3 it needs to be a very lethal force each and every time the
4 Secretary puts us on the job.

5 Senator Budd: Thank you. And you have our commitment
6 as well. Secretary Maier and also General Fenton, you have
7 talked a little bit about this today, but can you please
8 expand on balancing the need for special operations forces
9 to continue conducting counterterrorism in the Middle East
10 and Africa versus the important role they play in great
11 power competition? And do we have the right mix of forces
12 to accomplish both? We will start with you, Secretary.

13 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, thanks for this point. This
14 is maybe among the most important points that I focus on
15 every day. And I think the answer is somewhat. So, I
16 think we have a very lethal, very capable counterterrorism
17 force.

18 What we are working to do is make that force more
19 sustainable over time, because, frankly, many of the threat
20 actors are still out there and we are still having to do
21 this mission.

22 But being able to make it more sustainable so we can
23 draw on the unique capabilities of the SOF enterprise to
24 bring that to the fight against a potential PRC or Russia,
25 certainly to establish that integrated deterrence we seek,

1 sir.

2 Senator Budd: Thank you.

3 General Fenton: Senator, I would just add that it is
4 a balance, as we look at it across the enterprise with the
5 three missions of the integrated deterrence and
6 counterterrorism crisis response.

7 And as I mentioned before and will reinforce, the
8 capabilities we have in the counterterrorism marine arena
9 transfer as well over into our integrated deterrence
10 approach. But at the same time, we know that very often
11 they are unilaterally asked for.

12 In this case in Africa, we work with AFRICOM Commander
13 and our Special Operations Command Africa, our TSOC, is a
14 way to address their requirements. Keep the pressure, as I
15 mentioned earlier.

16 One of the things at SOCOM we look at is the threat
17 has been disrupted, but it persists, and our job is to
18 remain vigilant. And when we can set, see, and illuminate,
19 we take action in concert with the Combatant Commanders and
20 certainly under SecDef direction.

21 Senator Budd: Thank you all very much. I have some
22 questions for the record, General Nakasone, I will submit
23 for you, but I yield back. Thank you.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator. Senator
25 Kaine, please.

1 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to
2 our witnesses. Secretary Maier, I want to talk to you
3 about a previous job you had that I still think you are
4 very involved in. I understand that you previously led the
5 DOD defeat ISIS task force. Is that correct?

6 Mr. Maier: Yes, Senator.

7 Senator Kaine: And that you continue in your role as
8 Assistant Secretary of SO/LIC to focus on the anti-
9 terrorism mission, including the defeat of ISIS, correct?

10 General Fenton: Correct, Senator.

11 Senator Kaine: That task force included international
12 partners. I think there are about 80 international
13 partners. And it is fair to say that in your work on that
14 task force and currently it involved a lot of coordination
15 with Iraqi defense forces, isn't that correct?

16 Mr. Maier: It did, yes, Senator.

17 Senator Kaine: I know that my colleagues might have
18 seen that Secretary Austin has paid an unannounced visit to
19 Iraq. That news of that broke this morning. I just want
20 to read a phrase, a quote from him, the U.S. forces are
21 ready to remain in Iraq at the invitation of the government
22 of Iraq, he said this following a meeting with Prime
23 Minister Al Sudani.

24 Further, "the United States will continue to
25 strengthen and broaden our partnership in support of Iraqi

1 security, stability, and sovereignty." Do you think the
2 U.S. being in partnership with Iraq for their stability and
3 sovereignty, for their own sake and for the region, is an
4 important priority?

5 Mr. Maier: Senator, yes, I do. And I think it is
6 critically important to managing a very challenging
7 political situation, too, with obviously the Iranian and
8 proxy threats there as well, sir.

9 Senator Kaine: Just for my colleagues, we have two
10 war authorizations against the government of Iraq, our
11 strategic partner who Secretary Austin is visiting today.
12 We have 2,500 American troops in Iraq at the Iraqi
13 government's request. One of the war authorizations was
14 passed in 1991. It is 32 years old.

15 The other war authorization was passed in the fall of
16 2002. The invasion of Iraq began on March 19, 2003, 20
17 years ago next week. I have a proposal that is very
18 bipartisan, 12 Democrats and 12 Republicans have joined
19 together to urge Congress to repeal the two Iraq war
20 authorizations.

21 This is going to be marked up in the Foreign Relations
22 Committee likely in the next few days, and hopefully will
23 be on the floor for a vote soon, coincident in timing with
24 the 20th anniversary of the Iraq invasion.

25 And I just wanted to bring it to the attention of my

1 colleagues. I urge that we repeal the Iraq war
2 authorizations to recognize reality, an enemy that we were
3 trying to push out of Kuwait in 1991, an enemy whose
4 government we wanted to topple in 2002, is no longer an
5 enemy.

6 They are a security partner of importance right now.
7 Second, Congress should exercise our Article 1 authority
8 over war, peace, and diplomacy and not allow it to be on
9 autopilot. Third, an authorization that is no longer
10 necessary becomes sort of a zombie authorization that can
11 be grabbed and used for mischievous purposes if we are not
12 careful.

