Stenographic Transcript Before the

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON DEFENSE MOBILIZATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Thursday, March 6, 2025

Washington, D.C.

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2	CENTURY											
3												
4	Thursday, March 6, 2025											
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6	U.S. Senate											
7	Committee on Armed Services											
8	Washington, D.C.											
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10	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m.,											
11	in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Deb											
12	Fischer presiding.											
13	Committee Members Present: Senators Fischer, Rounds,											
14	Ernst, Sullivan, Schmitt, Sheehy, Reed, Shaheen,											
15	Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, and King.											
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- OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. DEB FISCHER, U.S. SENATOR
- 2 FROM NEBRASKA
- 3 Senator Fischer: Good morning. I would Ike to call
- 4 the hearing today to order. The hearing is on defense
- 5 mobilization. I am pleased to welcome three witnesses to
- 6 testify today.
- Jerry McGinn is a widely published former DoD
- 8 officials who worked at the heart of the Pentagon's
- 9 industrial base efforts.
- 10 Chris Michienzi brings a similar resume. She spent
- 11 much of her career inside the Industrial Base Policy Office
- 12 at DoD.
- 13 And Dave Berteau comes to us from the Professional
- 14 Services Council. Before that, he served as the Assistant
- 15 Secretary of Defense for Logistics and Materiel Readiness,
- 16 early put industrial base revitalization -- there seems to
- 17 be an error here. And before that he served as Assistant
- 18 Secretary of Defense for Logistics and Materiel.
- Welcome to the witnesses. Senator Wicker, the
- 20 Chairman of the Committee, is detained for a little bit,
- 21 and when he comes he will enter his testimony into the
- 22 record.
- With that I would like to recognize the Ranking
- 24 Member, Senator Reed.



- 1 STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM RHODE
- 2 ISLAND
- 3 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Fischer,
- 4 and I want to welcome our witnesses. Dr. Christine
- 5 Michienzi, Dr. Jerry McGinn, and Mr. David Berteau, thank
- 6 you very much for joining us.
- 7 This is a very important conversation, and we are
- 8 fortunate to have such a distinguished panel before us.
- 9 Throughout history, we have consistently seen nations
- 10 with well-prepared militaries lose to nations with superior
- industries. The ability to deploy well-trained troops and
- 12 advanced weapons to the front line is important in any
- 13 armed conflict, but the ability to sustain those forces
- 14 with adequate amounts of supplies and munitions is just as
- 15 important.
- The Defense Acquisition University defines industrial
- mobilization as, quote, "the process of marshaling the
- industrial sector to provide goods and services, including
- 19 construction, required to support military operations and
- 20 the needs of the civil sector during domestic or national
- 21 emergencies." Put more simply, industrial mobilization
- 22 represents the Defense Department's ability to call on the
- 23 private sector in times of crisis.
- I am concerned that the United States is not currently
- 25 prepared to do this effectively in a sustained, large-scale



- or protracted conflict. The war in Ukraine and the
- 2 incredible amount of military support we have provided has
- 3 been vital for Ukraine's survival, but it has exposed our
- 4 own industrial base vulnerabilities. We have learned that
- our capacity to provide vast amounts of artillery shells,
- 6 precision munitions, and other modern weapons in a rapid,
- 7 responsive way, is much more limited than we realized. Our
- 8 capacity has expanded significantly over the past 3 years,
- 9 but we have relied on existing tools such as the Defense
- 10 Production Act to overcome supply chain problems and
- increase production. Any future conflict we may face,
- 12 particularly in the Indo-Pacific, will require much greater
- 13 levels of military-industrial capacity, as well as
- interagency coordination to leverage a whole-of-government
- 15 response.
- The process for large-scale mobilization dates back
- 17 the World War II era. When America entered the war, there
- was an enormous increase in military production of ships,
- 19 planes, artillery, vehicles, and more, which eventually
- 20 earned us the title as the "Arsenal of Democracy."
- 21 However, we must not forget that the industrial ramp-up
- 22 actually began long before the war started, and did not
- 23 yield significant results until we were years into the
- 24 fight. This is an important lesson we should remember
- 25 today. Industrial mobilization does not occur overnight.



- 1 Further, while we have a useful model from our
- 2 experience in World War II, it is not a blueprint for the
- 3 future. We must recognize that the industrial base of
- 4 today is very different from any period in the past,
- 5 especially considering our reliance on information
- 6 technology and software-based systems. We will need to
- 7 mobilize different sectors of the economy and workforce
- 8 unlike any time before. Moreover, we cannot assume, as we
- 9 did in World War II, that our production facilities will be
- 10 safe from kinetic or cyberattack or that we will have
- 11 uncontested supply lines for materials. I would ask our
- 12 witnesses to discuss the lessons they have drawn from the
- war in Ukraine and what processes they believe need to
- 14 start now so that the United States is prepared to win the
- 15 next contest.
- 16 This Committee has spent years examining the
- 17 challengers around this issue. We have worked to identify
- 18 supply chain problems and to improve investments in long-
- 19 lead items for the military. In recent National Defense
- 20 Authorization Acts, Congress has directed the Department of
- 21 Defense to stress-test its industrial mobilization and
- 22 supply chain capabilities. The Department has found a
- 23 number of challenges, including integration of software and
- information technology, but it is clear that material and
- labor shortages are the biggest problems to increasing



- 1 production.
- Indeed, there is nothing more important for our
- defense mobilization strategy than our workforce, the men
- 4 and women in the defense acquisition corps and the
- 5 personnel in the defense industrial base. We cannot solve
- 6 our industrial mobilization and acquisition problems
- 7 without an adequate supply of skilled and trained workers.
- I would note that acquisition reform is necessary, but
- 9 it is not sufficient to address the broader issues of
- industrial mobilization. In a crisis, having an acquisition
- 11 system that is efficient and effective is important, but
- 12 production capacity is far more so. Many of the policies
- 13 and processes we put in place in peacetime for the sake of
- 14 efficiency may actually be counterproductive in a prolonged
- 15 crisis. That is why I am so troubled by the mass firings
- of the defense civilian workforce which the Administration
- 17 is undertaking right now.
- The urgency around these issues has never been
- 19 clearer. As Russia continues its onslaught against
- Ukraine, and China calculates its own potential expansion,
- 21 we have to make sure our defense industrial base is able to
- 22 adapt, scale, and outpace our competitors in the 21st
- 23 century. And I would ask our witnesses' thoughts on how we
- 24 might overcome this challenge, and how we can ensure that
- the workforce in place is there to do so.



