Stenographic Transcript Before the

Subcommittee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND'S EFFORTS TO SUSTAIN THE READINESS OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES AND TRANSFORM THE FORCE FOR FUTURE SECURITY CHALLENGES

Wednesday, April 27, 2022

Washington, D.C.

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| 1 | HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON UNITED STATES SPECIAL | | | | | | |
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| 2 | OPERATIONS COMMAND'S EFFORTS TO SUSTAIN THE READINESS OF | | | | | | |
| 3 | SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES AND TRANSFORM THE FORCE FOR FUTURE | | | | | | |
| 4 | SECURITY CHALLENGES | | | | | | |
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| б | Wednesday, April 27, 2022 | | | | | | |
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| 8 | U.S. Senate | | | | | | |
| 9 | Subcommittee on Emerging | | | | | | |
| 10 | Threats and Capabilities | | | | | | |
| 11 | Committee on Armed Services | | | | | | |
| 12 | Washington, D.C. | | | | | | |
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| 14 | The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:36 p.m. in | | | | | | |
| 15 | Room SR-232A, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Mark | | | | | | |
| 16 | Kelly, chairman of the subcommittee, presiding. | | | | | | |
| 17 | Committee Members Present: Kelly [presiding], Kaine, | | | | | | |
| 18 | Peters, Ernst, Fischer, Scott, Blackburn, and Tuberville. | | | | | | |
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OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MARK KELLY, U.S. SENATOR FROM
 ARIZONA

Senator Kelly: Good afternoon, everybody. Thank you 3 4 for being here. The Emerging Threats Subcommittee meets 5 this afternoon to receive testimony from the leaders of the 6 U.S. Special Operations Command service components. We look 7 forward to hearing how you are shaping our special 8 operations forces in line with the priorities laid out by 9 the National Defense Strategy and what more we can do, what 10 we can do, to ensure the readiness of your forces for the 11 range of missions they may be asked to conduct in coming 12 years.

13 First I would like to welcome our witnesses today: Lieutenant General Slife, Commander of U.S. Air Force 14 15 Special Operations Command; Lieutenant General Braga, 16 Commander of U.S. Army Special Operations Command; Rear 17 Admiral Howard, Commander of Naval Special Warfare Command; 18 and Major General Glynn, Commander of U.S. Marine Forces 19 Special Operations Command. I also hope you will pass along 20 our sincere appreciation for the service and sacrifice of 21 the approximately 74,000 men and women of SOCOM and their 22 families.

The special operations community has achieved so much for the nation in the last 20 years, but it has also borne a significant burden in doing so. As our strategic priorities

1 evolve, we must never forget the people that make our 2 special operations capabilities so effective. As SOCOM Commander General Clark stated during his posture hearing 3 4 earlier this month, "SOF creates strategic, asymmetric advantages for the nation across a spectrum of conflict. 5 6 Their enduring value resides in the ability to adapt and to 7 combat asymmetric threats, including in the gray zone, 8 employ precision and surprise to achieve strategy effects in 9 conflict or crisis, build access, placement, and influence 10 through sustained partnership with foreign forces, and support allies and partners, resilience, and resistance 11 12 efforts, all providing discreet options when conventional 13 action is impractical or not desired."

General Clark's testimony builds upon the recently released Special Operations Forces Vision and Strategy that lays out an ambitious, 10-year roadmap for realigning special operations capabilities to support the National Defense Strategy.

19 The threat posed by violent extremists remains present 20 and our SOF will remain at the forefront of keeping pressure 21 on terrorist networks to prevent them from conducting 22 attacks against our homeland and interests overseas. 23 Successive National Defense Strategies have rightly 24 emphasized a more resource-sustainable approach to 25 counterterrorism, and long-term strategic competition has

become the primary strategic focus. Our special operations forces have a central role to play across the spectrum of competition, crisis and, if necessary, conflict, with our strategic adversaries, even when U.S. forces are not directly involved in hostilities.

6 As has been widely reported, the persistent engagement 7 of U.S. special operations forces with their Ukrainian 8 counterparts, over a period of years, has undoubtedly 9 contributed to their success in degrading the larger and 10 more heavily armed Russian invasion forces. Without going into details of our current support to the Ukrainian forces, 11 12 I hope our witnesses today will discuss the lessons learned 13 from our engagement with Ukraine and how they can be applied 14 to shaping our special operations forces for the future.

15 As agile as our SOF community is, adjusting to the 16 demands of long-term strategic competition will not be easy 17 after more than 20 years of sustained counterterrorism and 18 stability operations. Our SOF will require not only new 19 skills and capabilities but also new operating concepts to 20 make best use of their limited capacity and ensure their activities are fully integrated with conventional and 21 22 interagency partners, a concept described by the new 23 National Defense Strategy as "integrated deterrence." 24 During today's testimony I hope you will address how 25 your commands are preparing our special operations forces to

support the requirements of the geographic combatant commands while balancing the high demand for special operations capabilities around the world. I hope you will also address our efforts to ensure that our special operations forces remain a respected and trusted force by reinforcing a culture of accountability.

Last, but most certainly not least, I hope you will
update us on efforts to support special operations families
as they manage the stress resulting from the frequent and
demanding deployment of their loved ones.

11 I will now turn to our ranking member, Senator Ernst, 12 for any opening comments that she may have. 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

1 STATEMENT OF HON. JONI ERNST, U.S. SENATOR FROM IOWA 2 Senator Ernst: Yeah. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thank you, gentlemen, for being here today. I apologize for my 3 4 tardiness. A number of us will have other committees. We 5 will pop in and out as we can. But again, I appreciate you 6 appearing in front of our subcommittee, and also thank you 7 for your continued service, not just to you but to your 8 command teams as well. We want to recognize those NCOs and 9 leaders that participate in your roles as well.

10 So, of course, the testimony that you provide today will play an important role in this committee's work on the 11 12 National Defense Authorization Act, and the men and women of 13 Special Operations Command have been at the forefront of our 14 national security over the last two decades and have 15 undertaken some of the nation's most challenging missions. 16 They have inflicted serious damage to al Qaeda, to ISIS, and 17 other terrorist groups that want to harm us.

