## Stenographic Transcript Before the

## Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities

## COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2026 AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Tuesday, April 8, 2025

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON COURT REPORTING 1029 VERMONT AVE, NW 10TH FLOOR WASHINGTON, DC 20005 (202) 289-2260 www.aldersonreporting.com

Τ	TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS
2	COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR
3	FISCAL YEAR 2026 AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM
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5	Tuesday, April 8, 2025
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7	U.S. Senate
8	Subcommittee on Emerging
9	Threats and Capabilities
10	Committee on Armed Services
11	Washington, D.C.
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13	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:36 p.m. in
14	Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Joni
15	Ernst, chairman of the committee, presiding.
16	Committee Members Present: Senators Ernst [presiding],
17	Wicker, Budd, Sheehy, Reed, Slotkin, Shaheen, Rosen, and
18	Kelly.
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- OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JONI K. ERNST, U.S. SENATOR
- 2 FROM IOWA
- 3 Senator Ernst: The Emerging Threats and Capabilities
- 4 Subcommittee meets today to review the posture of our
- 5 special operations enterprise. Thank you to our witnesses
- 6 for appearing before the subcommittee today. I want to take
- 7 a moment to welcome Senator Slotkin as the subcommittee's
- 8 new ranking member. I look forward to working closely
- 9 together.
- 10 For the members' information, today's hearing will
- 11 begin in open session, and then transition to a closed
- 12 session in SVC-217 in the Office of Senate Security, no
- 13 later than 3:45 p.m. For years, I have worked closely with
- 14 our special operations forces community to ensure they have
- 15 the resources to counter evolving threats. SOF is more than
- 16 a counter-terrorism force. They are indispensable in
- 17 countering the malign activities of the Chinese Communist
- 18 Party, Russia, and their authoritarian allies.
- 19 SOCOM is operated under stagnant budgets. The
- 20 limitation of SOF and strength was a very shortsighted
- 21 decision at a time when SOF capabilities are needed, more
- than ever. We must change course now. That is why I intend
- to work with the DOD to rebuild SOCOMs budget. Given SOF's
- 24 critical role in national security, this is a wise and cost-
- 25 effective investment.



1	Additionally, we must update DOD policies and
2	authorities to leverage SOF capabilities fully. Irregular
3	warfare has been a core SOF mission since World War II, yet
4	unnecessary restrictions have hampered their flexibility.
5	We need to empower our combatant commanders to unleash SOF's
6	full potential. President Trump, Secretary Hegseth, and our
7	witnesses today recognize the urgency of these threats and
8	the vital role SOF plays.
9	As chair of this subcommittee, I will prioritize these
10	key forces, which are essential for this era of great power
11	competition and for ensuring the security of the American
12	people. This is not just about defense and deterrence.
13	It's about ensuring the U.S. remains the preeminent global
14	force. We have no time to waste.
15	Now, I would like to recognize Senator Slotkin for her
16	opening comments.
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- 1 STATEMENT OF HON. ELISSA SLOTKIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM
- 2 MICHIGAN
- 3 Senator Slotkin: Thank you, Chairwoman Ernst.
- 4 Important hearing on readiness, but importantly, happy to be
- 5 here with you in our first official hearing on Emerging
- 6 Threats and Capabilities Subcommittee of the 119th, my first
- 7 time ranking member in the Senate. So, I'm happy to be here
- 8 and I look forward to maintaining a really strong, robust
- 9 bipartisan approach.
- I think we want the same things, which is to make sure
- 11 that our special operations forces have the resources, the
- 12 potential, the acquisition, everything you need to deal with
- a world of really changing fast changing threats and
- 14 challenges. Welcome to our guests. We're happy to have you
- 15 here. And I think we want to express our appreciation for
- 16 everything you do every day particularly in guiding the
- 17 special operations forces, given that, as you were
- 18 describing to us earlier, the precipitous increase in the
- 19 missions you are being asked to do. I think that we are
- 20 keenly aware of that.
- Obviously, the gray zone challenges in places like
- 22 China, Russia, Iran, North Korea, and enabling the joint
- 23 force. But I think in particular, I think it's hard to have
- 24 this conversation without thinking about Taiwan and sort of
- 25 the scenarios we have going forward with Taiwan and the



- 1 important role you all will play. Space, cyber, information
- 2 operations, you all are at the forefront of a very changing
- 3 world on conflict. Conflict is just going to look different
- 4 and continue to look different than it was when many of us
- 5 were starting out.
- 6 We want you to have those resources and therefore I
- 7 will just flag, I'm very interested in what's going on right
- 8 now and the cuts that are potentially on the table at the
- 9 Defense Department. We've heard rumors of 80,000, 90,000
- 10 forces, for instance, from the Army being cut. I don't
- 11 think anyone is against cutting actual fat on the bone, but
- 12 being surgical and smart about it and not cutting the very
- operators that we need to perform this ever-expanding group
- of missions, you're being asked to do.
- So, with that Madam Chairman, I yield back.
- 16 Senator Ernst: Thank you. And I'd like to thank SASC
- 17 Ranking Member, Senator Reed for being here today. And
- 18 Senator Reed, do you have any opening comments or thoughts?
- 19 Senator Reed: I just want to commend you Madam
- 20 Chairman and the Ranking Member. I have great confidence.
- 21 Senator Ernst: Okay. Thank you. We will go ahead and
- 22 proceed to your opening statements, and Mr. Jenkins, we will
- 23 start with you and then we will proceed to General Fenton.
- 24 So, gentlemen, you each have five minutes for your opening
- 25 statements.



- 1 STATEMENT OF COLBY C. JENKINS, DEPUTY ASSISTANT
- 2 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, PERFORMING THE DUTIES OF THE ASSISTANT
- 3 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPECIAL OPERATIONS AND LOW-
- 4 INTENSITY CONFLICT
- 5 Mr. Jenkins: Thank you. Madam Chair Ernst, Ranking
- 6 Member Slotkin, Chairman Wicker when he comes, Ranking
- 7 Member Reed, and other distinguished members of the
- 8 subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to testify on
- 9 the global posture of our nation's Special Operations
- 10 Forces, or SOF. I'm honored to testify alongside General
- 11 Fenton. We are joined here today by two extraordinary
- 12 Americans, who I would like to take a moment to recognize.
- 13 Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and
- 14 Director of the Special Operations Secretariat, Dr. Sandra
- 15 Hobson, seated behind me, as well as SO/LIC Senior Enlisted
- 16 Advisor, Command Master Chief Brad Rhinelander, also seated
- 17 behind me. These dedicated servant leaders bring expertise
- 18 and insights that have been invaluable as we advocate within
- 19 the Department of Defense, on behalf of our SOF service
- 20 members and their families. As a combat veteran Green Beret
- 21 myself, the opportunity to work with these incredible
- teammates and represent our SOF enterprise is profoundly
- 23 humbling and special.
- Today's global security environment has become
- increasingly complex, as AI and other technological