13 And fourth, I even think we send a powerful message
14 not just to allies and strategic partners, we even send a
15 message to adversaries that you may be our adversary today,
16 Iraq once was, but the U.S. specializes over time in
17 turning adversaries into allies. Look at Japan, look at
18 Germany, look at other nations.

19 And we hold that hope out to everyone that we will
20 defeat you should we need to, but we also hold out an olive
21 branch and look for an opportunity to beat a sword into a
22 plowshare and turn an adversary into a partner.

23 The proposal that I have, Mr. Chairman, that I hope
24 will be voted on in the floor this month has the support of
25 the Administration, and they have indicated that neither of

1 the two authorizations are necessary for any current U.S.
2 military operation, and thus their repeal will not endanger
3 in any way the security of the United States or Americans
4 anywhere in the world.

5 And I would just urge my colleagues possibly to take a
6 look at this once the Foreign Relations Committee acts,
7 because I believe we will be taking this matter up on the
8 floor very soon. And with that, Mr. Chair, I yield back.

9 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kaine. Senator
10 Mullin, please.

11 Senator Mullin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General
12 Fenton, can you explain to us, and I know you have been
13 asked this question before, but I just want it for context
14 again, the value of the SOF community.

15 General Fenton: Senator, I think the value of the SOF
16 community transcends all three mission areas that we have
17 right now. Our integrated deterrence approach, which the
18 previous was strategic competition the days before the
19 tragic events of 9/11, when we were developing partners and
20 allies, competing for relationships, building partners of
21 force -- of choice, and in many places with our security
22 cooperation approach, actually strengthening nations across
23 the globe. I think that is called for even more now.

24 And as we come forward with 20 years of hard-earned
25 combat credibility, a technology fluence, and an incredible

1 formation. And the SOF formation is a formation that knows
2 the hard skill. It knows technology.

3 It deploys around the world on a moment's notice. And
4 in that case, all that value transitions over to integrated
5 deterrence. On the counterterrorism side, the center for
6 20 plus years. In places all over the world, your special
7 operations command team, along with the rest of our
8 military interagency partners, I think brought immense
9 value to this nation, disrupting degrading terrorist
10 networks globally and figures, the names that many folks
11 know here are no longer and have been removed from the
12 battlefield and are no longer a threat to this nation.

13 On crisis response, our ability at SOCOM to, within a
14 very short notice, deploy forces and arrive in a country
15 and either safeguard our U.S. diplomats, citizens, or
16 rescue them if that is indeed the task, and then bring home
17 safely. I think it is all part of this special Operations
18 command value proposition.

19 And I would add a very small investment on the budget
20 that we are very grateful for, and I think a very high
21 return on investment across all those and many more that in
22 the interest of time, I can follow up with you in a
23 classified session.

24 Senator Mullin: Appreciate it. One last quick
25 question for you, and then if you could be brief on it, I

1 would like to -- you just kind of explain the partnerships
2 that we have with our allies in Europe and how that is
3 benefiting us, and I would say in the with Russia's illegal
4 invasion of Ukraine.

5 General Fenton: Senator, I go back to a very specific
6 part here of the very high value proposition I think your
7 special operations teams bring. It started with a
8 relationship, our ability in small teams to be with
9 Ukrainians in the mid-90s developed a level of trust.
10 Speed of trust is important in these, as you know very
11 well.

12 And then in 2014 began in earnest a level of training
13 that was about resistance and resilience, and those look
14 like skills of developing a military -- Ukrainian special
15 operations that has an NCO corps, that knows about mission
16 command, has initiative, and frankly has been, as I have
17 seen and certainly talk a lot about, very valuable to the
18 Ukrainian military effort writ large. I think we have also
19 had the ability to learn from them.

20 They have got an incredible way that they take
21 equipment off the battlefield and re-engineer it. That is
22 really great for us because we learn as much from our
23 partners as I hope they do from us.

24 So, I think in a very small way, that ability for the
25 Ukrainian SOF and the Ukrainian military to resist, and now

1 absolutely really fight against this aggression, and has
2 paid dividends. Started with a high investment with the
3 special operations team.

4 Senator Mullin: Thank you so much. And, Mr.
5 Chairman, I am going to kind of divvy here a little bit.
6 General Nakasone and I know each other, and I just want to
7 raise a point here.

8 The General is over a program that is very forward
9 leaning, and I would ask that we would -- we would ask the
10 Senate Intel and the House Intel to brief us on a program
11 that General Nakasone is over. And in you will see -- it
12 would reflect, in my opinion, his complete incompetence in
13 his ability to lead this program.

14 I think it is important when we are talking about a
15 budget that he is over, that it is important for us to know
16 that we have leadership there that we can rely on to make
17 sure the dollars are protected and the investment has a
18 return. And I think before we can do that, we actually
19 need to know what has happened.

20 I was involved in a briefing when I was on the Intel
21 committee that turned into a hearing, and I think it is
22 imperative for us to know the General's risk adverse
23 approach to a program that needs to be extremely proactive.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Mullin. Your
25 comments are noted and we will follow up.

1 Senator Mullin: Thank you.

2 Chairman Reed: At this point, let me recognize
3 Senator Manchin.

4 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Chairman
5 Nakasone, let me just say I am sorry because I have all the
6 confidence in the world in you and we have been working
7 very close together, and I am chairman of the Cyber
8 committee and also along with Mike, Senator Mike Rounds.