18 And while the counterterrorism mission will remain an 19 enduring requirement for our special operators, the force 20 must transform itself to deal with the growing threat posed by China, by Russia, and other state actors. This will 21 22 require modernizing the force, updating training and 23 tactics, and employing innovative operational concepts. 24 That is why I included in last year's NDAA a provision 25 requiring a special operations joint operating concept for

competition and conflict. I look forward to that being
 developed and delivered to this committee this year.

In order to support efforts to modernize the force we need to provide them with the resources they need to fight and win in a future fight. President Biden's budget request is woefully inadequate in this regard. The fiscal year 2023 topline request for SOCOM is the same as it was last year, despite a significant increase in threats.

9 As we all know, a flat budget equals a budget cut. 10 This reality is only exacerbated by the rising inflation. 11 SOCOM estimates that its fiscal year 2023 budget request is 12 actually \$1.3 billion, or 9 percent, less than its fiscal 13 year 2020 budget, using constant dollars. This represents a 14 significant decrease in SOCOM's buying power and hampers its 15 efforts to modernize the force.

That is why this committee needs to look at SOCOM's unfunded requirements list and do what it can to help address these shortfalls. I hope our witnesses will tell us where they are facing the most pressing shortfalls and describe the impact on their ability to accomplish the mission.

Lastly, and most importantly, I want to talk about the greatest capability in SOF, our special operations men and women. As the first SOF truth says, "Humans are more important than hardware." That is why I have been so

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1 supportive of the Preservation of the Force and Families 2 Initiative, created after Admiral Olson's testimony in 2011, 3 that the force is, quote, "beginning to show some fraying 4 around the edges." POTFF has been instrumental in taking 5 care of the physical, mental, and spiritual needs of our 6 operators and their families. POTFF truly is a readinessbuilder for the force. I look to our witnesses to describe 7 8 how they are using POTFF and other programs to ensure our troops and their families get the support they need. 9 10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Senator Kelly: Thank you, Senator Ernst. 11 12 We will now begin with witness statements. We will start with Lieutenant General Slife, Commander of U.S. Air 13 14 Force Special Operations Command. General Slife. 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL JAMES C. SLIFE, USAF,
 COMMANDER, AIR FORCE SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND

General Slife: Good afternoon Chairman Kelly, Ranking Member Ernst, distinguished members of the committee. I am honored to appear before you today as the Commander of your Air Force Special Operations Command, and I would like to thank you for the opportunity to speak about the employment of our nation's special operations forces in the future operating environment.

10 On behalf of myself and our Command Chief, Chief Master 11 Sergeant Cory Olson, and the 21,500 airmen we serve 12 together, thank you for the support and resources provided 13 by this committee since our last testimony last year.

The National Defense Strategy describes the strategic environment substantially different from the one in which we have operated for the last two decades. AFSOC, like the other SOF components, finds itself at a strategic discontinuity, a moment in which the future should not be considered a linear extension of the past but rather as something different altogether.

Such inflection points require transformation, and my goal today is to describe in greater detail some of the changes we are implementing to ensure our airmen, the disciplined professionals who representative our competitive advantage, remain relevant in the emerging operating

1 environment.

As the Department embraces integrated deterrence as the framework concept of our defense strategy, the AFSOC of the future will have to balance among five focus areas to compete with our pacing adversaries.

6 First, AFSOC will generate advantage by campaigning in 7 the gray zone, operating across the spectrum of visibility 8 and attribution. We will use our force to create the 9 dilemmas and uncertainty, and present cost-imposing problems for our adversaries. For instance, the development of an 10 amphibious capability for our MC-130 transport aircraft will 11 12 enable runway-independent operations, extend the global 13 reach and survivability of the aircraft, and provide access 14 to the enormous portions of the Earth's surface covered by 15 water that does not currently exist.

16 Secondly, we will engage as part of the broader Joint 17 Force employing our unique and sensitive capabilities to 18 create windows of advantage and sap adversary strength. In 19 order to do this effectively, we are transforming our 20 training and force presentation models. Our force generation process is made up of four phases, each 5 months 21 22 in length. The phases include a reset phase, individual 23 unit training, as well as joint and collective training 24 prior to commitment as part of the Joint Force.

25 We are pathfinding a new capability that we refer to as

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1 "mission sustainment teams." These 58-person teams are 2 comprised of 22 different specialties and allow our airmen to operate out of austere regions with the agility the 3 4 future operating environment requires. Our airmen will 5 spend the 15 months of the force generation cycle training б in skills above and beyond what their normal tasks might 7 entail. The end result is a team of multifunctional airmen 8 integrated into our tactical formations that can provide limited force protection, air transportation services, bed 9 10 down, subsistence and operational contracting support, and aircraft and personnel safety, to include explosive ordnance 11 12 disposal. By building these small, agile teams capable of 13 operating in disaggregated fashion in austere sites, we will 14 create dilemmas and uncertainty for our adversaries.

15 Third, AFSOC will remain poised to respond to global 16 crises and contingencies, wherever and whenever required, in 17 increasingly contested environments. We are employing our 18 force generation model to produce mission command echelons 19 at a higher state of readiness than previously has been 20 possible. Our force generation model will prepare, train, 21 certify, verify, and validate our airmen and their command 22 teams are ready for alert and deployment taskings. These 23 airmen will be trained to respond to short-notice taskings 24 while employing and maneuvering in militarily and 25 politically contested environments. This will reduce the

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current risk to mission and risk to force by providing
 continuity of leadership.

Fourth, AFSOC will more efficiently disrupt violent 3 4 extremist organizations to ensure they are unable to mount 5 external attacks on the U.S. homeland, and do so in a costб effective manner. Our Armed Overwatch program's light 7 footprint, rapid deployability, multi-mission utility, and 8 much lower operating costs per flight hour will enable AFSOC 9 to do more missions with fewer aircraft than had previously been possible. 10

Finally, AFSOC will remain focused on the specific tasks and missions assigned to SOCOM under the Unified Command Plan and the Joint Strategic Campaign Plan.

14 Chairman Kelly, Ranking Member Ernst, distinguished 15 members of the committee, the nation, the Air Force, and 16 U.S. Special Operations Command appreciate your time today 17 in giving me the opportunity to talk to you just a little 18 bit about the AFSOC of the future.