- 1 advancements rapidly transform the character of warfare,
- 2 threats from state and non-state actors continue to
- 3 converge. Our global competitors actively seek to undermine
- 4 the United States and our allies. Terrorists and
- 5 transnational criminal networks continue to pose a serious
- 6 threat to the homeland.
- 7 In these turbulent times, my office, the Office of
- 8 Special Operations, Low Intensity Conflict or SO/LIC, and
- 9 the U.S. Special Operations Command remain at the forefront
- 10 of our nation's strategic priorities, representing less than
- 11 2 percent of the defense budget. Our special operations
- 12 forces provide unique and outsized effects, adding
- 13 exceptional value to the nation. Tasked with the most
- 14 challenging and dangerous missions, SOF remain the world's
- most lethal, adaptable, and capable force.
- Our priorities for the SOF enterprise are squarely
- 17 nested within Secretary Hegseth's priorities for the joint
- 18 force, defend the homeland, strengthen deterrence, and
- 19 increase burden sharing with U.S. allies and partners. Our
- 20 elite warriors deter our adversaries by creating strategic
- 21 asymmetric advantages and maintaining irregular warfare
- 22 superiority.
- Leveraging our close relationships with our foreign
- 24 partners in critical regions, SOF are uniquely positioned to
- 25 identify and counter our adversary's malign and coercive



- 1 activities. Whether in the Indo-Pacific, Europe, the Middle
- 2 East, Africa, Western Hemisphere, or near our own southern
- 3 border, these low-cost, small-footprint efforts promote
- 4 stability, empower partners and allies, and lead efforts
- 5 against China, terrorists, drug traffickers, and other
- 6 threats.
- 7 Even with the global increase in demand, our special
- 8 operations forces face personnel cuts and resource
- 9 constraints. In fact, armed conflict and regional
- 10 instability have driven a 200 percent increase in our crisis
- 11 response mission over the past three years. While at the
- 12 same time, operational and logistics costs for crisis
- 13 response have increased 260 percent.
- We must ensure SOFs readiness while balancing
- 15 operational demands and optimizing available resources. We
- 16 must also promote accountability through rigorous analytics
- 17 and data-driven decision making. Congress wisely
- 18 established civilian oversight of special operations to
- 19 ensure that SOF remains strategically aligned, ethically
- 20 grounded, and accountable. My office provides policy
- 21 direction, resource advocacy, and oversight needed to ensure
- 22 that SOFs initiatives and efforts stay focused on war
- 23 fighter needs and national objectives, without mission creep
- 24 or undue strain on the force.
- This oversight is not bureaucratic. In fact, it is



1	essential to effective war fighting. Our nation's security
2	depends on a strong, agile, modernized, and accountable SOF
3	enterprise. With your support, we will continue ensuring
4	that SOF is ready to detour, fight, and win anytime,
5	anywhere. Thank you again for the opportunity to testify.
6	I invite you to visit our SOF community around the globe, to
7	meet our service members and their families, and to see
8	firsthand the capabilities that we bring in defense of the
9	nation. Your continued support is critical. I look forward
10	to answering your questions.
11	[The prepared statement of Mr. Jenkins follows:]
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1	Sei	nator	Ernst	: Th	ank you	, Mr	. Jenl	kins.	And	General
2	Fenton,	you a	are no	w rec	ognized	for	five	minut	es.	
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- 1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL BRYAN P. FENTON, USA COMMANDER,
- 2 UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND
- General Fenton: Madam Chair Ernst, Ranking Member
- 4 Slotkin, distinguished members of this subcommittee,
- 5 Chairman Wicker when he comes, Ranking Member Reed, thank
- 6 you for the opportunity to testify before you today.
- 7 This month marks 38 years since the creation of Special
- 8 Operations Command. We are thankful for Congress's
- 9 incredible foresight in creating us and steadfast support
- 10 ever since. I'm joined today by Command Sergeant Major
- 11 Shane Shorter. Shane exemplifies the unmatched caliber of
- 12 our non-commissioned officer corps. If you look at the
- 13 hardest problems facing our nation in the darkest corners of
- 14 this earth, you will find our special operations non-
- 15 commissioned officers solving them.
- Our NCOs exemplify the precision, lethality of your
- 17 special operations teams and demonstrate our competitive and
- 18 comparative advantage. They are the reason we are envied by
- 19 militaries around the globe. It's the honor of a lifetime
- 20 for Shane and me to represent the uniform and civilian
- 21 members of your special operations command, as well as our
- U.S. Interagency Partners and the Global SOF Warriors from
- 23 28 nations who are stationed at our SOCOM headquarters in
- 24 Tampa.
- I'm also honored today to testify alongside Secretary



- 1 Jenkins from ASD SO/LIC. We rely on SO/LIC 's partnership,
- 2 support, and advocacy to ensure your special operations
- 3 warriors and their families who serve alongside them
- 4 continue to thrive and win. We are in an era of serious
- 5 national security challenges. The border, communist China,
- 6 Russia, Iran, North Korea, and terrorist organizations all
- 7 pose significant threats in isolation.
- 8 However, we're increasingly seeing these threats
- 9 converge across the globe. Meanwhile, the changing
- 10 character of war is changing at a rate faster than we've
- 11 ever seen. The innovation cycle now turns in days and
- weeks, not months and years. Our adversaries use \$10,000
- one-way drones that we shoot down with \$2 million missiles.
- 14 That cost benefit curve is upside down.
- To summarize, this is the most complex, asymmetric, and
- 16 hybrid threat security environment I've seen in 38 years of
- 17 service. Contending with these challenges demands more from
- 18 your special operations forces that requires tough choices,
- 19 forcing trade-offs as we strike to balance an increase in
- 20 operations readiness and the need for modernization.
- Your elite SOCOM team provides an outsized return on
- 22 any investment. However, with only 3 percent of DODs forces
- 23 and less than 2 percent of DODs budget, we are now playing a
- 24 zero-sum game. Yet I'd submit your special operations
- 25 forces were tailor made for this era, rapidly responding to



- 1 crisis, disrupting terrorist organizations, and
- 2 asymmetrically deterring our adversaries.
- 3 Employed expressly at the direction of the President
- 4 and Secretary of Defense, SOCOM's Crisis Response Mission is
- 5 the nation's most lethal and surgical tool to eliminate
- 6 threats to the homeland, rescue American citizens, protect
- our diplomats, all at a moment's notice. In the past three
- 8 and a half years, the frequency of these Presidentially
- 9 directed missions significantly increased by 200 percent.
- 10 Yet for this sacred obligation, we'll accept no risk in
- 11 today's crisis response mission.
- Some may think we're done fighting terror. I'd submit
- terror is not done with us. SOCOM's mission to degrade
- 14 terrorist groups starts at our border, spans the globe. In
- 15 recent months, your special operations team eliminated over
- 16 500 terrorists who had the intent and capability to strike
- 17 the homeland. Alongside our global special operations
- 18 partners, we've captured over 600. Aligned with the
- department's priorities, deterrence has long been a part of
- 20 SOCOM's DNA.
- We are America's irregular warfare experts. We deter
- 22 war by altering our adversaries' decision below the
- 23 threshold of conflict in the gray zone. We stand ready to
- 24 prevail if deterrence fails, as combatant commands seek to
- 25 strengthen, deterrence requests for SOCOM capabilities have