1	Thank you again to our witnesses, and thank you,
2	Senator Fischer.
3	Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Reed. Again,
4	welcome to the panel.
5	Dr. McGinn, you are recognized for your opening
6	statement.
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- 1 STATEMENT OF JOHN G. McGINN, Ph.D., EXECUTIVE
- 2 DIRECTOR, GREG AND CAMILLE BARONI CENTER FOR GOVERNMENT
- 3 CONTRACTING, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY'S COSTELLO COLLEGE OF
- 4 BUSINESS
- 5 Mr. McGinn: Thank you, Chairwoman Fischer and Ranking
- 6 Member Reed and members of the Committee. Good morning.
- 7 It is a privilege to be here and thank you very much for
- 8 having this hearing on this important topic, which is a
- 9 critical issue facing the nation.
- The United States has the most lethal and capable
- 11 fighting force in the world. Full stop. But as we have
- 12 seen in recent war games, as well as in challenges that
- 13 Senator Reed alluded to in production capacity for
- 14 munitions, we have real industrial base capacity
- 15 challenges.
- These challenges led me to do a study that addressed
- the following question, "How well is the U.S. defense
- industrial base prepared to mobilize in the event of a
- 19 major conflict?"
- The short answer, published in our report,
- "Before the Balloon Goes Up," is that our ability to win a
- 22 major war with a near-peer competitor is very much at risk.
- 23 Unless senior officials across Washington and industry
- 24 pursue bold actions immediately, we face potentially
- 25 catastrophic consequences should the balloon go up in East



- 1 Asia or elsewhere.
- 2 Drawing on historical and recent case, we developed a
- 3 series of recommendations to enable industrial
- 4 mobilization. I would like to focus on two areas
- 5 specifically. One is the authorities and planning
- 6 capabilities, and then secondly, our ability to scale.
- 7 In the area of authorities and planning, as you all
- 8 know very well, the government's ability to mobilize
- 9 industrial base starts with our legal authorities and the
- 10 policies and plans. The famous War Production Board of the
- 11 Arsenal of Democracy in World War II helped organize
- 12 government and industry to address those challenges.
- 13 Similarly, during the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, the
- 14 development of the MRAP, the Mine-Resistant Ambush
- 15 Protective vehicles, the use of the Defense Production Act
- 16 was critical to help produce those vehicles. And then we
- 17 all saw the power of DPA during COVID.
- Overall, our legislative authorities are strong, but
- 19 I think there are several opportunities before us. The
- 20 first, as you know, DPA is up for reauthorization this
- 21 year. DPA has had tremendous impact on rebuilding and
- 22 shoring industrial base capacity, and it is essential to
- 23 reauthorize DPA and keep it focused exclusively on national
- 24 security issues, particularly threats from China.
- DPA Title III is an important tool for building



- 1 industrial capacity. The use of purchase commitments under
- 2 Title III would be a great way to enable strong demand
- 3 signal for industrial capacity and capabilities such as
- 4 specialty chemicals and critical materials. But currently,
- 5 purchase commitments are not allowed, or not enabled,
- 6 because the DPA funds are being appropriated with
- 7 procurement dollars, which expire, as opposed to
- 8 traditional DPA appropriations, which do not expire.
- 9 And there is a real opportunity in another section
- 10 DPA, Title VII, where we have two sections of authority
- 11 that have not been used since the Cold War, that are really
- 12 powerful. One is Section 708, which allows the creation of
- 13 voluntary agreements between government and industry that
- 14 allows collaborative industry-government engagement on
- 15 critical supply issues. We have a few of these available
- 16 now, but if we would really kind of invest in these
- 17 efforts, we could have that collaboration we had during the
- 18 War Production Board years.
- The second section is Section 710, which allows the
- 20 creation of what is called a National Defense Executive
- 21 Reserve, which is essentially a group of industry experts
- that can come into government during a crisis. This is a
- tremendous authority that has not been used since the
- 24 1980s.
- 25 And the other thing we need to do on the planning side



- 1 is we have to restart mobilization planning. That ended in
- the early 1990s. We have to build this across the U.S.
- 3 government, and then we also have to relook some of the
- 4 executive orders that govern DPA.
- 5 Transitioning from authorities to our capabilities, we
- 6 really have to focus on turbocharging our efforts to change
- 7 how we design, resource, acquire, and sustain capabilities.
- 8 As the Ranking Member talked about, it is not just about
- 9 acquisition reform. It is about how we buy. We have to
- design things for production. We have to focus less on
- 11 requirements and have more adaptive ways to create
- 12 technologies. More resources would be helpful, of course,
- but another way that we can go beyond appropriations is to
- 14 really tap the power of U.S. capital markets as one of our
- 15 strengths. So building on the authority that you all
- 16 created with the Office of Strategic Capital, there is
- 17 opportunity to grow the scale of investments, so private
- 18 capital can make larger bets in investments.
- On the areas of production, we have gotten the
- 20 prototyping game down, but it is really now the time to
- 21 transition more to production, and there are ways to do
- that through other transaction, follow-on production
- 23 agreements, more buying of attritable systems and unmanned
- 24 systems, and the like.
- 25 And then finally the area of sustainment is, frankly,



- our biggest challenge, being able to do logistics at scale.
- 2 And there we can actually do things like create contract
- 3 line items, or CLINs, that develop surge capacities. So
- 4 instead of having canalized, very limited supply runs, you
- 5 can have the ability to grow that. And also, second
- 6 sourcing and multi-sourcing are important options to be
- 7 able to create more capacity.
- 8 One final point I would like to make is on allies and
- 9 partners. Our recent experience has made it crystal clear
- 10 we need a larger industrial base. Engaging our closest
- 11 allies, those with whom we go to war, through robust
- industrial partnerships will help us build overall
- 13 capacity.
- Unfortunately, time is not on our side. If the
- 15 Davidson window is correct, we have 2 years, and it takes a
- while, as the Senator alluded to, to mobilize. The Trump
- 17 administration and Congress, in partnership with industry
- 18 and our allies and partners, must harness innovation,
- manufacturing capacity, and other means to unleash the true
- 20 strength of our industrial base to deter our enemies in
- 21 today's very dangerous world. The time to do this is now,
- 22 before the balloon goes up. Thank you very much.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. McGinn follows:]

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           Senator Fischer: Thank you, Dr. McGinn.
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     Michienzi.
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- 1 STATEMENT OF CHRISTINE MICHIENZI, Ph.D., FOUNDER AND
- 2 CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, MMR DEFENSE SOLUTIONS, AND FORMER
- 3 SENIOR TECHNOLOGY ADVISOR TO THE UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
- 4 FOR ACQUISITION AND SUSTAINMENT
- 5 Ms. Michienzi: Thank you, Chairman Fischer, Ranking
- 6 Member Reed, and distinguished members of the Committee for
- 7 the opportunity to speak with you today on defense
- 8 modernization, which is essential for our nation's
- 9 security.
- The defense industrial base necessary to build our DoD
- 11 systems is fragile, but this fragility did not happen
- overnight. Key decisions by the U.S. government and
- industry have played a very large role. For instance,
- 14 decades-long private sector and public policy approaches to
- domestic production prioritized low, short-term costs over
- 16 security, sustainability, and resilience. So the
- industrial base has become optimized for efficiency and not
- 18 resiliency.
- Just-in-time deliveries versus inventories of long
- 20 lead time items cut warehousing costs and increased
- 21 efficiency but limits industry's flexibility and
- 22 responsiveness. And the DIB has many single and sole-
- 23 source suppliers due to the decades of consolidation.
- Often those are foreign adversarial sources that are
- 25 cheaper but can introduce risk.