9 We both appreciate your service, and we are looking
10 forward to any hearing you want to have. And but I can
11 tell you, you have the support of a bipartisan group here,
12 which is very, very deep.

13 Next of all, General Fenton, I would like to ask you a
14 question, based on the publishing of the 2019 SecDef, DOD,
15 CYBERCOM Operations Forces Memo, which directed the
16 organization of the DOD Cyber Operation Forces, there has
17 been substantial appropriation development of CYBERCOM
18 organization and capabilities.

19 The question is what is the status of the current
20 Special Operations Forces program developed within SOCOM,
21 and what effort is needed in -- to keep pace with CYBERCOM?

22 General Fenton: Senator. I will start by, we have
23 got a very close relationship with General Nakasone and
24 CYBERCOM, and it has progressed into an area that we now
25 call a capability of SOF space, cyber triad.

1 At its heart, it is the ability to converge those
2 capabilities, the SOF placement access, the cyber work, and
3 certainly the space work in places for integrated
4 deterrence effects that we would otherwise not get if we
5 were doing it individually, and bring certainly a bigger
6 sum back to not only the mission but to any partner we are
7 working with.

8 That has been an incredible effort alongside General
9 Nakasone's team. We are very grateful for that. And also,
10 in the SPACECOM arena. We are moving that forward with
11 exercises, experimentation, a number of senior leader
12 huddles, and I think that you will see that progress,
13 Senator. And we would be happy to talk about the progress.

14 Senator Manchin: My final question is for all three
15 of you, and I will start with Secretary Maier, General
16 Nakasone, and then General Fenton, what can we do to help
17 as Congress? What would be the greatest help we could be
18 to you, all of us in the Senate and our Congress -- or our
19 cohorts over on the side, the other side of the House.
20 That would be the greatest -- and I think, if I am asking,
21 the having a budget done on time, what does that mean for
22 you?

23 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, thanks for the question. I
24 think we will probably all say that having a budget that is
25 consistent, predictable, and --

1 Senator Manchin: Does it save you time? Does it save
2 your money?

3 Mr. Maier: It saves this time. It saves us money.
4 It adds predictability. It allows us to put things on
5 contract. And frankly, for --

6 Senator Manchin: We are talking September 30th.

7 Mr. Maier: Yes, sir. And I think from the
8 perspective of enterprise and the special operations
9 enterprise, it is going through transition. The ability to
10 modernize is hurt by the fact that the budgets don't come
11 predictably. So that is really where sometimes it comes
12 home to roost, and it is --

13 Senator Manchin: So, a budget on time would be a
14 pretty high priority?

15 Mr. Maier: Yes, sir.

16 Senator Manchin: General Nakasone.

17 General Nakasone: It is the same thing, Senator. It
18 is on time. It really does --

19 Senator Manchin: Does it reduce your cost?

20 General Nakasone: It is predictability. It is being
21 able to, you know, actually spend the money when it is
22 actually due as opposed to, you know, a shortened period of
23 time. We also have new starts that will not be delayed,
24 would actually be able to get on. So, we would welcome it.

25 Senator Manchin: When was the last time that you had

1 a predictable budget on time?

2 General Nakasone: Not since I have been the
3 Commander.

4 Senator Manchin: General Fenton.

5 General Fenton: Senator, I will start first by, you
6 already help in many ways with a number of the tools that
7 we use at SOCOM, 33, 1202, now 127. But to your point on
8 the budget, I will echo my colleagues here at the table,
9 predictable, reliable, on time. And then I will just add
10 that CRs hurt.

11 In SOCOM, our priority, number three, is transform,
12 and we think of ourselves as a pathfinder and a
13 trailblazer. And we need new capabilities to not only
14 surpass adversaries, but always to be dominant.

15 That is not possible with new capabilities and new
16 contracts with a CR. It is also we work with a lot of
17 littles, little companies that want business with Special
18 Ops Command because they know we are transformative, and
19 that we are a trailblazer for the Department.

20 They can't wait forever to get their money, and many
21 of them aren't there anymore as a result of -- my sense is
22 a number of CRs from --

23 Senator Manchin: This makes -- does this sound
24 reasonable to you all that I have been told by some retired
25 Admirals and Generals that if we did our budget on time

1 now, by the 85 budget, the budget law that we had -- the
2 President is supposed to have his budget submitted by the
3 1st of February, and here we are.

4 The House and the Senate are supposed to have theirs
5 by April the 1st and reconcile by April the 15th. And then
6 we are supposed to have a budget completed by September
7 30th. I have been told if all that happened, that the
8 military could have a savings anywhere between 5 to 10
9 percent on today's cost.

10 You are talking \$40 to \$80 billion. Does that sound
11 reasonable? That is, I mean, it is tremendous. And it is
12 that type of effect -- I don't know if you all looked at
13 and evaluated it for per area of DOD. Secretary, do you
14 have anything on that, or if you looked at it under those
15 conditions, because the person never hesitated when they
16 told me this.