1	increased by more than 35 percent in the last two years
2	alone. Against that backdrop, we continue to grapple with
3	years of flat budgets, a 14 percent decrease in buying
4	power, significant personnel reductions, and the requirement
5	to evolve our technology and authorities.
6	All this forces trade-offs, tough choices that
7	challenge current missions and puts modernization at risk.
8	Yet SOCOM remains the world's premier special operations
9	force. I pledge to always provide the nation with the best
10	special operations capability for the fiscal and personnel
11	resources we receive. We will never compromise on standards
12	and lethality. We are grateful for this subcommittee's work
13	on novel approaches to SOF funding and authorities.
14	I look forward to taking your questions. Thank you.
15	[The prepared statement of General Fenton follows:]
16	[COMMITTEE INSERT]
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- 1 Senator Ernst: Thank you, General Fenton. And we will
- 2 start now with the senators' questions. I'll start with
- 3 five minutes of questions and go on to the Ranking Member.
- 4 If we have other members join, we will have them ask
- 5 questions as well. If we don't have other members join, we
- 6 will recess briefly and move to the closed hearing. So,
- 7 this may be a very speedy round but I will go ahead and
- 8 start.
- 9 And General Fenton, so you mentioned the personnel
- 10 reductions in force. And since the announcement of SOF
- 11 personnel cuts under the previous administration, I have
- 12 been very firmly and vocally opposed to that. The return on
- investment our nation gets from our special operations
- 14 forces is not only measurable, it is absolutely unmatched.
- 15 Despite those reductions, SOF continues to do what it does
- 16 best, it's adapting, innovating, and overcoming.
- So, General Fenton, can you speak to how SOF is
- 18 adapting its training pipelines to enable future operators
- 19 to integrate high tech capabilities like AI, cyber, and
- 20 electronic warfare more effectively?
- General Fenton: Senator, I can. I would start by
- 22 saying I think you know you're your SOF very well, in terms
- of that we innovate and I like to think we innovate for
- 24 today and we modernize for tomorrow. And as we think about
- tomorrow, that's certainly through the lens of the lessons



- 1 learned that we're watching vis-a-vis the events in Ukraine.
- 2 And I think it's more important to not just observe those
- 3 lessons, but as you laid out, institutionalize them.
- 4 I think in the instance of institutionalization of
- 5 those lessons I would offer U.S. Army Special Operations,
- 6 USSOF, has undergone two, what I think are pretty
- 7 significant efforts against this change of character of war.
- 8 First, is they've created a brand-new course, the remote
- 9 Uncrewed Systems Integration Course down at Fort Bragg, a
- 10 course that is about a six-week program of instruction,
- 11 bringing together everything from learning how to build the
- drone, fly drones, and then certainly adapt them as we have
- 13 seen on the battlefield.
- 14 The second thing they've done, I would characterize in
- 15 terms of institutionalizing, is they've created a brand-new
- 16 Military Occupational Specialty or MOS or job title. And
- 17 that job title is remote systems integrator. And they've
- 18 created that around the backdrop of a special force forces
- 19 warrant officer, a Green Beret warrant officer, and after
- 20 their training is complete a multi-month program of
- instruction, they'll go back to the special forces groups
- 22 and start to really take that as a master trainer and weave
- 23 it into all group training.
- You would see that across many of our components. But
- 25 I think, Senator, those are a couple of examples I'd want to



- 1 give you.
- 2 Senator Ernst: No, that's great. And I think many of
- 3 us recognize there's nothing more dangerous than a warranted
- 4 officer. So, appreciate that new MOS. So, let's talk a
- 5 little bit more about those cuts. A critical strength of
- 6 SOF is their ability to lead on emerging technologies and
- 7 developing those capabilities that kind of ripple across the
- 8 broader force. And it speaks directly to the indispensable
- 9 role that they play in today's complex threat environment.
- 10 So, any additional reductions that we might see in SOF
- 11 wouldn't just impact our SOF, they would degrade our ability
- 12 to project power around the globe. So, General Fenton, from
- an operational perspective, how would further force
- 14 reductions impact SOF's ability to respond to emerging
- 15 threats in regions like INDOPACOM, Europe, and of course the
- 16 Middle East?
- General Fenton: Well, Senator, I would offer right out
- 18 the gate that that would absolutely hurt. It would hurt
- 19 fairly significantly, especially against the backdrop of, I
- think over the last three, three and a half years, we've
- seen a 5,000-person teammate reduction inside of SOCOM
- 22 already. And that's against the backdrop of communications,
- logistics, intelligence, civil affairs, and sci-ops, and of
- 24 course operators. I think all those are the type of
- 25 capabilities that you see combatant commanders, as I



- 1 mentioned in my opening statement, asking for more and more
- 2 to the tune of about 35 percent. And I think that would
- 3 absolutely impact that. We're already forced to make tough
- 4 choices. Those would and trade-offs, those would certainly
- 5 make those would amplify those tough choices and trade-offs
- 6 and really put us in a place where I've mentioned earlier in
- 7 the statement, we're already at a zero-sum game.
- 8 Senator Ernst: Thank you. And just in the time that I
- 9 have remaining, can you please characterize the situation
- 10 that unfolds when we have SOF teams that are out on the
- 11 ground as force multipliers? And one example that I'm
- thinking about this is many years ago in Africa when we had
- ODAs there, we were able to bring together many different
- 14 nations. Those nations had teams on the ground as well, but
- 15 they could not get along with the populations that exist in
- 16 some of those regions.
- 17 It took Americans and the leadership that these teams
- 18 brought into Africa to bring all of these nationalities
- 19 together into a collaborative force. Can you speak to how
- 20 SOF really can provide that leadership in small teams, small
- 21 numbers without a huge footprint and be able to bring
- 22 different nations together?
- General Fenton: I can, Senator. Small teams, small
- 24 footprints, big impact, is the way I like to think about it.
- 25 And I think that starts with the fact that in our DNA is



- 1 partnering, and SOF is known as a premier partner force.
- 2 That's what we do across the globe and maybe even today to
- 3 the tune of about 7,000 folks in about 80 different
- 4 countries. It's all about beginning partnerships. And
- 5 those partnerships then evolve into trust.
- And once you get trust, then we're able to do
- 7 everything, build partner capacity, develop some level of
- 8 competency and capability. And I think it just goes on from
- 9 there. And even do exactly as you just described, bring
- 10 folks together who otherwise may not be together. And I
- 11 think at the end of the day, amplify capability and capacity
- 12 for any combatant commander or for the Secretary of Defense.
- 13 Senator Ernst: Thank you, General Fenton. Ranking
- 14 Member Slotkin.
- 15 Senator Slotkin: Thank you. The senator had very
- 16 similar questions to the ones I had about what are the
- 17 trade-offs of these cuts, right? And for me, it's hard to
- 18 miss that Space Force got excluded from having to take cuts.
- 19 And I'm happy for them, that's a mission that's extremely
- important, but just would hope that if there's someone who's
- 21 picking and choosing missions that are going to be cut
- versus protected, that I know you're advocating, but that
- 23 sort of, we realize that the units that are in highest
- 24 demand should not be taking the same haircut as everybody
- 25 else across the force. So, hope that that's happening. And



- 1 thank you for illustrating some of those trade-offs that you
- 2 would have.
- I do want to, you know, understand what missions you
- 4 have been tasked to do in recent months. I am, as someone
- 5 who was a CIA officer and a Middle East specialist and did
- 6 three tours in Iraq, I am 100 percent with you that just
- 7 because you don't hear about threats in the news every day
- 8 doesn't mean they're still -- doesn't mean they're not still
- 9 out there plotting to kill Americans, attack the homeland
- 10 and do really devastating things. And we of course have
- 11 nation states that are causing all kinds of problems.
- But I did see that the President designated Mexican
- 13 cartels, a number of named cartels, as foreign terrorist
- 14 organizations restricting in a positive way American
- 15 citizens from providing support, materiel, leadership in any
- 16 way to those organizations. Can you describe what, if any,
- 17 guidance you've been getting and giving on lethal force
- 18 against cartels on the southern border, given the buildup of
- 19 about 10,000 U.S. forces down there?
- General Fenton: Thank you. I can begin with that and
- 21 then we can talk the details. The designation of foreign
- 22 terrorist organization does not grant us any new authorities
- 23 as a DOD entity is. What it really does is it helps us
- 24 unlock the doors to whole of government approach. Our
- 25 threat finance analysts can now better provide their target