19 [The prepared statement of General Slife follows:]
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| 1 | Senator Kelly: Thank you, General. |
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| 2 | Lieutenant General Braga, Commander of U.S. Army |
| 3 | Special Operations Command. General. |
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STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL JONATHAN P. BRAGA,
 USA, COMMANDING GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY SPECIAL
 OPERATIONS COMMAND

4 General Braga: Chairman Kelly, Ranking Member Ernst, 5 and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for б the opportunity to represent the 36,000 exceptional men and 7 women of the United States Army Special Operations Command, 8 2,800 of which are deployed right now across 77 countries. I am proud to accompany my teammates, seated to the left and 9 10 right of me, that I have had the honor and privilege to serve in combat. Senator Blackburn, on behalf of the entire 11 12 command I would like to thank her and express our gratitude 13 for her support in upgrading Jeremiah Johnson's Silver Star 14 for his valorous actions in Tongo Tongo, Niger. Thank you. 15 Joining me today is Command Sergeant Major Michael 16 Weimer, USOC's senior enlisted advisor. Mike really 17 represents our people. Mike has served the nation for 29 18 years, deployed to combat 19 times since September 11, 2001. 19 He has carried with him a New York City Fire Department 20 patch as a reminder of our solemn responsibility to protect 21 the nation. On the 20th anniversary of 9/11, we were 22 fortunate to stand with hundreds of our Army special 23 operations teammates while Mike returned that same patch 24 that he carried on multiple objectives around the world, to 25 the men and women of FDNY, on the crowded and emotional

1 streets of Manhattan, as a symbol of our solidarity.

It is an honor for both of us to serve with the brave men and women of the Army special operations community who were the first in and the last out of Afghanistan.

As we approach Memorial Day, we are reminded of the selfless sacrifices made by our soldiers and their families over the last 20 years, especially the more than 1,700 Gold Star family members. This year we will inscribe Staff Sergeant Ryan Knauss, one of our psychological operations warriors, as the 378th name on our wall, and we will never forget.

Every component of the Army Special Operations Command contributed in Afghanistan. From our special operations aviators in filling Rangers in the dark of night to our civil affairs teams operating in austere conditions to Green Berets riding on horseback through the mountains, your Army special operations had an impact and protected the homeland without fail.

I assure you we remain vigilant in protecting the homeland as we weight our efforts, the priorities outlined in the National Defense Strategy. USASOC supports the Joint Force through irregular warfare campaigning for integrated deterrence, while simultaneously preparing for high-end conflict. It is vital that we address these challenges with strong interagency, international, and joint relationships

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1 to preserve our advantages over our nation's adversaries.

2 Russia's invasion of Ukraine demonstrated President Putin's determination to impose his will in blatant 3 4 disregard of international norms, rules, and behaviors. Our 5 existing partnerships and forward presence in the region 6 demonstrated strategic value when options were needed. 7 Following the invasion of Crimea over the last 7 1/2 years, 8 Army special operations deployed to assist our fearless 9 Ukrainian partners in support of building their resistance 10 capability and resiliency.

As we apply lessons from this crisis to train, 11 12 organize, equip, deploy, and campaign, we remain resolute in 13 our resolve to address our nation's most consequential strategic pacing challenge, the People's Republic of China. 14 15 There is no sanctuary from the scope and scale of the We remain steadfast in our confidence that this 16 threat. 17 generation of Army special operations soldiers will build 18 upon the legacy of those who proceeded them and uphold our 19 promise to protect the nation without equal.

We are committed to maintaining your trust and continuing our complete transparency with Congress and the American people. I thank you for this opportunity and look forward to answering your questions.

24 [The prepared statement of General Braga follows:]25

| 1 | Senat | cor | Kelly | : Than | nk you, | Gener | al. | | |
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| 2 | Rear | Adn | niral | Howard, | Comma | nder o | of Naval | Special | Warfare |
| 3 | Command. | Go | ahead | , Admir | al. | | | | |
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STATEMENT OF REAR ADMIRAL HUGH W. HOWARD, III, USN,
 COMMANDER, NAVAL SPECIAL WARFARE COMMAND

Admiral Howard: Chairman Kelly, Ranking Member Ernst, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to report on the mission readiness of Naval Special Warfare. I am honored to update you and the American people and humbled to do so alongside Force Master Chief Bill King, who I have served with for 31 years.

9 My report to the American people is shared with 10 humility, a humility sharpened through the complexity and risk of our mission. The threats that face our nation give 11 12 us urgency to accelerate distinctive and irregular 13 capabilities from the maritime flanks of our adversaries, 14 for integrated deterrence in our nation's defense. I am 15 confident that we are delivering the disruptive and 16 necessary change to be ready for what the nation will ask of 17 our force.

18 Our comparative advantage is our people, this nation's 19 greatest treasure. Our SEAL operators, combatant-craft 20 crewmen, warfighting support teammates, and families who, 21 alongside our Gold Star families, form a highly reliable 22 team, a team fused together and enrolled with a common 23 purpose, trust, and candor, creativity, and resilience. We 24 fortify the culture of continuous assessment and development 25 and design new character, cognitive, and leadership

1 attribute assessments across the career continuum. We have 2 implemented and improved a more rigorous selection for all leaders, officers and senior enlisted, a process that 3 4 includes psychometric testing, peer and subordinate 5 assessments, and a double-blind selection panel leveraging 6 data science and counter-bias approaches to increase 7 precision and objectivity of leader selection and assignment 8 decisions.

9 We recognize diversity as one of our greatest sources 10 of strength to solve the hardest problems, and we are making 11 significant investments with the Navy to directly engage 12 communities that are underrepresented in our formation.

We built the sustainable architecture to proactively seek out candidates that may not have historically thought of joining our ranks. Since my last report we graduated our first female combatant-craft crewman and tripled female cadre across all phases of the assessment and selection pathway to bolster development of women in Naval Special Warfare.

Delivering a more lethal and survivable force requires that we evolve and adapt faster than our adversaries. Over the past year, we developed a plan to substantively increase investment in the modernization of exquisite, cross-domain capabilities that provide the access and effects we must have as a nation to persistently hold peer adversaries' 19

1 critical targets at risk. We are now holding approximately 2 one-third of our force in reserve to more agilely respond to emerging global missions, and critically to conduct the 3 4 urgent experimentation with innovative mission concepts for 5 step changes and tactics and advanced technologies, б technologies that include artificial intelligence, 7 eponymous, multi-domain unmanned systems, and cyber 8 electronic warfare and kinetic effects.