17 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, I can't account for that
18 exact measure, but I can tell you that it is more costly.
19 And as I think my colleagues and I have indicated, there is
20 a risk to it as well. That it is not only financial, it is
21 the ability to execute and operate with some degree of
22 predictability, which of course, the nation looks at us to
23 do.

24 Senator Manchin: Well, I know that we have many
25 examples that you can look back on and find out when we did

1 do one on time and everything, but if you could and give us
2 an accurate account or close as accurate as you can be,
3 what would be the savings?

4 Because we are in a position now, we are having
5 debates and discussing, we can do things, we can change
6 this year, change our ways and not commit the sins of the
7 past. I am hoping we can do that.

8 But it has a tremendous effect on our military, which
9 is what we are depending. First of all, thank all of you,
10 and all of you setting there, for your service. I
11 appreciate it more than you know. And again, I want to
12 thank you all. I yield my time back.

13 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Manchin. Senator
14 Schmitt, please.

15 Senator Schmitt: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General
16 Fenton, I appreciate the time we had to spend together and
17 talk about some of the threats around the world, and your
18 role and your team's role in combating those threats and
19 getting ahead of those threats. And to me, as I mentioned,
20 there is no greater threat than China on the world stage.

21 And in this, you know, great powers era that we have
22 been discussing, the alliances in the Indo-Pacific, to me,
23 are critical. You have mentioned it in my meeting with
24 you. We have heard about that today. General Nakasone had
25 mentioned Indonesia and the Philippines. We have talked

1 about the Philippines.

2 What specifically would you like to see this committee
3 address as we move forward in this Congress to do
4 everything, we can put ourselves in the best position to
5 continue to cultivate and support those alliances?

6 General Fenton: Senator, first, thanks for the
7 session with you the other day. I appreciate your time. I
8 know how busy you are. I would comment on the extreme
9 importance in the power of the partners and allies.

10 You and I spoke quite a bit about it, and in the Indo-
11 Pacific, but certainly globally, as the Secretary has
12 discussed with the Department and in many ways is doing
13 that with NATO's alliance, vis-a-vis the Ukraine, and all
14 the work that has gone into the entire whole of Government
15 team to make that stronger than ever, is a signal that
16 aggression by adversaries like Russia will not be
17 tolerated.

18 I think it is just important -- just as important as
19 we discussed in the Indo-Pacific. We have got a number of
20 bilateral treaty allies out there. They are extremely
21 important partners, as INDOPACOM goes ahead on its daily
22 and certainly its overall mission.

23 In particular for the special operations team, we
24 actually like to think that we are a premier partner force.
25 We have longstanding ties throughout the region that we

1 look to continue to strengthen and maintain.

2 And we certainly each and every day don't take them
3 for granted, and we look to reinforce them. I think that
4 is important that that continues to grow. And I think it
5 is -- as you think about this, Senator, it is about the
6 growth of partners and allies, and the power in that. Not
7 only for the rules-based order, but probably for the vision
8 of where we go the next 3 to 5, even 10 years.

9 So, I would just recommend that it is a continue to
10 focus on partners and allies, the power that comes with
11 that, the partnering, the burden sharing, and certainly the
12 capability grows -- growth that we have all experienced in
13 that. And I could talk certainly more --

14 Senator Schmitt: Well, and I don't -- listen, I don't
15 want you to -- I want to give you the time to be able to
16 get back to my office with this, because this is something
17 that to me is of paramount importance, particularly in the
18 Indo-Pacific theater and will be a long-term commitment on
19 my end.

20 And as you work through -- and by the way, you won't
21 be the only one I am asking this question that comes before
22 the committee of what can we do, because I do think that is
23 just critical, and in doing everything we can to guard
24 against China's global domination ambition, which has been
25 stated.

1 And so, I want to work with you on that. And I guess,
2 General Nakasone, if I could ask you this, and to the
3 extent that you can share, what you can share with this
4 committee in the open setting here, just where we are at
5 with China's capabilities, whether it is on cyber or AI,
6 our defensive capabilities versus their offensive
7 capabilities. This will be an ongoing discussion. But in
8 the open setting, I certainly wanted to ask you about that.

9 General Nakasone: Senator, they are a near, peer
10 threat. They are very good. They have been able over the
11 period of two decades to develop not only their military
12 but also their industrial base.

13 As we look to the future, those capacity and
14 capabilities, whether or not it is in artificial
15 intelligence, machine learning, whether or not it is
16 looking at the capacity to grow cyber forces, they are very
17 good, but they are not, they are not, first of all, as good
18 as us. And secondly, they are not ten feet tall.

19 And so, we can get in closed session more in terms of
20 some thoughts on this, but I did want to make sure I hit
21 that.

22 Senator Shaheen: Well, I will just close with this.
23 I agree with the concerns that have been raised by other
24 committee members and you with TikTok. To me, TikTok is a
25 Chinese AI weapon aimed directly at the United States of

1 America, and we better take it seriously. So, among other
2 things. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Schmitt. Senator
4 Duckworth, please.

5 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I
6 just have to say, I had a wonderful working relationship
7 with Senator Blunt, who has recently retired. And I would
8 have to say, Senator Schmitt, I agree with you with your
9 concerns on the Indo-Pacific region. And in fact, my
10 question, gentlemen, is going to follow up a little bit on
11 my colleague's line of questioning.