- 1 packets to our counterparts in the whole of government
- 2 approach. But what but what we are doing now is making sure
- 3 that we provide options that we can be ready, lethal, and
- 4 prepared should the President need us to continue to seal
- 5 and protect the border.
- But to answer your question directly, it does not grant
- 7 us any new authorities to take direct action or so forth.
- 8 Senator Slotkin: So, you would need commander-in-chief
- 9 authority to go, for instance, and pursue drone attacks
- 10 inside Mexico against cartels? I'm just asking, Mr. Musk
- 11 said publicly that that foreign terrorist designation
- 12 authorizes drone strikes against Mexican cartels inside
- 13 Mexico. I'm just trying to understand fact from fiction
- 14 here.
- Do you believe you have that authority today?
- 16 Understanding the designation alone may not give it to you.
- 17 Do you believe you have the authority today to cross over
- 18 the Mexican border and use drone strikes to go after
- 19 cartels?
- General Fenton: No, ma'am. The designation of FTO
- 21 does not grant us any new authorities.
- 22 Senator Slotkin: But separate from the FTO
- designation, do you, as the service secretary believe you
- 24 have that? I'm just trying to understand. I'm not --
- 25 General Fenton: Yes, ma'am.



- 1 Senator Slotkin: I have no problem with them being
- 2 designated. I have no problem going against them and their
- 3 financing, right, their materiel. But I think certainly as
- 4 part of this committee, we want to understand use of lethal
- 5 force in a neighboring state.
- 6 So, is there in any way separate from FTO designation,
- 7 do you currently have the authority to shoot down, shoot at
- 8 Mexican cartels over the border right now?
- 9 General Fenton: No, ma'am. I do not.
- 10 Senator Slotkin: Okay. Thank you for clarifying. And
- 11 then you know, I think a lot of us on the committee are very
- worried about Taiwan and a potential problem with China over
- 13 the next few years. I'm the co-chair of the Taiwan caucus,
- 14 so we think about this a lot.
- Can you give me your best assessment of, you know, what
- 16 our security assistance activities there, our training,
- 17 maybe we have to go into classified session, but would
- 18 appreciate you know, your role and deterrence understanding
- 19 the role you're playing in that issue.
- General Fenton: Senator, we'll absolutely have to go
- 21 into a closed session to provide details. What I would
- offer is that, in support of INDOPACOM, you would see your
- 23 special operations forces doing many of the missions you
- 24 described earlier. Certainly, always being prepared for
- 25 crisis response inside that AOR through our theater, Special



- 1 Operations Command, Special Ops Command Pacific, that is a
- 2 sacred obligation.
- I think you would also see us in a counter-terrorism
- 4 way making sure that any CT threats, in this case, ISIS East
- 5 Asia, we're doing in a partnered way with teammates in that
- 6 region. And then I think you would see us certainly in
- 7 deterrence. And the way we present ourselves is placement
- 8 and access. It builds relationships and partnerships and
- 9 capability and all that I think is very valuable to Sam
- 10 Paparo, and any COCOM commander because it provides options
- 11 and opportunities they wouldn't otherwise have, and dilemmas
- 12 and challenges to the adversary.
- 13 Senator Slotkin: Thank you. And I yield back.
- 14 Senator Ernst: Thank you. And next we will go to
- 15 Senator Budd. Thank you.
- 16 Senator Budd: Thank you, Chairman. Again, thank you
- 17 all for being here. General Fenton and Mr. Jenkins, thank
- 18 you both for testifying before the committee on SOF. So, I
- 19 was grateful for the opportunity to travel with Chairman
- 20 Wicker last year to JSOC at Fort Bragg and to talk about the
- 21 important work that SOF is doing not only in North Carolina,
- 22 but around the world.
- General Fenton, how would you characterize the demand
- 24 and requirements for special operations forces particularly
- in crisis response, General Fenton?



- General Fenton: Senator first, thanks for visiting our
- 2 forces and thanks for allowing us to be in the great state
- 3 of North Carolina.
- 4 Senator Budd: Our honor.
- 5 General Fenton: Appreciate all the hospitality there.
- 6 I know all our forces do. I would offer in my opening
- 7 statement; I laid out a couple.
- I think in terms of crisis response, we have seen a
- 9 pace and a scale and duration that I frankly have not seen
- in my 20 to 30 years in the special operations community.
- 11 It is called on more. So, there's a requirement that's gone
- 12 up by 200 percent in the last three and a half years.
- 13 That's on or about 15 missions where we've been asked to get
- 14 out very quickly and do the type of missions that I
- 15 mentioned, either recover diplomats, protect an embassy at
- 16 some point, maybe even recover a U.S. citizen. I think I
- don't anticipate the world to get any less volatile, and
- 18 that looks like a pattern to me. And so, I think that
- 19 demand has certainly gone up.
- In deterrence, the combatant commanders have asked for
- 21 special operations in the last two years at an increase of
- 22 about 35 percent to do the type of missions that they're
- looking for us to do. That could involve anything from
- 24 partner-based training to unilateral operations that would
- 25 give them additional opportunities and advantages, maybe an



- 1 unfair outsize advantage and give the adversaries a bunch of
- 2 dilemmas and challenges. So, I think I anticipate that
- 3 going up.
- 4 And then I just mentioned earlier, terrorism is not
- 5 done with us, and I think we absolutely have to stay focused
- on the threat that ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and Al-Shabaab pose and
- 7 all three of those missions are absolutely in SOF
- 8 wheelhouse.
- 9 Senator Budd: General, talk a little bit about, you
- 10 gave some numbers, 35 percent increase in area, 200 percent
- in another area. When you're called upon, how often do you
- 12 have to say no because of that increased demand and perhaps
- 13 the lack of readiness or rest or requirements that are
- 14 needed?
- General Fenton: Senator, I think that that question is
- 16 at the heart of something the Command Sergeant Major and I
- 17 think about every day, that's risk. And I think in this
- 18 case that risk is a combination of operational risk: do we
- 19 have the capability and the capacity? And then for the
- 20 first time, certainly in my memory, fiscal constraint risk:
- 21 can we actually do it?
- I think that drives to the heart of I've had to say no
- in some instances in deterrence, where I feel like I am
- 24 taking risk almost 41 times in the last year, to combatant
- 25 commanders that would want special forces operational