- 1 At OSD, I was in the trenches of mobilization efforts
- 2 for almost a decade. I was the lead for DoD for scaling up
- 3 production for all of the weapon systems we were sending to
- 4 Ukraine, a function I led for various crisis scenarios
- 5 since 2017. I was also very involved in DoD's efforts in
- 6 response to COVID-19, working with the interagency
- 7 partners, using the defense production authorities Jerry
- 8 talked about, Titles I, III, and VII, to execute CARES Act
- 9 funding to increase production of medical resources,
- 10 including prioritization and allocation of supplies, which
- 11 becomes important when we are trying to mobilize and surge,
- 12 and providing financial support to DoD's suppliers.
- 13 As the United States is supporting two conflicts and
- 14 preparing for potential conflict in the Indo-Pacific
- region, it has become clear that the DIB is not equipped to
- 16 mobilize to support the existing activities, much less a
- 17 competition with China. Although there are, and continue
- 18 to be multiple efforts aimed at mitigating shortfalls that
- 19 support mobilization, there are some systemic issues and
- 20 causal factors that are not being addressed.
- The most important of these is DoD's acquisition
- 22 behavior. I am not referring to acquisition reform here,
- such as different ways of doing contracting, but to the
- decisions that are made by the acquisition community that
- 25 are the root causes of many of our supply chain issues.



- 1 The industrial base is very seldom a consideration
- when most acquisition programs make certain decisions, such
- 3 as increasing or decreasing procurement quantities, or even
- 4 analysis during major milestone decisions. When mitigating
- 5 supply chain issues, DoD is often treating the symptoms and
- 6 not the cause. I will highlight two representative
- 7 examples, but there are many more I can elaborate on.
- 8 The government is funding efforts to reshore and ally
- 9 shore critical supply chains, and partners and allies are
- 10 critical to solving this issue. However, if we do not
- 11 bring demand back to those more secure sources, they will
- 12 not survive. Even though DoD programs have the authority
- to direct sources of supply, they most often do not,
- 14 letting industry choose. Because industry is profit
- driven, they will almost always choose the cheapest source,
- which is unfortunately often a Chinese or other adversarial
- 17 source, or a more secure source.
- DoD reinforces this behavior by choosing the lower-
- 19 cost proposal among technically equal options. Industry
- will not risk losing a contract by using a higher-cost
- 21 supplier, even if that supplier is more secure. DoD also
- does not like to direct sourcing because it shifts
- 23 liability from industry to government if something goes
- 24 wrong with that material or component. But if we are truly
- 25 going to have secure suppliers for these critical items,



- 1 DoD and other agencies, because DoD is often only 1 to 2
- 2 percent of the demand, should be required to use a U.S. or
- 3 allied source if one is available, that meets requirements,
- 4 and also to incentivize industry to use those sources with
- 5 policies, such as price preferences and contract selection,
- 6 for instance.
- 7 Another example is one of the major constraints we
- 8 face when scaling production for weapon systems for Ukraine
- 9 and other crises, and something that continually plagues
- 10 DoD, which is obsolescence. The way DoD deals with
- obsolescence is reactive and ad hoc, at best. With a few
- 12 exceptions, programs do not plan or budget for
- obsolescence, choosing instead to wait until an
- obsolescence issue occurs to determine a mitigation plan
- and scramble to find funding to execute that plan before
- 16 time runs out.
- Obsolescence was the main reason we could not make
- 18 more Stinger and PAC-3 Patriot missiles when the Ukraine
- 19 conflict started initially. Acquisition program managers
- and even service acquisition executives have told me they
- 21 cannot afford to budget for obsolescence, but many studies
- 22 have shown that being proactive by planning and budgeting
- in advance saves time and cost. Programs should be
- required to plan and budget to deal with obsolescence more
- 25 proactively.



1	Lastly, as we have been trying to mobilize the DIB to
2	support various efforts, I am often asked why can't we do
3	what we did in World War II, as described in the book,
4	Freedom's Forge. I gave a lecture each year on
5	mobilization to the entire class of the National Defense
6	University's Eisenhower School, and one of the slides I
7	always presented was "Why not Freedom's Forge?" I outlined
8	the conditions that were very different between what was
9	happening, and Senator Reed mentioned one of those, and
10	what is happening now that make it impossible to replicate
11	that scenario. I am happy to discuss these in further
12	detail.
13	I will stop there by saying I appreciate the
14	Committee's leadership and focus on this strategic topic
15	and in helping in any way I can. I have submitted written
16	testimony for the record, and I thank you for the
17	opportunity to testify today, and am happy to answer any
18	questions you may have.
19	[The prepared statement of Ms. Michienzi follows:]
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Τ		Senator Fischer: Thank you, Dr. Michienzi.								
2		Mr.	Berteau,	you	are	recogn	nized	for	your	opening
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- 1 STATEMENT OF THE HON. DAVID J. BERTEAU, PRESIDENT AND
- 2 CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, PROFESSIONAL SERVICES COUNCIL
- Mr. Berteau: Thank you, Senator Fischer, Senator
- 4 Reed, and the Committee. We really appreciate the
- opportunity to be here today.
- I am David Berteau. I am the President and CEO of a
- 7 trade association, the Professional Services Council. What
- 8 I need to reflect for the record is I am here today in my
- 9 personal capacity, and opinions and suggestions that I make
- 10 today are my own and not those of my organization, who
- 11 would otherwise be considered guilty.
- There has been a lot of talk about the World War II
- example of full-scale mobilization, and really in American
- 14 history we have really only had two such examples, the
- other one really being the Civil War. As old as I am, I
- 16 was not alive to participate in World War II, as part of
- that process, but my experience is actually in a different
- 18 segment that has already been touched on a little, and that
- is the Cold War, and particularly the Reagan buildup during
- 20 the Cold War.
- I arrived at the Pentagon in 1981, served there until
- 22 1993, and was very actively involved in a number of issues
- there. And there are a couple of lessons I would like to
- 24 propose to you from that period of time, that may be
- 25 relevant to the discussion today.



- 1 The first is that we actually had an operational plan
- 2 and a scenario on which we could calculate what our
- 3 mobilization requirements were. It was, in fact, Soviet
- 4 tanks coming through the Fulda Gap in Germany and invading
- 5 Europe. That was the driver. That was the thing that if
- 6 we did not prevail there, we would go nuclear, and a global
- 7 nuclear war was clearly not an option we wanted to pursue,
- 8 although we were prepared for that.
- 9 How were we able to use that? We were able to build
- 10 the requirements and actually secure the funding from the
- 11 Congress, because we had a common agreement between the
- 12 White House, the Pentagon, and the Congress as to what the
- threat was we were facing and what the scenarios were on
- 14 which we would have to plan and be prepared to execute. So
- the first thing is we had that common ground.
- I do not think we have that today, and I think one of
- 17 the most important things this Committee can do is drive us
- 18 to get that common understanding of what the scenario is.
- 19 We had an operational plan, which is the fight today piece,
- 20 and then we had a scenario which is how that evolves over
- 21 time. We need that in place today.
- 22 And, by the way, by being able to do that, we were
- 23 able to propose funding for surge capacity, for war reserve
- 24 spares, for training, for sustainment investments, for
- 25 actually deploying and being able to show that we were able