9 As the Navy's commandos, we are tightly linked with 10 fleet commanders, allies, partners, and U.S. government 11 agencies to create a regular warfighting advantage for the 12 Joint Force, and generate uncertainty in adversary 13 confidence, escalation offramps, and greater leverage for 14 our civilian leadership in crisis.

Master Chief King and I are proud of our force and their service to protect and defend our great nation. We will continue to be humble stewards of the incredible trust that you and the American people place in us, and we thank you for your continued support of our team and Naval Special Warfare's families. I look forward to your questions. [The prepared statement of Admiral Howard follows:]

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| 1 | Senator Kelly: Thank you, Admiral. |
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| 2 | Major General Glynn, Commander of U.S. Marine Forces |
| 3 | Special Operations Command. |
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STATEMENT OF MAJOR GENERAL JAMES F. GLYNN, USMC,
 COMMANDER, UNITED STATES MARINE FORCES SPECIAL OPERATIONS
 COMMAND

4 General Glynn: Thank you, Chairman Kelly, Ranking 5 Member Ernst, and other distinguished members of the б Thanks for the opportunity to update you on the committee. 7 status and posture of Marine Corps Forces Special Operations 8 It is an honor for Sergeant Major Loftus and I to Command. 9 join you again this year, alongside my fellow SOF component comments and their senior enlisted leaders. 10

Since we met last year, MARSOC maintains a persistent forward-deployed presence in support of six named operations across the globe, and Marine Raiders conducted operations in Indo-Pacific Command, Central Command, and Africa Command, while episodic deployments in support of European and Southern Commands.

Our mission-tailored forces continue to maximize efficiency while remaining faithful stewards of resources and continue to account for significantly more of the missions performed than the size of the force, 3,500, and slice of the budget would predict.

As you have heard from the geographic combatant commanders, they are increasingly challenged in the uncertainty of semi-permissive environments as our adversaries seek to gain and maintain influence in the gray

1 zone. MARSOC is leveraging our organizational agility, predominantly our size, to maximize the effectiveness of the 2 force and provide immense benefit to the SOF enterprise and 3 4 our parent service. Competition requires special operations 5 forces that can be active in the gray zone and win in б conflict, for which your Marine Raiders are postured and 7 focused. In fact, it is our quest to bring transparency to 8 the gray in gray zone.

9 Over the past year we have further developed our 10 innovative operating concept that provides the nation with a 11 unique capability. Strategic shaping and reconnaissance 12 encompasses a wide range of capabilities, from cooperation 13 with partners and allies to increasing costs to adversaries 14 to deter, disrupt, and deny their objectives.

15 The operational art of SSR, Strategic Shaping and 16 Reconnaissance, seeks to connect the joint interagency, 17 intergovernmental, and multinational communities as they 18 develop persistent networks that can enhance strategic intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. The concept 19 20 supports multi-domain campaigning for long-term shaping and 21 influence in support of SOCOM, the Joint Force, and the 22 nation in strategically critical locations.

As one example over the course of the last year, MARCOS provided SOF-peculiar capabilities to the theater Special Operations Command for AFRICOM while connecting the combat

1 power of the Marine Corps 15th Marine Expeditionary Unit to 2 provide capability and capacity in support of current operations off the coast of Africa. This demonstrated the 3 4 possibilities in a domain approach that includes forward-5 based SOF operating in the littorals that can connect air, 6 maritime, and cyber elements, in this case of a Marine 7 expeditionary unit, off the coast of Somalia, to maintain 8 pressure on violent extremists while supporting our regional 9 partners.

10 As we experiment with emerging and next-generation capabilities, operations against violent extremist 11 12 organization networks continue and provide our forces the 13 placement and access with partners and allies against 14 priority threats. We pursue missions in littoral regions 15 that facilitate close ties to the naval force that include 16 fleet and marine forces. Our ability to leverage these 17 characteristics is integral to our expanding impact as part 18 of what our commandant calls the "Stand in Force," necessary 19 at the persistent forward edge of deterrence.

We recognize that the current and future operational capabilities rest upon a foundation that we all have in common -- outstanding Marine Raiders and their families. To maximize continued excellence and enable new operational concepts, we must continue to safeguard and sustain our most valuable resource through programs we discussed in some

detail last year, specifically Preservation of the Force and Family, sexual assault and prevention, and diversity and inclusion initiatives. Each are at a different point of maturity, yet they contribute to a collective organizational culture of physical, mental, spiritual, and family excellence to enhance mission success and strengthen family resilience.

8 In closing, we remain committed to providing the Joint 9 Force with Marine Raiders that possess unique special 10 operations capabilities, who are threat focused, devoted to 11 force modernization, and whose actions continually 12 demonstrate our motto, "Spiritus Invictus," or

13 "unconquerable spirit."

On behalf of the men and women of MARSOC, I thank the committee for your continued support to those in uniform and their families and for your commitment to our national security. Thank you.

18 [The prepared statement of General Glynn follows:]
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Senator Kelly: Thank you, General, and thank you to
 all of you for your statements. I will begin our first
 round of questions for 5 minutes here. And this first
 question is for all four of you, and since we only have 5
 minutes we will have to keep it brief.

For much of the last 2 years, the Department has been refining a joint warfighting concept that finds a credible theory of victory should deterrence fail with a near-peer adversary. However, our long-term strategic competitors continue to make gains through hybrid warfare and coercion below the threshold of traditional armed conflict.

As you all have pointed out in your statements, our SOF have a key role to play in this type of warfare. So as you look at what will be asked of our special operations forces for the next, say, 10 to 15 years, what do you believe will be the most important skill sets and capabilities, and which of these will be the most difficult to develop?

18 And we will start with General Slife.

19 General Slife: Thank you, Senator. As integrated 20 deterrence is the framework concept, one of the things that 21 we talk about in AFSOC is that "deterrence" is the noun and 22 "integrated" is the adjective. Deterrence is the thing we 23 are trying to do but integrated is how we are going to do 24 it.

25 And I think when you think about what integration means

there is no force in the DoD that is more integrated than SOF. We are jointly interoperable at much lower levels. All four of us have operated with one another in combat since we were much, much more junior in our careers. And so SOF is integrated internally.

6 Furthermore, SOF has a set of relationships around the 7 globe, both with partner militaries and also with embassy 8 teams that is unrivaled. AFSOC was present in 74 countries 9 since the last time we had the opportunity to speak to this 10 committee.