12 But I did want to start with saying that Mr. Assistant
13 Secretary and General Fenton, your written testimony
14 references the first SOF truth, humans are more important
15 than hardware, and I couldn't agree with this more.

16 And two weeks ago, I led a CODEL to Japan and
17 Indonesia. My interactions on that trip reinforced just
18 how important those alliances and partnerships are. We
19 must not forget that human ties are the United States
20 strategic advantage in the Indo-Pacific region, and these
21 human relationships are critical to countering malign CCP
22 activity in that region.

23 General Fenton, I appreciated our discussion last
24 week. And can you please elaborate furthermore in that
25 questioning line, and on an unclassified level, on how the

1 SOF community fosters close relationships with our allies
2 and partners?

3 Specifically, how does Special Operations Command's
4 ongoing work with other nations, from the smallest unit
5 operations all the way up through your leadership-to-
6 leadership relationships with military leaders in some of
7 these countries, reinforce our campaign plans in Southeast
8 Asia?

9 General Fenton: Senator, thank you. I really
10 appreciated our discussion as well, and I appreciate your
11 reference in that. I will start with just emphasizing that
12 partners and allies are absolutely a key focus for the
13 Department, the Secretary, and for your Special Operations
14 Command team.

15 And I put that in contrast to what China's focus may
16 be in terms of clients or customers. We are about
17 partnerships, we are about friendships, we are about the
18 power of many to make us all stronger. And I think we see
19 that in the way that we approach, firstly, your special
20 operations team.

21 As you mentioned, we start very much from a
22 perspective of, it is in our training and in our
23 schoolhouses to work through these because we recognize it
24 is the speed of trust. It is the speed of a relationships,
25 in many ways with our partners and teammates around the

1 world. You will see us at a very tactical level.

2 And I won't mention any countries. And certainly,
3 Senator, I could talk more in a closed session. You will
4 see us at a tactical level doing events like training,
5 shooting, jumping, driving, and building capabilities that
6 use the tools that this committee has honored us with.

7 I think at an organizational level, we will be showing
8 folks how we have grown ourselves in the 20 plus years of
9 combat, what it meant to weave in technology, how we
10 understand our gathering of intelligence, how we understand
11 mission type orders.

12 And I think at the institutional level, what you will
13 see your special operations team doing in any of the COCOMs
14 is work with the COCOMs to ensure that the nation we have a
15 relationship with understands the special operations forces
16 and what they can do, the types of missions, and if I may
17 be the return on investment and the value that they will
18 bring that nation in a way that I believe we certainly
19 bring to this nation.

20 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, General. Turning now
21 to General Nakasone. General, I just want to say I, too,
22 have complete trust in your ability to do your job.

23 And in fact, your forward leaning posture allowed us
24 to keep tabs on the well-being of my constituent, who was
25 held in Haqqani network hands and also in his safe return.

1 So, thank you very much for the work of you and your
2 subordinates in that. I want to talk about the cyber
3 domain.

4 Of course, it has no boundaries. I included
5 legislation in Fiscal Year 2021 NDAA authorizing DOD to
6 establish a pilot program to enhance the cybersecurity of
7 our allies, and in particular the readiness of military
8 forces of Vietnam, Thailand, and Indonesia. And this year
9 I plan to expand that program to include Malaysia and the
10 Philippines.

11 Could you elaborate on specifically why the
12 cybersecurity of our allies and partners is important for
13 U.S. overall, U.S. national security? And if you, if
14 possible, can you comment on the value of direct engagement
15 with our overseas partners to help build their cyber
16 skills, and how that is important for our own national
17 security?

18 General Nakasone: Certainly, Senator. I think that
19 there is no better example than Ukraine. We have watched
20 this now for over a year. We are a very capable partner
21 that was able to raise their level of cybersecurity, was
22 able to fend off a much larger foe.

23 But it is not only that, it is also the ability for us
24 to share information with that partner. We want to be able
25 to share our information in the future. And being able to

1 share information in cyberspace means that you have to have
2 an assurance that the partner can secure your information.

3 And that is a critical piece. And I know that the
4 work that you have done to drive that type of
5 cybersecurity, both in the element of the bar has to go
6 higher for our partners to operate, but also, we have to
7 have the confidence that we share information, that our
8 information is between us and that partner.

9 Senator Duckworth: Thank you. I yield back,
10 Chairman.

11 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator
12 Duckworth. Senator Scott, please.

13 Senator Scott: Thank you, Chairman. I want to thank
14 each of you for being here. General Nakasone, first, let's
15 talk about China. The -- is there anything that China
16 sells us? We have cranes now at the Port Miami that they
17 are worried that there was the ability for China to surveil
18 what we are doing at our ports.

19 You look at what some of my colleagues have talked
20 about, the risk of TikTok. Is there anything that China
21 sells in this country that you don't believe creates a
22 potential cybersecurity risk? And what would it be, if
23 they could sell us anything that wouldn't?

24 General Nakasone: Senator, certainly you point to the
25 challenge of cyber, which is a huge attack surface, right.

1 Whether or not you trade in some type of good or you trade
2 in some type of commodity, there is always an opportunity.