1 detachments, so 12 Green Berets, folks who may want command 2 and control nodes. And I could go on and on. I can give you additional examples in closed session, 3 4 but I think it's certainly way too often. And my sense is 5 that, first, that is risk. We're not meeting the combatant 6 command, DURs demands in a special ops peculiar way. 7 also taking risk in modernization. And in a sense, I feel 8 like I'm saying no to the SOCOM enterprise when we don't 9 have the top line increase and the budget needed to modernize not only technology, but certainly our humans. 10 So, we think about education for an uncertain world, 11 12 that's modernization, and on top of that, certainly even our 13 authorities. So, I think I say no way too much. And then 14 those two categories to combatant commanders in deterrence, 15 and frankly, to where we need to be as a SOCOM enterprise to 16 win tomorrow, just like we've been winning today and in the 17 past years. 18 Senator Budd: Thank you for that. And lots of other 19 questions, either for the record or the closed session. 20 [The information referred to follows:] 21 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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- 1 Senator Budd: Mr. Jenkins, again, thank you for being
- 2 here. See if you're tracking this provision in the Senate
- 3 Fiscal Year 2026 NDAA includes a provision requiring the
- 4 Assistant Secretary of Defense for SO/LIC and the Commander
- of Special Operations to ensure the annual defense planning
- 6 guidance includes specific guidance for requirements and
- 7 employments special operation forces across the spectrum of
- 8 conflict. Are you tracking that, sir? And care to
- 9 elaborate?
- 10 Mr. Jenkins: Yes, sir. Yes, and thank you for that
- 11 very much. So, with our Interim National Defense Strategic
- 12 Guidance, we have three lines of effort, defend the
- 13 homeland, deter China, and increased burden sharing. And
- 14 the only force that can fill in or blend across all three
- 15 lines of effort there is the Special Operations Force.
- And in my service like capacity, I've been able to
- 17 advocate and make sure that as the defense planning guidance
- 18 goes forward and now gets underway in earnest that my peers,
- 19 my counterparts, ensure that SOF is adequately and
- 20 thoroughly accounted for in all three lines of effort there,
- 21 and not just as an asterisk, that we play a major part.
- 22 Senator Budd [presiding]: Thank you both again. It
- 23 appears I'm out of time. Chairman Reed, you're recognized.
- Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Budd.
- 25 Gentlemen, thank you for your service and your sacrifice and



- 1 that of your family. And I endorse your tribute to the non-
- 2 commissioned officers, General Fenton.
- 3 General Fenton: Yeah.
- 4 Senator Reed: I would be in Fort Leavenworth not the
- 5 military side, the other side without my NCO, so thank you.
- 6 General Fenton: I think we all would, Senator.
- 7 Senator Reed: Yes, sir. Mr. Jenkins, SO/LIC is a work
- 8 in progress, and I think we're making great progress. We
- 9 want, as we envision a service secretary like civilian
- 10 overlooking those special operations. And I would note in
- 11 the prepared partial statement for today, it says, "SO/LIC
- 12 requires the requisite tools, workforce, and resources to
- 13 accelerate the implementation of these priorities and enable
- 14 special operations to be the most effective discipline and
- 15 strategically relevant force it can be."
- 16 Could you tell us what additional tool, workforce, and
- 17 resources you need?
- 18 Mr. Jenkins: First, thank you and thank you to
- 19 Congress for having the vision and foresight to make sure
- 20 that SO/LIC exists, that we do have the tools that we do
- 21 have right now. And I'd just like to point out, thanks to
- 22 section 922 and Congress's vision, you can see the physical
- 23 manifestation back here with Dr. Sandra Hobson, who's the
- 24 first to sit in that position, that 922 facilitated. So, we
- 25 are underway in establishing the service secretary side of



- 1 Special Operations, and that's thanks to Congress. So, we
- 2 welcome your continued engagement and reinforcement.
- In terms of additional authorities or funding that we
- 4 would need, we certainly welcome that, your continued
- 5 engagement, one. One area that comes to mind, is in the
- 6 realm of talent management. We want to make sure that SOF
- 7 officers and enlisted leaders, that we have the ability as
- 8 SOF enterprise leaders to advocate for their advancement,
- 9 just like our service counterparts would for theirs as well.
- 10 As a Green Beret, I come from the Army, but I'm also a SOF
- 11 officer. And so, we want to make sure that we have that.
- 12 Then in terms of acquisition authorities we welcome
- 13 additional discussion on how we can have more agile, more
- 14 abundant acquisition authorities so that we can answer the
- 15 need of those quick problems that we encounter out on the
- 16 battlefield and be able to innovate and modernize and fund
- 17 those accordingly.
- 18 Senator Reed: Thank you very much. And General
- 19 Fenton, from your perspective, have you seen the benefits of
- 20 this empowered senior civilian like secretary?
- 21 General Fenton: Senator, absolutely. I think this
- 22 will be my third time at this table saying how critical it
- is, how much we appreciate the work this Congress has done
- 24 in that arena. I think the first thing I offered you
- 25 before, and maybe even yesterday, and thank you for the



- 1 office call, was that having Secretary Jenkins at the
- 2 Service Secretary table, along with the Sec Def representing
- 3 Special Operations and SOCOM issues, is critical.
- 4 And I think about that on the service side of the SOCOM
- 5 organization. Also advocating for issues that support our
- 6 service members, our civilians, and our family members. And
- 7 those run the gamut. Certainly, the human performance
- 8 program, preservation of the force and family, and many
- 9 other items that we have inside of our enterprise. I would
- 10 also offer in terms of thinking through modernization and
- 11 certainly transformation. So, I think there's a great deal
- that we've been able to achieve together as a team of teams
- in the SOF enterprise.
- 14 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much. And after
- 15 some notable civilian casualty several years ago, the
- 16 Department of Defense set up the Civilian Harm Center of
- 17 Excellence. And in the last year's prepared statement
- 18 submitted, it pointed out that these policies and procedures
- outlined by the department through the center assist with
- 20 counter violent extremist organizations efforts as they
- 21 prevent the underlying dynamics from creating more
- 22 extremism.
- I think in layman terms, it means if you're out there
- 24 and you're hurting a lot of civilians, the reaction is the
- 25 enemy gets more recruits, essentially. But I've heard



- 1 public indications that the department is considering to
- 2 rescind the policy guidance and to eliminate the center of
- 3 excellence. Mr. Jenkins, what's your understanding of that?
- 4 Mr. Jenkins: Well, first, Senator, thank you for
- 5 pointing that out. We agree that the ability and
- 6 requirement to mitigate and limit civilian harm on the
- 7 battlefield is paramount responsibility for us. And second,
- 8 it's the law. It's the law. And so, we have to be
- 9 respondent to that.
- I can also say there have been no decisions made on
- 11 what the program may be called or the form that it will
- 12 take. But the requirement and the need to report back and
- make sure that we are always mitigating civilian harm will
- 14 always be present no matter what it's called or how it
- 15 looks, Senator.
- 16 Senator Reed: And again, let me add to the point.
- 17 It's not only the law and the sense of humanity, it's also a
- 18 very practical situation because by antagonizing the
- 19 population, you'll lose ground.
- 20 Mr. Jenkins: Yes, sir.
- 21 Senator Reed: And once you lose it, you don't gain it.
- 22 Just General, final question. Can you say if SOCOM has
- 23 received adequate support from the center and that it's been
- 24 an asset to your operations?
- General Fenton: Senator, I'm not -- from the center?



- 1 Senator Reed: From the center.
- General Fenton: Senator, I think certainly. As we've
- 3 thought through it, I go back to Secretary Jenkins piece, we
- 4 absolutely, as your SOCOM team always aim to do the mission,
- 5 especially in the kinetic ops that you're referring to. And
- 6 then protect non-combatants and civilians as part of who we
- 7 are and what we stand for. And I think to your point, that
- 8 sends a very -- that sends a very powerful message across
- 9 the globe that we're there to eliminate or disrupt a bad
- 10 actor, yet at the same time protect innocence and vulnerable
- 11 and non-combatants. That's a very different signal from a
- 12 nation. That's what your SOCOM team works to do everyday.
- 13 Senator Reed: Thank you very much. Madam Chairman,
- 14 thank you.
- Senator Ernst [presiding]: Thank you, Ranking Member.
- 16 We'll recognize now Senator Kelly for five minutes of
- 17 questions.
- 18 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Madam Chair. General
- 19 Fenton, in your opening statement, you highlighted your flat
- 20 budget since 2019, which appears to be a 14 percent decrease
- in purchasing power, and SOCOM has also faced some
- 22 significant personnel cuts over the past years. Is it fair
- 23 to say right now that the demand for special operations
- 24 forces continues to increase? Is that a fair observation?
- General Fenton: Senator, that's absolutely a fair