And finally, across the U.S. government, no part of the DoD force is more connected to the interagency and the intelligence community than our special operations forces. So I think that is going to be where our competitive advantage lies is our ability to integrate internally, across the U.S. government, and also with our partners.

17 Senator Kelly: Thank you. General Braga? 18 General Braga: Senator, I would echo the critical 19 importance of making sure we work with our international 20 partners and intel community and interagency. It is even 21 more important as we face strategic challenges of China and 22 Russia. We have to rethink everything we do, how we live in 23 a contact layer and look to seek to provide options, both 24 during competition, and should it transition to high-end 25 conflict, how do you survive, how do you shoot, move, and

communicate, how do you live in a different electromatic
 spectrum that our adversaries are invested very heavily in.

3 So we are relooking at everything from our capabilities 4 to how we train people to ensure their survivability, still 5 maintain a focus on smaller units of action having an 6 outsized effect, being able to operate, though, in austere 7 locations with those partners in the contact layer.

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Senator Kelly: Admiral?

Admiral Howard: Our contribution to integrated
deterrence is principally the irregular ways and means that
we deter our peer adversaries. We are prioritizing
irregular partners, irregular global partners, irregular
denied access capabilities for hard targets, irregular and
scalable effects.

In terms of capabilities that support this effort, lethal and survivable access platforms, both on the surface and the subsurface domains, unmanned systems that are increasingly autonomous and interoperable, and then cyber and electronic warfare.

20 Senator Kelly: Thank you. General?

General Glynn: Senator, as you are aware deterrence and deterrence theory can get pretty complicated. But the biggest thing, the most significant thing in deterrence that we find, as has been alluded to, comes from our allies and partners and their perspective of risk, and what is most 1 risky to our adversaries, be they China or Russia?

And so the most important part of deterrence is going to remain the relationships and the allies and partnerships that we specifically invest in in the special operations community.

б To the other half of your question, the hardest part, I 7 believe, is going to be the technical aspects. We have all 8 already alluded to information operations and cyber 9 capabilities, and there has been one allusion to space thus 10 far. That is going to take education and training over 11 time, that is a substantial investment on all of our parts. 12 Senator Kelly: thank you. When General Slife 13 mentioned the MC-130 amphibious operations I thought that might be on the list. An Air Force guy potentially landing 14 15 on an aircraft carrier might be a skill set that would be

16 hard to develop.

17 General Slife: I have done it. It is easy.

18 Senator Kelly: It is easy?

19 General Slife: It is overrated.

20 Senator Kelly: Well thank you for that, and I will now 21 recognize Senator Ernst for 5 minutes.

Senator Ernst: Thank you so much, and, of course, as we all sat down and visited during your office calls we talked extensively about POTFF. And so maybe in my second round of questions I can ask each of you a little bit more 1 about POTFF and your specific programs.

But General Slife, there was something that you brought up in your office call that I would love to hear a little bit more about, your efforts within POTFF to address the moral hazard. And it is something that I had not put a lot of thought into, but if you could explain to the members of our subcommittee what your intent would be as you continue to delve into this area.

General Slife: Thank you, Senator. I am happy to do 9 The conversation that Senator Ernst and I had 10 it. 11 yesterday, we talked about the three types of invisible 12 wounds that many of our servicemembers suffer from because 13 of their experiences over the last 20 years. The first one 14 is neurocognitive injury. So this is really TBI, concussive 15 effects. It is a physical damage to the brain. And so we 16 understand that and we are focused on that. SOCOM has a 17 DoD-leading program around neurocognitive health.

The second invisible injury is psychological injury, and this manifests as post-traumatic stress. It is the manifestation of witnessing or being part of a significantly traumatic event and the long-term effects that has on you.

But I think there is a third type of invisible injury, and it is moral injury. These are the injuries that are incurred when we act in a way that is contrary to our moral system, and we do damage to ourselves as we reflect back on the things that we have done over the last 20 years. And so I have experienced some of this myself, having made decisions in the moment to take people's lives that I then, you know, afterwards wonder, was that the right decision. It seemed like the right decision at the time, but what does that mean to me now?

7 And so as we have looked at moral injury as a third 8 type of this invisible wounds kind of triad, we have been 9 engaged directly with the Air Force to invest in that leg of 10 our POTFF program that would attend to these moral injuries. 11 And we have gotten commitment from the Air Force to embed a 12 religious support team, a chaplain and a chaplain assistant 13 NCO, into every squadron-level formation in Air Force 14 Special Operations Command. This does not exist anywhere in 15 the Air Force. You know, I had to work hard with the Air 16 Force to get there. But we do have that program coming down 17 in the pike.

18 So that is a big win for us in the POTFF front, and 19 coupled with some of the other things that we may talk 20 about, Senator, that is really the answer to your question. 21 Senator Ernst: Yeah, no, thank you, General Slife, and 22 I am anxious to hear more about that as you continue to 23 develop that.

And General Braga, thank you so much again. During the office call you had the opportunity to visit with me and my

1 team about the Ukrainian forces that you have been able to 2 train and work with over 7 years or so. It was an 3 investment that now we see is paying large, large dividends.

And what are the follow-on risks from the invasion, in particular when we look at Moldova and Kosovo, and just in your judgment where do we need to expand our footprint and presence in EUCOM?

8 General Braga: Well, ma'am, certainly I do not want to 9 speak for EUCOM and their current prioritization, but I 10 would say we have had longstanding, generational 11 relationships in some places across Eastern Europe, both in 12 NATO and non-NATO countries, that I think pay huge dividends 13 and return on investment, for, honestly, small amounts of 14 physical footprint on the ground, as we expand their 15 capabilities.

We mentioned resistance and resiliency but it is also interoperability, and I believe Senator Kelly mentioned that, expanding the access presence and influence.

And when I mentioned the scale and scope of the threat of Russia and China, we will not be able to do this alone. That is why I talk about the international partners and increasing their capacities and their capabilities is so critical. And that is from information operations. That is unconventional warfare. That is asymmetric tactics, techniques, and procedures that you are seeing unfold right

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now in the Ukraine. I will not go into it in this forum but would be absolutely willing to go into it in perhaps a closed-door session of other partnerships we are expanding right now, and certainly the world is paying attention to what is unfolding in Ukraine that is adding emphasis to that.