3 You know, I think this points to the challenge that we
4 have to be able to address, which is supply chain. To make
5 sure that the elements of the supply chain that we operate,
6 particularly within the Department of Defense, are secure.

7 Senator Scott: So, do you think that Americans should
8 have -- do you think it puts America at risk if Americans
9 have TikTok on their phone?

10 General Nakasone: My concern with TikTok, Senator,
11 really is from two pieces. One is the fact that there is
12 tremendous amount of data and understanding where your data
13 is, is critical, I think.

14 And the second piece is the opportunity for influence.
15 This is a means upon which, you know, you receive
16 information or don't receive information. And that is
17 where, you know, I always look at that in terms of being
18 able to measure that risk.

19 Senator Scott: So, if you were running a, let's say
20 one of our electrical grids in the country, if you were
21 responsible, knowing now what you know in the job that you
22 have now, would you allow -- would you buy anything from
23 China?

24 Would you allow the employees have TikTok? Would you
25 any business? Would you buy DJI drones? Would you do

1 anything knowing what you now know in this job?

2 General Nakasone: Senator, very difficult in the
3 scenario that you point to our picture to imagine that you
4 can really do that. I mean, there is so much of what we do
5 is based upon international trade, and China has the corner
6 on some things.

7 I think what I would do is ensure that the areas that
8 are most sensitive to our operation are well censored, and
9 I have the confidence that what is being utilized there, I
10 understand where that information may be going.

11 Senator Scott: In a world where there was an
12 alternative to every Chinese product and app and service
13 out there, if there was an American alternative or American
14 ally alternative to them, would you, at that point if you
15 running one of these companies, would you guarantee that
16 your company did no business with China if there was a good
17 alternative? And would you think the same thing about our
18 Government, knowing what you know?

19 General Nakasone: So again, coming back as a
20 prospective, perhaps future business owner, I would take a
21 very, very hard look of anything that was coming from an
22 adversarial nation and being able to understand that.

23 Senator Scott: General Fenton, can you talk about
24 what other things you are doing to prepare your forces to
25 deal with China, and where are they beating us, and where

1 -- and what do we need to do more and better, knowing that
2 China doesn't like our way of life and wants to demolish
3 our way of life?

4 General Fenton: Senator, I think the very first thing
5 we are doing in Special Operations Command is focus the
6 formation on the adversaries of China and Russia, but in
7 particular China's. Reordering the formation in terms of
8 focus.

9 There are a number of elements in our formation that
10 understand the PRC and what they have been doing for years
11 pretty well. But there is work that we have got to do to
12 certainly bring in additional portions of the formation
13 along. We do much of that through our education process in
14 our schoolhouses that -- all the components, our Army,
15 Navy, Air Force, and Marine components.

16 And frankly, at our joint Special Operations
17 university, understanding of the PRC and the PRC way of
18 warfare. We knew that very well when we fought the ISIS
19 threat. We understood how they were going to wage war, and
20 now that is the understanding of the PRC.

21 Second, I would say is being present in any region and
22 trying to understand their malign activities. As I
23 mentioned before, diplomatic pressure from the Chinese --
24 from the PRC, economic coercion from the PRC creates
25 clients and customers. We are out there to build partners

1 and allies.

2 And I think that also allows us to get a sense of what
3 PRC's malign activities are globally. And then on any
4 given transfer, Senator, we are providing ranges of options
5 for the Combatant Commanders and certainly for the
6 Secretary to address either in deterrence, preparing, and
7 if needed to prevail.

8 And you have got the best special operations team in
9 the world to do that. And that same time, we are
10 presenting a lot of dilemmas to the adversary, the PRC.

11 Senator Scott: Thank each of you.

12 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Scott. Senator
13 Rosen, please.

14 Senator Rosen: Well, thank you, Chairman Reed. I
15 really appreciate you holding this hearing. I would like
16 to thank each one of the witnesses for being here and, of
17 course, for everyone's service to our nation. And so,
18 General Nakasone, I have quite a few questions for you on
19 our cyber workforce and Nevada National Guard.

20 But I am going to get into cyber workforce first
21 because the National Cybersecurity Strategy, which was
22 released just last week, it calls for expanding the
23 national cyber workforce. I know it is critical we
24 continue to invest in innovative, nontraditional cyber
25 capabilities and in talent to support the Department of

1 Defense cyber mission requirements.

2 So, in last year's NDAA, as reported out of this
3 committee, it included my Civilian Cyber Reserve Act,
4 bipartisan legislation I introduced with Senator Blackburn
5 to create a civilian cyber reserve that ensures additional
6 cyber capacity for CYBERCOM in greatest -- times of
7 greatest need.

8 And so, this year, of course, I look forward to
9 working with the chairman to ensure this critically
10 important legislation will be included in the final
11 conference. But I was hoping, General, that you could
12 discuss the value of reserve models, including the value of
13 a potential civilian cybersecurity reserve to support your
14 cyberspace operations.

15 General Nakasone: Senator, first of all, thank you
16 for your support of U.S. Cyber Command, and in general, the
17 work that we do in cyberspace. It begins with humans.