- 1 to do this. And the appropriators would give us that money
- 2 because it was justified and everybody agreed on the basis
- 3 for it. We don't have that today.
- 4 An example of that, in fact, one of the lessons from
- 5 Ukraine is the multiyear procurement for expanding
- 6 munitions production capacity. The Pentagon's first
- 7 submission to the Congress was decremented by a lot of the
- 8 extra money that was going to go into building the
- 9 multiyear procurements for many of those programs because
- there were higher priorities the committees had to achieve
- 11 than to put those in place. Ultimately that got fixed, but
- 12 it took a long time to get agreement on that. So we have
- 13 to have that agreed-upon set of scenarios on which to base
- 14 requirements.
- The second thing that we learned from that Cold War
- 16 experience is the best way to deter was to demonstrate --
- demonstrate, not put on paper, but demonstrate -- that we
- 18 had the capacity to deliver that. So every year we would
- 19 have massive exercises, where we would literally deploy
- 20 forces from the U.S. and sustain those forces in operations
- 21 in Europe, thousands and thousands of troops from all the
- NATO countries combined, clearly showing the Soviets that
- we could make it work. And that demonstrated capacity, I
- think, is the second key lesson.
- The third key lesson, that has been referred to a lot



- 1 here, is the partnership with industry, and that
- 2 partnership with industry is oftentimes an arm's length
- 3 partnership. Dr. Michienzi did a good job describing some
- 4 of the flaws in that process. And I think that partnership
- 5 has to include long-term contracts. It has to include
- 6 stable designs, so you can maximize productions. That is
- 7 one of the biggest advantages we actually had over Germany
- 8 in World War II. Hitler and his team could not stop
- 9 putting change orders into programs because new stuff would
- 10 come along and they would actually stop production in order
- 11 to do it, whereas we would actually move those new ideas
- 12 into the next iteration of different aircraft, so we
- 13 maximized production while still getting the benefits of
- 14 new technology and research and development. And we did
- 15 that throughout the war.
- The fourth lesson is the reliance on allies and
- 17 partners. Senator Reed, you mentioned INDOPACOM and the
- 18 China threat. DoD uses the word "the pacing challenge." I
- think it is actually much bigger than pacing, but it is the
- 20 threat, but it is not the only threat. And I think the big
- 21 difference between even the Cold War as well as World War
- 22 II is the changing nature of the threat and the much more
- 23 complex nature of that threat. Allies and partners are a
- 24 key piece to this.
- 25 And then the fifth lesson, I think -- and we did not



- 1 really learn this lesson very well through the Reagan
- 2 build-up -- is mobilization is much more than just defense
- 3 and much more than the defense industry. It is the whole
- 4 nation. You mentioned workforce, sir, and we have got a
- 5 shortage of workers. We have kind of come out of that
- 6 bathtub from COVID where we had twice as many vacant jobs
- 7 as we had people looking for work. But throughout the
- 8 industry, both in the production end and in the services
- 9 and sustainment end, we have got a shortage of workers
- 10 today that is continuing going forward there.
- 11 So those are five lessons I think that would be useful
- 12 for this Committee to undertake. And my one suggestion to
- 13 you is I think it is time -- and I do not think you have
- 14 time to wait -- I would suggest that this Committee direct
- DoD to do, between now and the time you go to conference, a
- 16 full-blown exercise of, say, what do our mobilization
- 17 requirements really look like, what is the scenario on
- 18 which we base that. You need that as a Committee before
- 19 you finalize the fiscal year 2026 National Defense
- 20 Authorization Act.
- 21 And with that I will -- I have got negative time
- to yield back, so I do not actually have any time to yield
- 23 back, but I stand ready for your questions.
- [The prepared statement of Mr. Berteau follows:]





- 1 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Berteau.
- We will have 5-minute rounds, and I will begin with
- 3 questioning.
- 4 I strongly believe the Administration should maximize
- 5 its use of the Defense Production Act. They have the
- 6 authority to address challenges in our defense industrial
- 7 base. However, I am concerned by the expanding definition
- 8 of what qualifies as national defense. For example, in
- 9 2022, President Biden invoked the Defense Production Act to
- 10 ramp up domestic production of clean energy technologies.
- Dr. McGinn, how should the Defense Production Act be
- used for defense mobilization? Should the DPA investments
- 13 be focused on areas clearly related to the national defense
- of this country?
- Mr. McGinn: Thank you very much, Senator Fischer.
- 16 Yes, the Defense Production Act is an incredibly powerful
- 17 tool, and it is best used for national security defense
- 18 purposes, and that is how it has been used during the
- development of the MRAP during the Afghanistan and Iraq
- war, that is how it was used during COVID, and that is how
- it is being used to rebuild our defense industrial base in
- 22 areas such as rare earth processing, castings and forgings,
- 23 and the like, specialty chemicals.
- 24 So that is how it is best used. And the more it is
- focused on national defense, it is not a political issue.



- 1 Therefore, it is a national security issue.
- Senator Fischer: Thank you. And Dr. McGinn, how
- 3 should the Act be used for defense mobilization? Should
- 4 the investments be focused on areas clearly related to
- 5 being able to get that done? I'm sorry, Dr. Michienzi.
- 6 Ms. Michienzi: Thank you. I just wanted to make
- 7 sure. Yeah, it should absolutely be focused on
- 8 mobilization efforts, but some of the efforts that DPA is
- 9 funding now, it is difficult sometimes to realize that
- 10 those go towards mobilization. So things that Jerry
- 11 mentioned such as rare earth processing and critical
- 12 chemicals.
- Senator Fischer: Would you look at any statutory
- 14 changes, to be able to make it work and make it identify
- truly what is national defense? Is there anything we need
- 16 to be looking at here?
- 17 Ms. Michienzi: I think making sure that it is
- 18 centered on national defense issues and national security
- 19 is critically important, as Dr. McGinn mentioned, because
- we do not want to dilute the efforts of the DPA that are
- 21 being very successfully used currently and can be used
- 22 going forward.
- Senator Fischer: Okay. Thank you. Dr. McGinn, in
- January of 2024, the Department released its first National
- Defense Industrial Strategy, and later, in October,



- 1 released an implementation plan. What is your assessment
- of the strategy?
- Mr. McGinn: Well, I think the strategy did a very
- 4 good job at kind of bringing together a lot of efforts that
- 5 have been led across recent administrations. One of the
- 6 interesting, good things about this area is it is very
- 7 bipartisan. There have been a lot of similar themes being
- 8 addressed across the Obama administration, through the
- 9 Trump administration first, through Biden, and today.
- 10 And I think the strategy did a good job at identifying
- 11 the progress that has been made but also setting a vector
- 12 for the future. And I think there were a number of good
- things in that report. I particularly liked the focus on
- 14 the importance of production as well as the importance of
- working with allies and partners. The key will be kind of
- 16 how that is instantiated in the 2026 budget submission.
- 17 Senator Fischer: Are there any additional areas that
- 18 you would recommend the Department would consider that
- maybe we are lacking from the previous strategies?
- Mr. McGinn: Yeah, I think two things I would
- 21 recommend. One is mobilization. It is mentioned briefly
- in the strategy, but there is no talk about restarting
- 23 mobilization planning. There actually are program elements
- in the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines for mobilization,
- but they are really all about prepositioning equipment and