7 Senator Ernst: Wonderful. Thank you, gentlemen.
8 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

9 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Senator. Senator Kaine. 10 Senator Kaine: Thank you to all of you, your 11 testimonies. A couple of points that I find interesting and 12 just kind of want to underline. General Glynn, you talked 13 about, when you were asked about deterrence you said the 14 lead deterrence that we have is our network of alliances and 15 partners, and it truly is an edge where Russia and China, 16 they are just not really in the same ballpark with us on 17 They do not have that network. And now they are that. 18 seeing how powerful a network of alliances can be, so that 19 is a takeaway.

And then, General Braga, I like the fact that you started with talking about your enlisted leader colleague carrying the FDNY patch for 20 years, because it has been 20 years where I think we have leaned really heavily on special forces. Sort of disproportionate to your slice of the budget or the size of the component, we leaned very heavily

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1 on you.

2 So I have really one question that would take much longer than 5 minutes to answer, and maybe I will start with 3 4 General Glynn and go right to left around the table, from my 5 side. During these 20 years where we were leaning very б heavily on you, large in missions against non-state 7 terrorist organizations, they have had a lot of lethal 8 capacity but they have not had the ability to like challenge 9 us in the air, challenge our communications dominance, 10 challenge some other just strong areas of expertise we have. 11 As we are now looking at a National Defense Strategy, 12 that focus is on peers that do have the ability to, you 13 know, not have a permissive air environment or challenge us 14 on the communications side. I suppose, as special 15 operations leaders, you have to think about new strategies 16 and make new investment decisions too, to recognize the 17 reality of that kind of a challenge.

Talk a little bit about how, within your commands, you are sort of looking at the battle against great-state competition and how that affects the planning and investment decisions you make.

General Glynn: Thank you, Senator, for that question, and I think I will tee it up and then as we go around the horn we can probably expand on it.

25 The notion of the gray zone is I guess where I will

start, and it is defined as gray for a reason, because it is where, if we looked at ourselves for 20 years and decided how we would want to combat the strengths that the United States brings in the manner in which we have for the last 20 years, we would probably come to many of the conclusions that our strategic adversaries have as well.

7 And so to your question, the choices that we are having 8 to determine right now is what of the counterterrorism skill 9 sets, the stuff that we have invested and developed very 10 well over the last 20 years, how much of it translates, how 11 well does it translate, and what else do we need to be able 12 to do.

13 In sitting alongside these gentlemen in the past, I 14 think I will conclude for the moment with our examination of 15 cyber capabilities, our examination of space capabilities, 16 and the integration with special operations going forward to 17 narrow that gray zone. If you will allow me to stop there. 18 Senator Kaine: Admiral Howard, you and I have talked 19 about the cyber dimension of this before, but I would love 20 to hear your answer on this as well.

Admiral Howard: We have, and with cyber and electronic warfare, with our proximity to access to hard targets we see ourselves as a part of that kill chain, in extending the reach of the cyber and electronic warfare enterprises. But we are clearly at an inflection point. I think
within special operations we are entering, I call it the fifth modern era of special operations. For Naval Special Warfare, we over-rotated on counterterrorism clearly, and we lost some ground in the distinctive things that only we can do. And we are moving with urgency to make the main thing the things that only we can do in the maritime domain.

7 And I would also say that we are investing in time and 8 space to conduct experimentation and concept development 9 with combat-validated forces, and that is important to 10 embrace what is in front of us, put pressure on ourselves, and deliver step changes. Move faster. Learn faster. 11 We 12 can do that at lower training risk with combat-ready forces. 13 And then, finally, the fleet integration, using the 14 fleet and the Joint Force to red-team ourselves in terms of 15 survivability and lethality.

16

Senator Kaine: Great. General Braga:

General Braga: Senator, I will just mention two to add on there. First, information advantage and information operations. I think we are watching it daily, the strategic impact this has. I cannot envision a future where that does not increase in importance, affecting targeting audiences, general populations, governments, armies, morale, and eroding their overall effectiveness.

24 Secondly, we have started a campaign of learning. The 25 other component commanders mentioned it. But I really look 1 at SOF, space, and cyber as the modern-day triad. I think 2 we owe you best military advice and options and national 3 command authority for flexible deterrent and flexible 4 response options that involve and optimize those three legs 5 of the triad for options, both in deterrence but also 6 maintaining dominance in the domains for high-end conflict 7 and supporting the Joint Force.

8 Senator Kaine: I am out of time but can I let General
9 Slife answer? Are you okay, Coach? Thank you.

10 General Slife: Thanks, Senator. I will just briefly 11 highlight one other thing. You know, I believe that the 12 service components of SOF are most effective when we are 13 closest to our parent services, and I think you have heard 14 some of that from Admiral Howard talking about his 15 relationship with the fleet. It is no different for us.

16 And so I think one of the places where we see a value 17 proposition for SOF is enabling, particularly in conflict-18 type scenarios, enabling our broader service, you know, 19 parent, to be effective. And so I think for AFSOC there is 20 a lot of work to be done in the integrated air defense area as well as the counter-space mission area. There are a lot 21 22 of very critical capabilities that our adversaries rely on 23 in those areas that I think SOF brings unique capability to 24 effect. Thank you, Senator.

25 Senator Kaine: Thanks, Mr. Chair.

1

Senator Kelly: Senator Tuberville.

Senator Tuberville: Thank you very much, gentlemen.
Thanks for being here today. Thank you for your service.
It is such a tough time for the world that we live in.

5 This is for all of you. What resources, if any, have б you asked for but not have been provided? And I am asking 7 In November 2020, Acting Secretary of it for this reason. 8 Defense Chris Miller enacted the fiscal year 2017 NDAA 9 requirement to elevate the SO/LIC position to be on par with 10 other service secretaries. But last May, Secretary Austin reversed this decision, burying SO/LIC back under the Under 11 12 Secretary of Defense for Policy. SO/LIC is still 13 understaffed and is not getting the routine direct access to 14 the Secretary the Deputy Secretary should, as directed by 15 the NDAA.

So just any comments any one of you have on that?
General, I will start with you.

General Slife: Senator, thank you. So each year I we find ourselves trying to balance our budgeting recommendations among modernization, readiness, personnel programs, these types of things, and every year we come up short. I think we could all find additional areas where we would like to invest in order to reduce risk.

The budget that was submitted -- I think Senator Ernst described some of the fiscal realities of it -- but it

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represents a balance of risk among those areas. And to directly answer your question, I think each of us have contributed to the SOCOM Commander's unfunded priority list, which reflect those areas where if additional resources were available those would be the things we would recommend that Congress might consider investing in.