18 And so, this idea of being able to have many more
19 analysts, many more operators, many more developers is
20 something that is, you know, part and parcel to our success
21 in the future. It is not only with the civilian workforce
22 that you have championed, but it is also this idea of how
23 do you bring a larger base to bear?

24 How do we bring it from K through 12 that makes people
25 very interested that science, technology, engineering,

1 mathematics is the way of the future. And girls that code
2 all these things that will provide a greater base for us to
3 draw from are really important to us.

4 Senator Rosen: Well, you are speaking my language.
5 As a former software developer, now co-founder of the Women
6 in STEM Caucus, and trying to promote STEM education all
7 the time, this is music to my ears.

8 And so, of course, in Fiscal Year 2021, the NDAA
9 required the Department of Defense to submit to Congress an
10 evaluation of the reserve models to support these
11 cyberspace operations, and the report was never submitted.

12 So could you update me on the status of the report and
13 also the requirement I added in the Fiscal Year 2023 bill
14 to have DOD enter into an agreement to assess the benefits
15 of such a program. I would really like to see us be able
16 to move forward on this.

17 General Nakasone: Senator, if I might take that for
18 the record, just to make sure I can leverage the Department
19 of Defense for that.

20 Senator Rosen: That would be perfect. I have some
21 other questions, too, on auspices -- excuse me,
22 specifically for Nevada's National Guard. But, you know,
23 the National Cybersecurity Strategy rightly identifies a
24 strengthening our international partner capacity. It is a
25 pillar of our collective cybersecurity, our hunt forward

1 operations in Ukraine in particular.

2 It really shows us the value of international
3 partnerships. I have advocated for more funding for hunt
4 forward as we identify more vulnerabilities. And so, our
5 Nevada National Guard, we have three partner nations as a
6 National Guard State Partnership Program, Fiji, Tonga, and
7 Samoa.

8 So how is the program promoting cyber partnerships
9 with our allies and partners, and what challenges do you
10 see -- are you facing building these and where can we
11 create a better strategy for this command?

12 General Nakasone: So first of all, I see very, very
13 few -- very, very few limitations on what we need to do in
14 the future. The countries that you talk about there in the
15 Southwest Pacific, we have worked very closely with our
16 partners in Australia to look at how do we kind of
17 incorporate all of them as we understand their needs, their
18 requirements, their vulnerabilities, and then be able to
19 assist them. A very, very small amount of money in a very,
20 very small amount of time yields tremendous results, in my
21 opinion.

22 Senator Rosen: Yes, I agree. I want to tell you that
23 I am also very excited because Department of Homeland
24 Security recently announced another cyber strategy as it is
25 going to expand the Abraham Accords collaboration among the

1 U.S., Israel, UAE, Bahrain, and Morocco to include
2 cybersecurity.

3 And so, as you work to promote multilateral
4 partnerships between the Abraham Accords countries, how do
5 you think this is going to help you with that?

6 General Nakasone: Well, just think about hunt forward
7 operations. We began those in 2018. Since 2018, 47
8 different missions, 22 countries, 70 different networks.

9 And when we take a look at what has been able to be
10 done -- what we have been able to do is the fact that, one,
11 it builds tremendous confidence between nations, right.
12 When the United States deploys a hunt forward team to
13 country x, country x knows that the United States cares.

14 And it is for us being able to work with a partner to
15 understand their requirements, and also build a higher bar
16 of cybersecurity.

17 Senator Rosen: Well, thank you for being there. We
18 have heard that from our allies and partners. It means a
19 lot when you are there. You show up and we work in
20 partnership with others to help potentiate what they are
21 doing to protect themselves. So, thank you again. My time
22 is up, Mr. Chairman.

23 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rosen. And the
24 open portion of the hearing has concluded. For the benefit
25 of my colleagues who might be listening, we have two votes.

1 One is already underway.

2 We will adjourn here and convene our closed session,
3 SBC217, immediately following this. I urge my colleagues
4 to vote and then join us. And I would also like to commend
5 the panel for their excellent testimony -- our excellent
6 testimony. And also -- [technical problems].

7 Senator Sullivan, please.

8 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
9 appreciate it very much. General Fenton and Mr. Maier, I
10 know this has been touched on, but it is an issue that I
11 think is really important.

12 How is the shift going from your rightful and
13 exceptional focus on CT operations, primarily in the
14 CENTCOM AOR, to the INDOPACOM region as our pacing threat?
15 And what is the kind of orientation of the strategy in that
16 region? And what I mean by that is, the CT, SOCOM focus
17 post 9/11 was very kinetic, which our guys did an
18 incredible job at. But the INDOPACOM strategy and focus is
19 not kinetic, at least not now. We all hope it is never
20 going to be kinetic.

21 So, it is a very different mission set. I don't know
22 if that impacts morale. It is not as -- well, I would like
23 both of you to talk about that, because I have been
24 concerned that it has been hard. You have done such a good
25 job in that AOR, and that AOR is still important.

1 And the issue of making sure that violent extremist
2 organizations do not threaten our nation, particularly with
3 weapons of mass destruction, is still critical. But the
4 pacing threat is China. Every day we see something.

5 You saw the foreign minister of China yesterday
6 publicly saying, hey, we are on a collision course towards
7 war. We don't want that, but we better well be ready for
8 it. And your operators are the best in the world.