- 1 the like. There is no kind of planning function that is
- being done today. That all stopped, and that needs to be
- 3 restarted.
- 4 And then the other area, the strategy talks a lot
- 5 about building exportability in systems, that is building
- 6 systems so that we can share them with our partners and
- 7 allies. That requires investment, because you are going to
- 8 have different capability levels of different missiles,
- 9 going to different partners, depending on how close they
- 10 are. So that requires investments on the front, and if
- 11 that is a big priority, that needs to be invested in, in
- 12 terms of making exportability a priority in acquisition and
- 13 also investing in the technology needed to build that
- 14 capability.
- 15 Senator Fischer: Thank you. Senator Reed, you are
- 16 recognized.
- 17 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Fischer.
- 18 First, let me commend you all on excellent testimonies.
- 19 Thank you. Thank you very much.
- Mr. Berteau, we have seen a lot of chaotic initiatives
- over the last several weeks, significant cuts of workforce,
- we have seen funding cuts that do not seem to be organized,
- 23 and tariffs in place on Canada and other countries who
- 24 presumably we would like to see work with us.
- Can you indicate or give an idea about the impact on



- 1 these decisions with respect to mobilization of our
- 2 industrial base?
- Mr. Berteau: Senator, let me think out loud with you
- 4 a little bit on that, because I do not have a prepared
- 5 script to answer that question. This is my eighth
- 6 transition of one President to the next. My first one was
- 7 President Carter to President Reagan. And every
- 8 administration needs to, and does, undertake to make sure
- 9 that the programs and projects across the Federal
- 10 Government are in line with their priorities, and I think
- 11 that is a lot of what is underpinning the efforts we have
- 12 seen underway. It is being done differently than many have
- done, and one of the differences is stopping things while
- 14 you are reviewing it rather than keep going while you are
- 15 reviewing it.
- I think from a government-wide point of view, this has
- 17 caused a bunch of hiccups, but more importantly, there is a
- 18 second element of that review, and that is do not just
- 19 focus on the things you are going to stop, the money you
- are going to save, the reductions in workforce, unnecessary
- 21 workforce, that you are going to do, and so on. You also
- 22 have to focus on what you want to not only keep going but
- 23 go further and faster. And I think one of the things that
- 24 we are trying to focus on is what are those areas. Clearly
- 25 national security is a huge piece of that. Border security



- is another one. There are probably others that will emerge
- 2 as part of that process.
- 3 So I think my personal concern is that you need to
- 4 actually undertake those places you are stopping or
- 5 reducing or realtering and keep in mind you need to be able
- 6 to keep the capacity and capability and competence in the
- 7 government contractor community to be able to work while
- 8 you are going forward. That is the touchstone, I think,
- 9 that I would advise this Committee to look at it for.
- If I could add one thing on the DPA.
- 11 Senator Reed: Yes, sir.
- Mr. Berteau: It is up for reauthorization this year.
- 13 It is obviously not the jurisdiction of this Committee. I
- 14 have been through two DPA reauthorizations, including one
- in 1990, where we actually let the Act expire under a veto
- threat because it got loaded up, Senator Fischer, as you
- indicated, with a bunch of things that did not really, from
- 18 our perspective, contribute to national defense. And we
- 19 let the Act expire. That is a dangerous time to do it.
- 20 Saddam Hussein had just invaded Kuwait. And we did it, but
- 21 it turned out there were other authorities we could use,
- 22 for a short-term conflict such as that.
- I do think this would be important, and input from
- this Committee might be useful in that reauthorization in
- terms of looking not only at how the DPA has been used over



- the previous years but how it has not been used, and where
- 2 you ought to view it. I agree with Dr. McGinn in terms of
- 3 Title VII. DPA worked for me for a number of years. I
- 4 exercised Title VII authority a number of times, and I
- 5 think it really needs a refresh, because the nature in
- 6 which DoD would use that authority today, in today's global
- 7 economy, is very different than it was in the 1980s.
- I am sorry for that sidebar, but I think that is an
- 9 important think for you guys to look at.
- 10 Senator Reed: Thank you, sir. Your comments, Dr.
- 11 McGinn. We are running out of time, so if you could, with
- 12 respect to the present sort of turmoil that we are
- witnessing and the impact on the industrial base.
- Mr. McGinn: Well, companies that support the
- 15 government play critical roles in lots of different
- 16 functions. The big thing that I am recommending is the
- importance of us restarting mobilization planning. That is
- 18 not going to be impacted because it does not exist today.
- 19 So that is something that has to be developed and is
- inherently a governmental function.
- 21 Senator Reed: Thank you very much. Dr. Michienzi, we
- 22 are much more reliant upon information technology and
- 23 software-based systems today than we were certainly in
- 24 World War II and other periods of mobilization. When it
- 25 comes to planning and preparing for industrial



- 1 mobilization, how does this reliance change the situation?
- Ms. Michienzi: Well, luckily software and software
- 3 systems have been, I would say, more adaptable than some of
- 4 the hardware systems, as DoD tries to move forward. So
- 5 they do things like agile acquisition, you know, refreshes
- 6 and upgrades quite quickly.
- 7 So I think software is absolutely key to any
- 8 mobilization effort because that is what is controlling all
- 9 of our command and control, for instance, C4ISR. So yeah,
- 10 it is absolutely essential.
- 11 Senator Reed: Thank you very much. Thank you, Madam
- 12 Chairman.
- 13 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Reed. Senator
- 14 Rounds, you are recognized.
- 15 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Madam Chair. First of
- 16 all, thank you to all of you for being with us here today.
- We appreciate the time that you are taking from your
- 18 schedules.
- 19 For all of you, the fiscal year 2025 defense bill
- includes a provision from my office, Section 1074, a report
- on operational plans of the Department of Defense, which
- requires an assessment of the operational plans of the DoD
- in the event of multiple, concurrent contingencies or
- 24 protected conflicts. This requirement reflects the reality
- 25 that in the event the U.S. engages in hostilities with



- 1 China, other adversaries, such as Russia and Iran, will
- 2 press their own advantage in Europe, the Middle East, and
- 3 elsewhere. Basically talking about if we have a conflict,
- 4 we are going to have a conflict in more than one area or
- 5 one theater at a time.
- 6 What are some of the considerations that we must take
- 7 into account when talking about a multi-theater
- 8 mobilization, and what are some of the key shortfalls that
- 9 you believe the Department should identify and highlight in
- 10 their assessment? Dr. Berteau, would you like to begin?
- 11 Mr. Berteau: Thank you, Senator. Let me again go
- 12 back a few years. At the time of the Cold War, we really
- only had one set of scenarios that we cared about, and that
- 14 was the Soviet threat in Europe. Everything else was
- considered to be what we called a "lesser-included case."
- 16 That means whatever force structure and capability we would
- 17 have to counter the Soviet threat would probably be
- 18 sufficient to counter any other threat.
- 19 After the end of the Cold War, we changed that to
- 20 several different iterations from a planning process point
- of view, including a two-war scenario, that essentially
- being the Middle East and Iran, Iraq, and the Korean
- Peninsula. It turns out, after 9/11, we discovered that
- lesser-included cases might be lesser but they were not
- included, so we had to have a big shift in terms of both