7 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. General?

8 General Braga: Senator, I would echo. We have 9 submitted that in the congressional unfunded priority list and it touches upon a lot of some of the capabilities we 10 were talking about previously. But there is absolutely an 11 12 impact if you just take inflation alone. Inflation alone 13 has certainly affected our supply chain, no different than 14 any other facet of society right now. I mean, the average 15 increase in parts, when you are talking for our helicopter 16 fleet, has gone up 31 to 35 percent, and that comes at a 17 tradeoff.

So there are always tradeoffs and prioritization decisions to be made where you balance risk to force, risk to mission, training readiness, or deploying through operations, activities, and investments. So that is continual, but just like the rest of the world, we are dealing with that impact of inflation right now, with, as Senator Ernst said, the flat budget.

25 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Admiral?

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1 Admiral Howard: What is before the Congress now is an 2 opportunity within Naval Special Warfare to make some additional investments, in denied area of access, across the 3 4 maritime flank, where we maintain comparative advantage with 5 peer adversaries, irregular and scalable, kinetic and non-6 kinetic effects, so a suite of effects across a range of 7 attribution options there, and the survivability and 8 lethality of our sub-sea and surface platforms.

9 So given the opportunity to make some growth in our 10 community, pending the congressional judgments there, we are 11 on the right trajectory for what I outlined before, in terms 12 of what we are aiming for, for regular deterrence.

General Glynn: Senator, thanks for the opportunity to comment on it. I would say that the most acute area, the place where we face the hardest choices, and they are wellknown at ASD(SO/LIC) and at the SOCOM level, that is a good team. It is a good relationship that supports all of us, I believe.

But where it really comes down to a hard choice is when we have to make choices between equipment and people. I think you heard that in our opening statements. And what do I mean by that? Modernization, the investment in the technology that is required to compete with the likes of Russia and China, while taking care of current operations and supporting the force and the family. And I think that

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is somewhat where we are at now, in terms of how will we pay
 for modernization going forward.

3 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Just one more quick 4 question here. A recurring theme here in the Senate is that 5 our commanders in the field do not have enough ISR. Just 6 your quick thoughts, you know, commercially, the available 7 options such as Maxar. What capabilities do they bring? As 8 anybody got any thoughts on that?

9 General Slife: Senator I would offer to you that 10 commercial capabilities are growing at a rate that rivals 11 organic military capabilities, and I think a key part of our 12 ISR enterprise going forward is going to be leveraging the 13 various modalities of intelligence collection available from 14 orbit. So I am interested in pursuing every one of those as 15 part of a holistic air- and space-based ISR architecture.

Senator Tuberville: Anybody else got a thought on Maxar or any other capabilities?

18 General Braga: Senator, as the world becomes more 19 connected we need to rethink modern-day ISR, so it is not 20 just from things in orbit, off-sea LEO, NEO, and space, but 21 also just how the world becomes more connected and rethink 22 and experiment with ways to have better situational 23 understanding out there. Again, I think SOF can be part of 24 that solution, with our innovation-type mindset of employing 25 commercial capability as well as government-procured

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1 capability.

2 Senator Tuberville: Admiral Howard, have you heard of 3 cell drone?

4 Admiral Howard: Yes, I have.

Senator Tuberville: What do you think about it?
Admiral Howard: Unmanned capabilities are absolutely
critical for autonomous systems that give us situational
awareness, decision dominance, and in the cast of that
platform specifically, maritime domain awareness.

Senator Tuberville: General Glynn, have you got anything to say about it?

12 General Glynn: I would offer, Senator, that I think 13 when we think ISR we typically think of that vehicle, and 14 really General Slife is the one who has educated me over the 15 course of the last year that really the way forward we need 16 to think about the manner in which those vehicles are 17 controlled, rather than a single operator with a single 18 control system on a single platform, offered referred to as 19 "swarming," but how will a single operator, through a 20 control system, have access to any number of platforms that can do what is needed, when it is needed. 21

22 Senator Tuberville: Thank you.

23 Senator Kelly: Thank you. We will go through our next 24 round of 5-minute questions. I want to start with Admiral 25 Howard and talk a little bit about undersea capabilities 1 here.

You know, it is pretty much understood that our undersea capability, we have got a comparative advantage to Russia and China in the ability to operate under the ocean. And I understand this is one of SOCOM's priority investment areas for fiscal year 2023 is the development of a new undersea insertion and exfiltration capability.

8 So, Admiral, can just kind of step through us here how 9 the development process is going, how you are working with SOCOM to extend the undersea reach of naval special 10 operators, and also a little bit about integration with the 11 12 regular Navy. You know, often as you are developing a 13 system and you are trying to get it to work with something 14 you might not -- it is not part of the development program 15 but it needs to work with existing hardware, that can be a 16 challenge. So if you can comment on that as well.

17 Admiral Howard: Thank you. Our relationship with our 18 submarine force has never been closer. We learn from 19 working with our submarine force. You know, they are an 20 exemplar of a highly reliable organization, which we always 21 strive to be. We also have an advantage as a country in the 22 undersea with our allies and partners. I was recently in 23 Europe with several of our allies, where we are 24 collaborating on new capabilities and combined operations. 25 For acquisition and oversight and execution and due

1 diligence of these programs we are investing with SOCOM and 2 SOCOM's AT&L inside of my own command so that we bolster the workforce around the execution of the program. 3 The 4 integration, we have a dependency with the Navy. There is a great alignment with Admiral Gilday's staff and OPNAV N9 5 б under Admiral Conn, and then, of course, at NAVSEA. I am 7 confident that we are on a trajectory to deliver the nation 8 capabilities that are distinctive and access the denied 9 targets in a way that is survivable and persistent.

10 Senator Kelly: Can you talk a little bit about some of 11 the requirements that, unclassified, you know, what you are 12 looking for in this system and how the integration with the 13 Navy is going? I know in prior systems we have had 14 difficulty integrating hardware onto submarines, and I want 15 to make sure that that is not something we encounter here 16 with this program.

17 Admiral Howard: We are on the right course in that 18 regard with the Navy to expand the kinds of capabilities 19 that we can integrate onto our submarine posts. With future 20 capabilities we are looking at extended ranges, increasing payloads, teaming with unmanned systems. That is generally 21 22 our strategy. We see the undersea as absolutely critical to 23 deterrence. I think that it is a place that we maintain 24 advantage, and it is a place where we must maintain 25 advantage to critically deter our peer adversaries.