- 1 characterization, as I've laid out in the opening statement.
- Senator Kelly: And so, with this flat budget then,
- 3 where have you assumed any additional risk because of
- 4 budgetary and personnel constraints?
- 5 General Fenton: Senator, I'd actually offer two
- 6 places. In the operational arena, we've assumed risk in
- 7 deterrence, as I mentioned in the opening statement, I'll
- 8 assume no risk in crisis response today. That is a sacred
- 9 obligation. And as we go across the spectrum in deterrence,
- 10 as I've laid out, there have been instances where I've had
- 11 to say no to combatant commander requirements because of
- 12 operational risk and fiscal constraints in a way I haven't
- 13 seen before.
- So, first in operations deterrence. Second is in
- 15 modernization. Working to have the SOCOM team and at times
- 16 tying it to the joint force, for sure. Be able to win in
- 17 the future environment like we have won for years and years
- 18 and years in an increasingly contested and congested
- 19 environment. We're taking risks there. The inability to
- 20 get after the things I think that are asymmetric, that are
- 21 part of the changing character of war, do it at speed.
- You could add anything, uncrewed artificial
- 23 intelligence, additive manufacturing, autonomy, all that. I
- think we're accruing high risk because we at SOCOM are not
- 25 able to get after that based on a flat top line on five



- 1 years, \$1 billion in lost buying power that is reflective of
- 2 that 14 percent lost buying power.
- 3 Senator Kelly: Would it be fair for me to say then
- 4 that a risk in deterrence because if you're not deterring
- our adversaries, there's a higher chance you're going to
- 6 have to put some of your troops in harm's way that the risk
- 7 to your forces, personally risk to them being injured or
- 8 killed in combat, that that has gone up.
- 9 And I think it's probably fair to say the same thing on
- 10 the modernization side of this. If you don't have the
- 11 equipment you need and you're facing a more challenging
- 12 adversary, that that's possibly putting folks at risk as
- 13 well?
- General Fenton: Senator, I'll take it from the
- 15 modernization piece first. I think first and foremost, the
- 16 risk is not winning, not being able to complete the mission
- in the future environment. Again, against the backdrop of
- 18 what we're seeing in Ukraine with the changing character of
- 19 war that has, I call it a version of symmetry and asymmetry.
- 20 Symmetry, being all the things -- and certainly the
- 21 Russian Federation had, that any nation needs to go to war
- tanks, and missiles, and airplanes, and helicopters. And
- then asymmetry, where Ukraine did not have that, and has
- 24 imposed costs on the Russian Federation through all things
- that we're observing, institutionalizing, and



- 1 operationalizing. I think we're taking risks there and that
- 2 risk is about winning.
- It certainly has a force protection component to it,
- 4 because if you're unable to get through the contested and
- 5 congested battle space of integrated air missile defense,
- 6 radio frequency spectrums, knocking your things down,
- 7 electronic warfare, there is a force protection component
- 8 for sure to that. And I look at both, but I think it's both
- 9 of those and modernization.
- In deterrence, I think it's more about aggregated risk,
- 11 us not being able to fulfill the parts of a campaign plan or
- 12 a no plan that the combatant commanders absolutely would
- 13 rely on. And that probably at some point has aggregated
- 14 risk for his end states and certainly their operations.
- 15 Senator Kelly: Right. Thank you, General. And Mr.
- 16 Jenkins, on China Gray Zone operations, they execute this
- 17 all the time as an instrument of national power and in their
- 18 effort to supplant us as the world's preeminent superpower.
- 19 So, what adjustments, just quickly in statute or fiscal
- 20 authorities, would you need to better compete and deter the
- 21 PRC?
- Mr. Jenkins: In terms of authorities, we are working
- 23 sufficiently and efficiently with what we have right now.
- 24 It comes down to what, what the general outlined in terms of
- 25 resources. We clearly recognize that deterring China is not



- 1 just in the South China Sea of the first island chain. It's
- 2 everywhere. And in the closed session, we'll be able to
- 3 give you some good vignettes on where we are going head-to-
- 4 head to deter in the irregular warfare arena to make sure
- 5 that we not only meet China where they are, but where they
- 6 want to be, where they, where they're trying to be.
- And so, in terms of authorities, we're moving out and
- 8 executing on what we have, but we're always looking to
- 9 evolve with them as well.
- 10 Senator Kelly: If you identify something --
- 11 Mr. Jenkins: We will.
- 12 Senator Kelly: -- please, come to us with that. Thank
- 13 you.
- 14 Mr. Jenkins: Yes, sir.
- 15 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Madam Chair.
- 16 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Senator Kelly. And now I
- 17 recognize SASC Chairman, Senator Wicker.
- 18 Chairman Wicker: Well, thank you Madam Chair, and
- 19 thank you Senator Kelly as you leave because I'm going to
- 20 follow up on the very important lines of questioning that
- 21 you pursued. I was planning on asking about what extra
- things your command has been required to do for less buying
- 23 power.
- But let's talk about the gray zone and follow up if we
- 25 can on that. Do you find that there's not enough



- 1 coordination in the irregular warfare field and would you
- 2 recommend any changes in the way our defense department is
- 3 organized with regard to no one having a particular domain
- 4 over that particular issue and coordinating it across the
- 5 various commands?
- 6 Mr. Jenkins: Well, thank you for pointing that out.
- 7 Certainly, over the last 20 years plus, we've seen our
- 8 counter-terrorism muscle be exercised tremendously and our
- 9 irregular warfare muscle, not so much. But nowadays, we are
- 10 certainly exercising that muscle and meeting and deterring,
- 11 as the Senator alluded, China, where they are and where
- 12 they're trying to be. SO/LIC itself --
- 13 Chairman Wicker: Tell us and those listening what sort
- of things, specifically some examples of what the Chinese
- 15 are doing?
- Mr. Jenkins: Well, Senator, certainly we can get into
- more details in the closed session, but it's safe to say,
- 18 areas where you would not think China is, they are. They're
- 19 trying to be there, not only in the South China Sea, the
- 20 first Island chain, but in the Southern Hemisphere.
- 21 And we have specific examples that we can point to, to
- 22 show where we have met, deterred, and even ejected their
- influence from certain areas. And so, it's incumbent upon
- 24 us to not only just be counter-terrorist experts, but also
- 25 irregular warfare specialists.



- 1 Chairman Wicker: You can talk about the economic
- 2 warfare in this hearing, can you not?
- Mr. Jenkins: For sure, yes, sir. And that's as you
- 4 alluded to. In China, it's a whole of government approach
- 5 when it comes to economic warfare. And General Fenton's
- 6 actually starting a new program to bring that together to
- 7 harness not only attention amongst our economic machines
- 8 here in the United States, but to show them where they could
- 9 draw their power to help our nation as well.
- 10 Chairman Wicker: So, are we organized sufficiently in
- 11 this area, or should one office, one person be in charge of
- 12 coordinating this for either of you?
- 13 Mr. Jenkins: In the irregular warfare arena?
- 14 Chairman Wicker: Yes.
- Mr. Jenkins: We are sufficiently organized within
- 16 SO/LIC. We have a department, we have a team, an actual
- 17 DASD, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, that has
- 18 irregular warfare within, its charter that it's responsible
- 19 for and leads through the department in terms of helping
- 20 combatant commands draw campaign plans that involve
- 21 irregular warfare and educating throughout the joint force
- 22 in terms of its irregular warfare is not just a SOF
- opportunity. It's a whole of Department of Defense
- 24 opportunity.
- 25 General Fenton: Senator, I would add.