- 1 our strategy and our force posture to deal with that.
- In 2012, I was charted by DoD to do the first
- 3 assessment of what the force posture would be needed for
- 4 the pivot to Asia, and what I discovered is there was no
- 5 basis for that. Again, this was a greater not included,
- 6 rather than a lesser included.
- 7 And so I think if you look at that evolution over
- 8 time, the request of your provision is a very valuable and
- 9 timely request. But it is important to note that that is
- only where we are today. So from the operational plan
- 11 point of view it really focuses, from a combatant
- 12 commander's point of view, of if I fight today, if I have
- to fight tomorrow, what do I have, what do I do, how do I
- 14 use it, how do I sustain it, support it, et cetera.
- I think it needs to be much broader than that, of what
- 16 is it in Day 50? What are the lessons from Ukraine and
- 17 almost every war we have entered in? It may look like it
- is going to be short at the beginning; it keeps on going.
- 19 And so where are you at Day 700? I think that is another
- 20 element that is useful to add on there, sir.
- 21 Senator Rounds: Thank you. Dr. McGinn?
- Mr. McGinn: Thank you, Senator. Yes, thank you very
- 23 much for that provision. I think that is important to
- really focus on operational plannings. But one of the
- 25 things that is missing in most operational planning is the



- 1 role of industry. One of the things that we saw when
- 2 supporting Ukraine is the challenge of production, that we
- 3 have got to really kind of be able to ramp that up, and
- 4 that requires really close government-industry
- 5 collaboration.
- And during the Cold War we had these voluntary
- 7 agreements that created integrated committees, that were
- 8 focused on the production of 155 munitions, that were
- 9 actually non-FACA boards that allowed for close
- 10 collaboration between government and industry on production
- 11 issues.
- So that needs to be part of the planning. We need to
- do the war games that have that, because you have seen the
- 14 war games where if we have a Taiwan Strait scenario, we are
- out of Schlitz in 2 weeks on munitions.
- So we have got tremendous kind of industrial
- implications to these operational scenarios that have to be
- 18 part of the planning going forward.
- 19 Senator Rounds: Thank you. Dr. Michienzi?
- Ms. Michienzi: Real guickly, I will just add that the
- 21 National Defense Strategy drives how the Defense Department
- looks at operational planning. So the current National
- 23 Defense Strategy stays focused on China. Previous National
- 24 Defense Strategies did include multiple conflicts at the
- 25 same time and looking at that from an operational planning



- 1 perspective. So National Defense Strategy would be helpful
- 2 here if we are going to really, truly look at that.
- I do want to mention some of the impacts, though, are
- 4 the types of munitions that we are going to use. In
- 5 Ukraine, we are fighting mostly a ground war, so we are
- 6 using a lot of artillery, mortars, things that we are
- 7 absolutely not going to be using in a China fight. In a
- 8 China fight we are focusing more on service launched, air
- 9 launched long-range missiles. If we now have to add in
- 10 another fight, say Korea, we are back to a partial ground
- 11 war.
- So it really matters which fights we are looking at as
- to which parts of the industrial base we are trying to ramp
- 14 up.
- 15 Senator Rounds: Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.
- 16 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Rounds. Senator
- 17 King, you are recognized.
- 18 Senator King: Madam Chair, congratulations on your
- 19 meteoric rise to the chairmanship.
- Mr. Berteau, I was really interested in your approach
- 21 during the Reagan years of defining the scenario and then
- defining the strategy to meet it. Isn't that what is done
- 23 now? I would assume that is exactly what is done. Or is
- it being done in too broad a sense without focusing on
- 25 particular scenarios that would require a particular



- 1 response?
- 2 Mr. Berteau: So I should probably clarify my use of
- 3 the words. So you have an operational plan which, from my
- 4 perspective in history, is the today fight, with the forces
- 5 today and the theaters they are in.
- 6 Scenarios can go beyond that, both in terms of time
- 7 and in terms of geography. What we had in the Cold War was
- 8 almost no difference between the operational plan in the
- 9 fight today and what the long-term scenario would look
- 10 like.
- 11 Today, as we just heard in the discussion in response
- 12 to Senator Rounds' question, we have a wide variety of
- 13 potential conflicts that could arise. In addition, we have
- 14 got --
- Senator King: But still, shouldn't we, within that
- wide variety we should try to choose the most likely. You
- cannot just throw up your hands and say, "We have a very
- 18 complex situation, and therefore we can't have a specific
- 19 response." Should we not we be saying, "Okay, this is the
- 20 most likely scenario, and that is what we should be
- 21 preparing for"?
- Mr. Berteau: I think you are right, sir. You need to
- figure out what you are going to base your requirements on
- and what you are going to spend your money on, and what
- 25 comes first. You have to have a mechanism for



- 1 prioritization. I think it is probably a combination of
- 2 likelihood and probability, and I am certainly not
- 3 qualified to put those on there.
- 4 But it is also a question of where are the greatest
- 5 stressors, and what are the vulnerabilities if we cannot
- 6 meet those stressors. That could, in fact, require an
- 7 integration across multiple scenarios to look at what is
- 8 the aggregated or combined impact and effect and where are
- 9 the greatest things where we need to put our resources
- 10 first. We will never have enough money to do everything,
- 11 so the question is where do you put it first.
- Senator King: The likelihood. A very quick, easy
- 13 question for everybody. Can we all agree that continuing
- 14 resolutions absolutely are not part of the solution to this
- 15 problem?
- Mr. Berteau: Franklin Roosevelt did not face a single
- 17 continuing resolution through the entire build-up to World
- 18 War II and the execution thereof.
- Mr. McGinn: Yes, I concur.
- Senator King: All of you agree with that. And, of
- 21 course, that is one of the difficulties that we are in now,
- 22 and it creates all kinds of downstream effects with regard
- 23 to the industrial base and preparation and everything else.
- 24 Thank you for that. Let the record show continuing
- resolutions are not the way to do business, particularly in



- 1 the defense area.
- 2 All of you have mentioned something very interesting,
- 3 which is allies are part of the solution. And it concerns
- 4 me that we seem to be embarked on a course that at least is
- 5 not encouraging to our allies, and in some cases is
- 6 definitely poking our allies in the eye. Talk to me about
- 7 the importance of allies in dealing with the production
- 8 necessary for a significant conflict, whether it is Japan,
- 9 the U.K., Canada, or other countries.
- 10 Mr. McGinn: Our allies are important, sir, a key part
- of our industrial base, and we have a number of agreements
- 12 and collaborative programs. I mean, the largest fighter
- program in the world, the F-35, we have a dozen partner
- 14 countries, I believe.
- 15 Senator King: So we cannot do this by ourselves. Is
- 16 that a fair answer?
- 17 Mr. McGinn: That is correct.
- 18 Senator King: All of you are nodding. Could you say
- 19 yes, because nods do not show up in the record.
- Ms. Michienzi: Yes.
- Mr. Berteau: Nods do not show up in the transcript
- either.
- Senator King: Exactly. One of the problems is the
- 24 consolidation within the defense industrial base. How do
- we go about expanding the options available? One