9 There are no Chinese forces that can hold a candle to
10 the U.S. Special Operations enterprise, not even close.
11 So, it is a giant strategic advantage we have over them. I
12 want them to fear the hell out of it. So, what are we
13 doing and how is that shift going?

14 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, thanks for the question.
15 Maybe I will start and then General Fenton can address some
16 of the issues that are core to his force here.

17 So, I would say that the shift is very much underway,
18 but I think it is a question of how do we maintain the
19 counterterrorism capabilities, because if you look at the
20 maps, sir, of course, many of the areas that were problems
21 continue to be problems.

22 So, we are we are having to manage that risk. At the
23 same time, we are doing, as you correctly said, sir, a
24 different mission in the Indo-Pacific. And I think the
25 idea that we are not very kinetic or not kinetic at all in

1 the Indo-Pacific is not necessarily something that means
2 that the same kind of SOF skills are not relevant.

3 So, as we think of things like placement and access,
4 and really relying on partners sometimes for that placement
5 and access, but also the ability to work unilaterally go to
6 places, that last tactical mile that at times only U.S.
7 Special Operations can do, that is still relevant in the
8 Indo-Pacific, even if the finish is not a kinetic or lethal
9 finish.

10 And I think, second Senator, I would highlight the by
11 with and through approach, really working through partners,
12 that has really been the hallmark of the counterterrorism
13 efforts, especially the last decade or so, is very, very
14 relevant again in the Indo-Pacific because we want our
15 partners to be in the lead.

16 But we have demonstrated in places like Ukraine we can
17 do that from a distance. So, it doesn't have to be the
18 hand on the shoulder that we are always -- we have been
19 familiar with in the past.

20 So, I think these fundamental tools and the approaches
21 we have used are still very relevant in the Indo-Pacific,
22 sir.

23 Senator Sullivan: General Fenton, how is the
24 reorientation of the INDOPACOM theater going?

25 General Fenton: Senator, I am going to start by

1 agreeing with you that your special operations formation is
2 the best, the very best in the history of mankind.

3 Senator Sullivan: Chinese don't have anything
4 remotely close to it, and they know that. We know that.

5 General Fenton: And I agree with that. And the same
6 thing with Russia and any other adversary out there.
7 That's right. And the other part is that we exist and
8 included with the entirety of the U.S. military. And the
9 CYBERCOM team is exactly the best, and we have all that.
10 So, I think, and I would want everybody that wishes this
11 nation harm, and if there is an adversary out there, China
12 --

13 Senator Sullivan: I just want INDOPACOM theater to
14 know that we are out there too, right.

15 General Fenton: Yes, sir.

16 Senator Sullivan: I sure I want the Chinese to wake
17 up thinking they got Navy SEALs all over them, every day.

18 General Fenton: Yes, sir. And your special
19 operations team is out there and in a very sustainable,
20 durable way, in a concert with Admiral Aquilino's
21 requirements. And I would tell you that we can handle
22 these challenges.

23 And I will start by saying special operations really
24 never left strategic competition and great deterrence. And
25 you and I talked about this a Senator, I think last year

1 where I was the special ops commander responsible in the
2 Pacific for the special operations forces that both did
3 counterterrorism with one partner that we can I can talk
4 more in a closed session about but competed with the PRC
5 all day long by building partnerships, relationships, and
6 capability.

7 That continues. At the same time, we will not take
8 our eye off the persistent threat of global terrorism. And
9 so, we will still handle the CT mission. And there will be
10 a number of forces that have the CT mission each and
11 everyday hunting anybody that wishes harm to this nation
12 but can slide over to present some level of dilemma to an
13 adversary in an integrated deterrence arena.

14 And I would just add much of our counterterrorism
15 experience is desired by these partners and nations as we
16 go forward to train and becomes a key part of the
17 partnership. So, Senator, I would just end with, your
18 SOCOM team is absolutely ready to handle that challenge. I
19 think there is a large portion of our force that is excited
20 about this. They want to do what the nation needs.

21 And right now, the nation needs us to get very
22 involved, and we are, and deter PRC, and certainly to
23 address aggression by the Russians. And they want to be
24 knee deep in it. You know, your special operations team
25 will, and at the same time handle the counterterrorism

1 mission and any crisis response mission where a U.S.
2 citizen or a diplomat needed to be safeguarded or rescued.

3 Senator Sullivan: Thank you. Thank you, Mr.
4 Chairman. And I just want to say to General Nakasone, no
5 question. I just think you are -- publicly because a lot
6 of what you do is not public. I think you and your team
7 are doing an exceptional job, General. Thank you. Thank
8 you, Mr. Chairman.

9 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Sullivan. The open
10 session has concluded again. We have two votes. I would
11 urge my colleagues to go to the first vote. We will resume
12 immediately in SBC17 for the closed session. And to each
13 of you gentlemen, thank you for your testimony.

14 General Fenton, Secretary Maier, General Nakasone, let
15 me tell you, all have been extremely diligent, dedicated
16 and offered superb service to this nation over many years,
17 and we are in your debt. Thank you all very much for that.
18 I will adjourn the open hearing.

19 [Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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