- 1 Chairman Wicker: Sure, General Fenton.
- 2 General Fenton: I think for now, sufficiently
- 3 organized, you know, as we talk and work through this, it's
- 4 through Secretary Jenkins on their policy side. And I think
- 5 for SOCOM, it's unequivocal that we do irregular warfare and
- 6 our components in our operational elements know it. They go
- 7 back to the SOCOM headquarters or geographic combatant
- 8 commanders.
- 9 What I would offer is, I think it's always worth
- 10 relooking because of the pace of the world and the way the
- 11 world's changing and all type of levels. And I talk about
- 12 modernizing authorities, and I think it's always good to
- 13 keep an eye on things so we're not complacent, or even as we
- 14 think about technology, how fast it's moved. My sense is
- there's certainly a need to re-look authorities to make sure
- 16 that they have not stayed stagnant or they have moved as
- 17 fast as we need them.
- 18 Chairman Wicker: Well, you know, I might want to have
- 19 a conversation, an ongoing conversation with you General and
- 20 for as long as I can, Mr. Jenkins, about how we could
- 21 perhaps make the coordination better in this area. We're
- intruding on the time, Madam Chair, but let me just say.
- There's been a 35 percent increase in from the COCOMs
- 24 for your capabilities in the last three years. Is that
- 25 right, General?



- General Fenton: That's correct, Senator.
- 2 Chairman Wicker: And 170 percent increase in SOCOM
- 3 crisis response missions, including, but not limited to
- 4 hostage rescues?
- 5 General Fenton: Yes, sir. In fact, we just updated
- 6 the numbers after we got chance to see you. And I think
- 7 today I reported 200 percent in three and a half years.
- 8 Chairman Wicker: So, instead of 170 percent. And then
- 9 manpower cuts of nearly 5,000 personnel in recent years.
- 10 How have those come about?
- 11 General Fenton: Well, Senator a couple things. I
- think through the lens of the defense planning scenario and
- 13 the work that the service has to do along with the
- department, against any potential scenario, and I'll leave
- 15 at that because we could talk more in a classified session.
- 16 My sense is that services took a look at the lens that they
- were given through those scenarios and came away with, we
- 18 don't need X number of SOF.
- And over time, my sense is that that continued started
- 20 to gain traction in the department. And as a result, I
- 21 think you're very aware of a point last year where Secretary
- of Defense Austin made a decision to reduce SOF by 3000
- 23 people.
- Chairman Wicker: Well, have these crisis response
- 25 requests gone unanswered?



- 1 General Fenton: Senator, that --
- 2 Chairman Wicker: With everything you're facing with
- 3 the lack of funding and the lack of purchasing power and
- 4 cuts of 5,000?
- 5 General Fenton: As I said in my opening statement,
- 6 crisis response is the one place that I'm taking no risk.
- 7 So, we put everything we have against the crisis response
- 8 today because our sense is that is a sacred obligation.
- 9 Presidentially directed, Sec Def directed, we cannot fail.
- 10 Chairman Wicker: And so, the other things that you
- 11 might put behind those crisis response things might be, for
- 12 example?
- General Fenton: Senator, I feel like we're absolutely
- 14 taking risks in two places, modernization, and deterrence.
- 15 Deterrence would be that mission that we are taking risk in
- 16 and we're taking risk because in my sense, we are unable to
- 17 answer the combatant commander's requirements to the level
- 18 that they have requested and certainly need. And when I
- 19 look at that, that is risk to them and certainly risk to
- 20 your SOF forces and that we're bringing the value that we
- 21 could be bringing to the combatant commands, in preventing
- 22 great power conflict and certainly preparing for it.
- Chairman Wicker: One other thing, Madam Chair. I just
- 24 hope the General understands the committee's position on
- 25 both sides of the dais, that we need to hear fully from you



- on your unfunded requirements. Tell us what you need, be
- 2 honest about it, and we'll try to get it for you. But we
- 3 have found that some places within our defense
- 4 establishment, they're reluctant to actually be honest with
- 5 us about all the requirements that remain unfunded.
- 6 And thank you for your indulgence, Madam Chair.
- 7 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Chairman.
- 8 General Fenton: You got my commitment to that Senator.
- 9 Senator Ernst: Thank you, General Fenton. Next, I
- 10 will recognize Senator Shaheen five minutes. Thank you.
- 11 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Madam Chair. So, Mr.
- 12 Jenkins, you talked about feeling confident about our
- irregular warfare capacity. Where do you put information
- 14 operations that irregular warfare?
- 15 Mr. Jenkins: Thank you for pointing that out, because
- 16 irregular warfare is just like, when you think about a
- 17 kinetic strike, there are regular warfare strikes that are
- 18 just as potent or valuable or important and need to be timed
- 19 accordingly. And so, the coordination for information
- 20 operations actually resides within SO/LIC, within my
- 21 organization.
- And so, we have the unique opportunity to coordinate
- 23 across the combatant commands, not only within DOD, but also
- 24 with our sister agencies, with the Agency, with Department
- of State, and so those information operation plans are



- 1 coordinated. So, that messages are comprehensive and
- 2 complimentary was the word I was trying to think of instead
- 3 of getting each other off track and timed accordingly. So,
- 4 it's very important.
- 5 Senator Shaheen: Well, I understand that you have the
- 6 ability to coordinate. I'm concerned. General Fenton, you
- 7 talked about the 3000 person cuts to SOF, and my
- 8 understanding is that many of those were enablers for the
- 9 military information support operations or MISO. Is that
- 10 correct?
- 11 General Fenton: That's correct, Senator.
- 12 Senator Shaheen: And I am concerned about our ability
- 13 to compete in those information operations. We had a
- 14 hearing in the foreign relations committee at the beginning
- of the year where our China experts said that China is
- spending \$1.1 billion a year on information operations,
- 17 disinformation misinformation. And right now, we've
- 18 completely dismantled our humanitarian and foreign aid
- 19 presence in the regions where China has a foothold. We
- 20 don't have anybody in charge of information operations
- 21 across as far as I can tell -- now, maybe we do, and I just
- 22 don't know about it -- across defense, state, and the
- 23 administration and the President just fired General Haugh,
- 24 the head of cyber command.
- So, help me understand how we're able to compete in the



- 1 information arena when we don't have anybody in charge, and
- when we've lost a lot of our people who are doing that work.
- General Fenton: Yes, ma'am. In terms of that, who's
- 4 actually in charge and in coordination for the Department of
- 5 Defense, that would fall by default to my organization,
- 6 because I support the Under Secretary of Defense for policy,
- 7 who is the principal information operation advisor to the
- 8 Sec Def.
- 9 And so, we do have a coordination body and ability to
- 10 do that. And I have a full-time team that that's organizing
- 11 and actively engaging with the combatant commands in terms
- of funding, also in messaging. And then they work outwardly
- 13 with our state and agency partners so that if one agency is
- 14 going to employ a message or an information operation, it's
- adequately coordinated with the other so that we don't have
- 16 fracture side.
- 17 Senator Shaheen: So, if China's spending over a
- 18 billion dollars a year on their messaging strategy, how much
- 19 are we spending in the Department of Defense on our
- 20 messaging strategy?
- General Fenton: Ma'am, I'd have to get back to you
- 22 with that specific number. But what we are doing is we're
- 23 trying to make sure that we are good stewards --
- Senator Shaheen: Is it fair to say we're not spending
- 25 a billion dollars a year?