- 1 suggestion we had from one witness earlier was to go to
- 2 major manufacturing facilities, Ford Motor Company, for
- 3 example, and getting them engaged in military production as
- 4 well as making F-150s. How do we expand the industrial
- 5 base? Everybody comes here and says we need to expand the
- 6 industrial base. Give me some practical suggestions as to
- 7 how that might happen.
- 8 Mr. McGinn: Senator, it is a great question, and I
- 9 think, one, we have to recognize the consolidation of the
- industrial base that people talk about, it is largely a
- 11 function of spending. During the Cold War, during the
- 12 '80s, when Mr. Berteau was in the Pentagon, we were
- spending 5.5, 6 percent of GDP. Now we are spending around
- 14 3. So you are going to have less companies in the overall
- 15 system.
- And then something that Dr. Michienzi mentioned is
- that when your acquisition is focused on efficiencies, you
- 18 want to buy the right system, for the right time. And what
- that ends up with is very limited production runs and/or
- 20 production runs that last for, you know, when you have
- 21 platform programs like the F-35, the Bradley fighting
- vehicle, the Abrams tank, they last for 40 years. So you
- 23 have a prime contractor that has that market position.
- So my argument is that we have to change how we buy,
- which means buying more systems, buying from multiple



- 1 sources, and you can do that very much with unmanned
- 2 systems. With some of the platform systems you can do
- 3 that, as well. There has been a lot of work done on
- 4 second-sourcing back in the '70s and '80s, where we were
- 5 buying munitions from two suppliers and that reduces costs.
- 6 So there are ways you can increase competition by
- 7 changing your buying approach, and that has to get away
- 8 from some of the efficiency focus and more on what
- 9 capabilities and capacities do we need.
- 10 Senator King: Well, and one of the particular things
- 11 that ought to be part of this is modularity, so that you
- 12 can upgrade without having to upgrade the entire platform.
- Mr. McGinn: Madam Chair, would you indulge me for one
- 14 sentence? We just do not buy enough to keep more companies
- in business. We just do not buy enough. The reason we
- only have 2 1/2 manufacturers of tactical missiles is we
- only buy enough to keep 2 1/2 companies in business.
- 18 Senator King: Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.
- 19 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator King. Senator
- 20 Sheehy, you are recognized.
- 21 Senator Sheehy: Thanks for appearing today. Mr.
- 22 Berteau, you talked about the World War II construct
- obviously with regard to revisioning of product
- 24 specifications and how we evolved that.
- I share the same concern, though, with regard to the



- 1 customer has created this problem, i.e., the Pentagon has
- 2 created this defense consolidation and the brittle supply
- 3 chain we have. And I am not confident that the government
- 4 can be the solution to it either. How do we incentivize
- 5 the industry, free market solutions, to actually create a
- 6 resilient and diversified supply chain, rebuild the
- 7 industrial base in a way that his resilient for a sustained
- 8 conflict.
- 9 Because during World War II, Japan and Germany had a
- 10 very centralized defense acquisition ministry, specified
- 11 everything from on high, and tried to control the entire
- 12 process from A to Z. And that worked very well early on,
- but it could not keep up with the sheer quantity required.
- 14 And there is a certain amount of quality in quantity. So
- that strength, for us, came from the free market. It came
- 16 from private companies, working in coordination, of course,
- 17 with the government.
- But how do we take defense base that has largely been
- 19 atrophied to the point of almost non-existence for
- 20 quantity-level manufacturing, and how do we incentivize the
- 21 free market to outpace the government in fixing this
- 22 solution?
- Mr. Berteau: Thank you, Senator. There are two ways
- 24 to approach that. When I got to the Pentagon, there is
- 25 this famous chart, if we went from 51 prime contractors



- down to 5. When I got to the Pentagon, all 51 were there.
- Why did they go away, during a build-up in which we were
- 3 doubling the size of procurement and research and
- 4 development expenditures in DoD?
- 5 They went away for three reasons. Number one is even
- 6 with those more dollars, there was not more quantity to
- 7 buy. Second is we began to put more and more regulations
- 8 on top, the compliance regulations. I am working on, and I
- 9 will be glad to provide it to the Committee when I am
- 10 finished, a comparison of the compliance requirements that
- 11 a government contractor has, not just defense contractors
- but any government contractor, and what happens in the
- private sector. And it is a list of at least 15 or 20
- 14 things that cost more, take time, and do not really improve
- 15 results, in my opinion. And I think that is an important
- 16 piece of it, as well.
- Ford Aerospace, Fairchild Industries, Sperry, Bose,
- 18 GM, they all went out of the defense business, in the
- 19 middle of the build-up, because it was, two things. It was
- 20 no longer -- time, value, money in the private sector is
- 21 way different than the time, value, money in DoD. So the
- 22 returns were not there. The opportunities for better
- 23 returns elsewhere were there.
- So you have to be able to counter that with government
- 25 policies and programs that offset that risk-reward basis



- 1 that the financial market is always looking for. And I
- think that can be done, but that is not the path we are on
- 3 right now.
- 4 Senator Sheehy: So for any of you who choose to
- 5 answer, then, how does the government remove the
- 6 bureaucratic red tape that really creates the sclerosis in
- 7 the acquisition chain, that disincentivizes companies from
- 8 wanting to do business with the Pentagon, that we do not
- 9 have to have SpaceX and Palentir sue the government to buy
- 10 a solution that is better for the warfighter. And that is
- 11 what has been going on. A better solution could be sitting
- on the shelf, but since it does not comport with a dizzying
- 13 array of byzantine regulations, either it is not purchased
- or that company has to sue the government to give the
- warfighter the equipment they need. So how do we change
- those regulations, quickly, internally, so people want to
- do business and want to support the warfighter?
- Mr. McGinn: Yeah, great question, Senator. I would
- 19 start, again, what is unique about the government
- 20 contracting system is it is a monopsony. You have one
- 21 buyer or different sets of buyers. They can set the
- 22 market.
- So the power is in the hands of the government or the
- 24 Department of Defense to change incentive structures,
- 25 because companies -- private companies, public companies --



- 1 they respond to incentives. And so the onus is on the
- 2 Department to change those incentive structures, and
- 3 Congress can help here. And a couple of ways that we can
- 4 do that, that will create more opportunities for companies
- 5 across the spectrum, is to bring the power of our capital
- 6 system that you allude to, to bear. Because if we want to
- 7 build factories in advance of need, that can be done
- 8 through the government investing, but we are not going to
- 9 be doing any more big CHIPs bills, that kind of government
- 10 investment.
- But if you incentivize companies and create offtake
- 12 agreements or financing programs that enable them to make a
- 13 bet at below market rates, like the Department of Energy
- 14 has, and builds off what the Office of Strategic Capital is
- doing, that is how you get lots of money, which is there,
- 16 the private equity and venture capital money, to invest.
- 17 And that will help build capacity and build competitors for
- 18 the Dept.
- 19 Ms. Michienzi: Can I just add one guick thing? I
- think there also needs to be a recognition of risk
- 21 acceptance in the Department. Contracting officers are
- 22 personally liable for if something goes wrong with the
- 23 contracting. Program managers are promoted if they produce
- things and nothing goes wrong.
- 25 So there is a very low risk tolerance in the



- 1 Department, and I think that contributes to the fact of not
- 2 introducing new supplies, not wanting to change things, not
- 3 wanting to bring in new industries. So I think there needs
- 4 to be that piece of it that accounts for it, as well.
- 5 Senator Sheehy: Thank you. Quantity, iteration, and
- 6 speed are key, and what won World War II for us was not the
- 7 capability of our technology. It was our ability to build
- 8 lots of things fast and get them in the hands of our
- 9 warfighter, so we have got to get back to that. Thank you.
- 10 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Sheehy. Senator
- 11 Kaine, you are recognized.
- 12 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Senator Fischer, and thanks
- 13 to our witnesses.
- 14 My concern about mobilization is heavily on the
- workforce side, and I think maybe because I am on the
- 16 Health, Education, Labor, Pension I look at a lot of things
- 17 through this workforce angle. But also in my dialogue with
- 18 our shipbuilders and ship repairs in Virginia and
- 19 elsewhere, I am very, very nervous about us not having the
- workforce we need.
- 21 And I think this is sort of a long-term problem with
- birth rates declining, and they are not going to change
- immediately, and if they did we would not see it for 25
- 24 years. So I think there are some big picture solutions
- like a workforce-based immigration reform that we are going



- 1 to have to grapple with to get this right.
- 2 But I would love it if each of you could just address
- 3 workforce strategies to help us with mobilization, and
- 4 maybe even include workforce strategies that we could do
- 5 jointly with allies. And I will start with Mr. Berteau,
- 6 because I know you talked about workforce in your opening
- 7 statement.
- 8 Mr. Berteau: Thank you, Senator Kaine. A lot of what
- 9 we have already talked about has an impact on that, but I
- 10 think there are two additional points that I would like to
- 11 make here. One is, in fact, the impact of COVID and both
- the inflation and general costs and the increasing costs of
- 13 labor over the last 5 years.
- Many defense companies, and many other contractors in
- the rest of the Federal Government have bids that were put
- in place, accepted by the government, and contracts
- 17 currently underway, that made assumptions about zero
- 18 percent interest rate, very low inflation, a balance
- 19 between job vacancies and those seeking to work, so a
- 20 stable workforce, low unemployment. None of that is true
- 21 over the last 5 years.
- Many of those contracts have not been adjusted. In
- fact, DoD is still issuing contracts today with an annual
- inflation clause of somewhere 1 or 1.2 percent, both for
- workforce, for wages and benefits, and for other costs



- 1 associated with that. That is not only unrealistic, it
- 2 leads companies to bid proposals that are inexecutable in
- 3 the end.
- 4 What have we done about this? This Committee actually
- 5 put some language in a couple of years ago in the NDAA -- I
- 6 think it was 3 years ago now -- that gave the Defense
- 7 Department the flexibility, where funds were available, to
- 8 offset some of those costs. We have seen very little
- 9 effort on the part of the Defense Department to look at
- 10 those economic price adjustments come into play.
- 11 What is the result? You know this. You have got a
- 12 starting welder salary at a shipyard, or even after a year
- of experience, that is substantially less than what that
- 14 person can make at Walmart or Costco -- not standing out in
- the cold or the heat. I mean, welding is an honorable
- 16 profession, but it is hard work. I am not saying being a
- 17 warehouseman at Costco is not hard work, but it is a lot
- 18 easier on the body.
- So we have got to offset some of that or else we are
- 20 never going to climb out of this hole.
- 21 Senator Kaine: Could I ask Dr. McGinn and Dr.
- 22 Michienzi.
- Mr. McGinn: Yes, thank you very much, Senator. I
- think one of the strengths of the workforce, the defense
- industrial base workforce, is the nature of the business.



- 1 Unlike commercial industries, we generally have longer-term
- 2 contracts, 5-year contracts, or 1-year with four options,
- 3 that enables stability in the workforce. It enables
- 4 companies to plan for the future.
- 5 However, when you have continuing resolutions, as
- 6 Senator King mentioned, and you have stability in budget,
- 7 it makes it harder for companies to do that. So the more
- 8 that Congress and the Department can create stable demand
- 9 signals -- and that is through things, like I mentioned, if
- 10 you do purchase commitments for certain capabilities that
- 11 you need, or you do multiyear procurement contracts, that
- 12 enables kind of the stability to grow and stabilize
- workforce.
- 14 Senator Kaine: Great. And Dr. Michienzi, you have
- 15 got a minute 15, but the Chair may let you go just a little
- 16 bit longer.
- 17 Ms. Michienzi: Okay, thank you. It is a great
- 18 question, and I have been involved in this very much as we
- 19 have been scaling up production for Ukraine and other
- obstacles.
- You know, the quickest way to scale up is to increase
- 22 capacity, if you are not already operating at full scale.
- 23 But you need people for that, and it was always an issue to
- 24 get the people, even if you had excess capacity, getting
- 25 people to come on board to observe that excess capacity was



- 1 difficult.
- 2 A lot of it has to do with areas that these plants are
- 3 located in. By design, they are in rural kind of areas
- 4 that are not near exciting cities, so young people do not
- 5 want to move there. So I think things that can build
- 6 infrastructure and make those places better for young
- 7 people and make them want to go there and want to stay
- 8 would be helpful.
- 9 It also goes to, when we were growing up we wanted our
- 10 kids all to be engineers, right, not technicians. That was
- 11 not considered a valued job description. So we need to
- 12 make being a technician exciting, and there are some
- 13 efforts in the Department to do that. So make sure that
- 14 they understand that what they are doing is important, it
- 15 goes direct to the warfighter, et cetera.
- And lastly, for allies, I have done a lot of work in
- 17 that area. I was the lead for the Guided Weapons Explosive
- 18 Ordnance Program with Australia. And one of the things
- 19 that we had proposed was, as they were trying to ramp up
- their capacity to make munitions in Australia, which they
- 21 have not done in a long time, bring some of their folks
- over to train here and fill some of the workforce shortages
- that we had here, so it is a win-win. That is something
- 24 that we should pursue.
- 25 Senator Kaine: Which is sort of what we are doing



Τ	with AUKUS a little bit. We have Aussie shipbuilders and
2	sailors here, training with us, so they can go back and do
3	the same thing.
4	Ms. Michienzi: We need to do more.
5	Senator Kaine: Yeah. Thank you very much. Thanks,
6	Senator Fischer.
7	Senator Fischer: Thank you, Senator Kaine. At this
8	time I would like to ask unanimous consent to enter
9	Chairman Wicker's prepared statement into the record.
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          Senator Fischer: This concludes today's hearing.
    would like to thank the witnesses for their testimony, and
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    we are adjourned.
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          [Whereupon, at 10:29 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]
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