- General Fenton: Correct. Yes, ma'am. That is fair.
- Senator Shaheen: Significantly less?
- General Fenton: Significantly less. We are trying to
- 4 be smart with every penny for sure, ma'am.
- 5 Senator Shaheen: But it's not likely that we're able
- 6 to match the operations that China's doing, despite our
- 7 intention and the fact that we think we can do it better,
- 8 because we don't have the infrastructure to do that. We've
- 9 dismantled our global engagement center at the Department of
- 10 State. We're dismantling Voice of America, Radio Free Asia,
- 11 all of the media that we've relied on really since the Cold
- 12 War to get messaging across to accurately reflect the
- 13 position of the United States against our adversaries.
- So, again, I would ask you, General Fenton, do you
- 15 think you have -- should we be doing more to resource those
- 16 information operations?
- General Fenton: Well, Senator, you and I have talked
- 18 about this for --
- 19 Senator Shaheen: We have.
- 20 General Fenton: -- quite some time. My sense, I'll
- 21 start with information operations are absolutely critical.
- You know, there's a sense of you may not win a war with
- 23 information operations like you could with artillery. You
- 24 can certainly lose it if you're not a key part of that and
- 25 putting out the messages. And I would offer, I think as a



- 1 United States of America, we've got a great message to tell.
- 2 And my sense is that there is a void. You mentioned
- 3 misinformation, disinformation by any adversary. There's a
- 4 void out there that's not being filled by our message.
- 5 I think we take it certainly in special operations
- 6 command with our information officer professionals to really
- 7 work at that in concert with our more often not our country
- 8 teams, our embassy country teams, to put those messages out
- 9 that assure populations or reassure and also at points in
- 10 time, deter adversaries. That is also part of the
- 11 information operations space. So, thank you for the
- 12 opportunity to comment.
- 13 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chair.
- 14 Senator Ernst: Yes, thank you, Senator Shaheen. We'll
- 15 move to Senator Rosen.
- 16 Senator Rosen: Well, thank you, Chairwoman Ernst,
- 17 Ranking Member Slotkin for holding this hearing. It's very
- 18 important. I'd also like to thank General Fenton and Mr.
- 19 Jenkins for testifying today and for your service -- excuse
- 20 me, I'm going to scoot in a little bit here -- service to
- 21 our nation.
- I want to talk about Special Operations Forces in Syria
- 23 because the U.S. and Syrian Democratic forces, the SDF, they
- 24 share an interest in preventing an ISIS resurgence in
- 25 northeastern Syria. Any escalation in the region, which is



- 1 Turkish backed Syrian National Army and the central
- 2 government in Damascus engaged military with the SDF would
- 3 lead to instability that we know ISIS could exploit.
- 4 That is extremely concerning, as is the possibility
- 5 that such instability combined with destabilizing efforts
- 6 from Iran and its proxies could cause SDF personnel guarding
- 7 ISIS prisons and displaced persons camps to leave their
- 8 posts in order to defend their territory. This would open
- 9 the door to the possible escape of captured ISIS fighters
- and their families, as we saw that just play out in 2019.
- So, General Fenton, given our SOF partnership with the
- 12 SDF and the Defeat ISIS campaign, including security
- training and assistance, what are SOF and the SDF doing to
- 14 prevent breakouts from SDF run prisons and displaced persons
- 15 camps to ensure that captured ISIS fighters and their
- 16 families do not return to the battle space?
- I know this is a question that geographically pertains
- 18 to CENTCOM, but our troops performing these counter-
- 19 terrorism mission missions are Special Operation Forces.
- 20 General Fenton: Senator, I think the very first thing
- 21 we do is partner with our SDF partners, it's almost a decade
- 22 now. And I can get back and certainly provide written on
- the record how long we've done it, but I think it's about a
- 24 decade, is disrupt, degrade and work to defeat ISIS in
- 25 Syria. It's a threat certainly in the United States as



- 1 we've laid out before. And many of the committees have come
- 2 before you have talked about it.
- But I think the first thing we do is disrupt and
- 4 degrade ISIS along with SDF counterparts, that certainly
- 5 vectors into protecting the prisons and the camps. And I
- 6 think that, you know, if you look at it that's keeping
- 7 improvised explosive ISIS bombers from attacking those,
- 8 creating a level of or opportunities for breakout, that is
- 9 taking action in places that may not be close to the camps,
- 10 but we know have planning going on in the camp.
- So, I think there's many things your SOF team is doing
- 12 along with our SDF partners to first and foremost, and that
- is the mission, disrupt and degrade and diminish ISIS, spur
- 14 the CENTCOM and Sec Def direction, and also protect those
- 15 camps from a breakout and a prison as well.
- 16 Senator Rosen: Thank you. And I'm going to direct
- 17 this question to both of you staying on the same topic,
- 18 because how does a continued elimination of ISIS leadership
- 19 and which SOF you have accomplished time and time again,
- impact ISIS's ability to plan and carry out attacks on U.S.
- 21 forces and SDF front prisons and displaced persons camps?
- 22 And what are we doing more specifically to degrade Iranian
- 23 aligned militias from attacking or attempting to attack U.S.
- 24 and coalition forces?
- 25 And Mr. Jenkins, we can start with you and go on to the



- 1 General please.
- 2 Mr. Jenkins: Thank you, ma'am. And we see all those
- 3 problems clear-eyed for sure. And thank you for sharing
- 4 that concern with us. As General Fenton alluded to, looking
- 5 at what SOF can control what we can do in this space. We
- 6 take that very seriously. We are at the leading edge to
- 7 make sure that our SDF partners can maintain control of
- 8 those prisons, that they can repatriate where appropriate
- 9 and when possible, so that we can decrease the population of
- 10 potential breakout and under difficult situations.
- And then in terms of decreasing malign influence, we
- 12 have to make sure that, similar to China, that we are
- deterring wherever possible, whether it's at the level of
- 14 armed conflict or below with irregular warfare. We have the
- 15 ability and lots of tools across the spectrum to make sure
- 16 that we are deterring them from being in the battle space
- where they want to be, and where they're trying to be.
- 18 Senator Rosen: Thank you. General Fenton, anything to
- 19 add?
- 20 General Fenton: Senator, I would offer on the ISIS
- 21 piece I think is very important, as you've alluded to, to
- 22 keep the pressure on ISIS by degrading their leadership the
- operational experience, personnel, the communicators,
- 24 financiers, all of these things come together for attacks,
- 25 not only in the Middle East against our forces, and that is



1 force protection as we take it, but also in Europe and 2 against our homeland. 3 ISIS is an ex-op's threat. So, I think that is the 4 multiple responsibility for your special operations 5 teammates, not only ISIS, Al-Shabaab, and Al-Qaeda, but 6 getting after these layers is really important to keep any 7 of those terrorist groups from being able to plan and 8 execute an attack on the homeland. Senator Rosen: Thank you. I'll yield back, but I'm 9 going to actually ask a question for the record about the 10 Houthis relations with Al-Shabaab. So, I'm glad you brought 11 12 that up because it's critically important we discuss that as 13 well. Thank you. 14 [The information referred to follows:] 15 [COMMITTEE INSERT] 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24



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          Senator Ernst: Thank you, Senator Rosen. And at this
    time, we will recess for about seven minutes, which will
 2
    give us time to move over to the SVC-217, and we will go
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    into a closed hearing at that point. So, I call a recess.
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          [Whereupon, at 3:40 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]
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