1 Senator Kelly: Thank you. Senator Blackburn.

Senator Blackburn: Thank you, and thank you all. We
appreciate your time so incredibly much.

4 General Braga, thank you for your time yesterday. We 5 appreciate that. And we talked a lot about China and the 6 Chinese Communist Party. And I want to talk a bit more 7 about that because, as you know, when we look at what is 8 happening with this new Axis of Evil -- Russia, China, Iran, 9 and North Korea -- and look at the way that Russia and 10 China, and North Korea also, with hypersonics, the way they 11 are looking at space and nuclear and cyber and hypersonics 12 autonomy, there are concerns that have arisen.

13 So talk to me a little bit about how you are leveraging 14 early research in emerging technologies to prevent some of 15 technological surprises across different warfighting 16 domains, and how are you drilling down on that? Because it 17 is going to require an intentionality that sometimes may not 18 have been required in other disciplines.

19 General Braga: Thank you, Senator, for the opportunity 20 to discuss that. I think one of the transferrable lessons 21 learned from the last couple of decades is the power of 22 network analysis and network defeat in identifying critical 23 vulnerabilities, whether it is supply chain or high-end 24 weapons systems, as really the whole Joint Force is looking 25 at maintained dominance, whether it is JADC2 or the joint

1 warfighting concept.

2 SOF's role in that is, I think, clearly to seek out some of those vulnerabilities, work amongst our Joint Force 3 4 partners, and specifically in support of the geographic 5 combatant commands, but leveraging perhaps the other б strengths of, I mentioned earlier about cyber and space, for 7 more holistic effect to hold at risk some of their critical 8 vulnerabilities and nodes, be it in C5 ISR&T, their mission 9 command platforms, or weapon systems. We would absolutely 10 appreciate the opportunity, in a closed-door session, to go into more detail at some of the operational aspects that we 11 12 are looking at, but have confidence that we are continually 13 experimenting and looking at and analyzing how to best take 14 advantage of those -- learn more first and then look how to 15 take advantage of those possible vulnerabilities in support 16 of the Joint Force.

17 Senator Blackburn: And I think it would be helpful to 18 hear from each of you, and you can just give this to us in a 19 written response. I think it is probably a bit too much for 20 here, and then we can dig a little deeper on that in a 21 closed session at some point. But hear from each of you 22 where you feel like there are shortfalls in capacity and 23 capabilities and then how we need to change. Each year we 24 are working on the NDAA, and as we change that focus to look 25 at what we are going to do in the future, how we are going

1 to utilize new capabilities, hypersonics, how we are going 2 to utilize some of the technological innovation that is coming our way, I think it would be helpful to us as we go 3 4 through to figure out, you know, where you all see, where 5 the differences in what we perceive and what you are dealing 6 with every day as you are going about your task. So if I 7 could ask you all for a written response I would appreciate 8 that.

9 I also want to turn a little bit to AI and assisted 10 decision-making. We have, I would say, probably at this point, because of ISR we have volumes of data and video 11 12 feeds that could be used to establish really kind of a 13 routine and also an abnormal activity line. And I think it 14 is important for us to know how you all are using big data 15 analytics to look at this and how you are going to expand 16 the utilization of big data in order accommodate and 17 backfill limited personnel. And knowing what you are going 18 to do with those analytics and how you are going to utilize 19 AI would be helpful to us.

I guess I have got five pages of questions here and I am out of time. So, Mr. Chairman, I will send it back to you and will have some things for the record. Thank you all.

Senator Kelly: Thank you, Senator. Senator Ernst.
Senator Ernst: Yes. Thank you so much. And I am

1 going to go right back to POTFF. I think as we all have sat 2 down and visited about the things that are important for our forces, especially in the realm of SOCOM, it does come back 3 4 to Preservation of the Force and Family. And so I know, 5 General Slife, we had started with you. You talked a little 6 bit about moral injury and what you are doing to combat 7 those effects. And what I would like for each of you to do 8 as well is talk a little bit about POTFF, and if you have 9 any special initiatives that you have started we would love 10 to hear about those, as well as other avenues that you would 11 like to see adopted throughout your forces.

12 So, General Slife, do you have any additional that you 13 would like to add, and then we will go to General Braga.

14 General Slife: Briefly, Senator. So POTFF resourcing 15 is appropriately spread a little unevenly across AFSOC. 16 Some of our units have greater demands for one aspect than 17 another. But one thing that we have generally seen is the 18 units with POTFF resources embedded at the unit level have 19 lower incidences of ill discipline, they have lower 20 instances of sexual assault and sexual harassment, they have lower instances of suicidal ideation or attempted suicides. 21 22 And so based on some of this there is certainly a 23 correlation. We are not yet sure about causation. We 24 continue to collect data to be able to draw that.

25 But based on the very positive results we have seen out

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of our POTFF program there is an increase in AFSOC's POTFF
investment. We have taken internal offsets in order to
increase our POTFF resources across more of our units inside
of AFSOC because of the very positive results we have seen.
Senator Ernst: That is good. Go where they are.

6 Yeah, thank you. How about USASOC?

General Braga: Senator, first of all, thank you for
your stalwart support of POTFF over the years. The men and
women of USASOC absolutely thank you.

10 I think it has been easy to sell when you show the 11 physical manifestation of someone who has had a grievous 12 physical wound, and we have those types of vignettes, but I 13 do think we need a better job on the data collection phase 14 of it. So we are starting different initiatives, from 15 baselining our incoming students -- again, we have about 16 3,000 at any one time at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, going 17 through our school system -- and identifying a digital 18 profile of them to help them be the best possible person 19 they can be, across all pillars of POTFF.

We are investing and trying to be more data-driven, even on spiritual and falling in line with the Army's lead for spiritual assessment tool, which is at least in the academic research proven to increase resiliency and lower rates of depression and suicide and the like. I am a personal huge believer of the behavioral health impact that

both our operational psychologists and my clinical workers have just made an untold amount of impact. And when we even look at our formation from suicidal ideations and the like we have a lower rate of usage rate for acute care for those coming into the formation who have been specifically assessed and selected and those who have just been assigned to United States Army Special Operations Command.

But we need to do a better job on the data collection, 9 get that to really everyone to tell the story, the good-news 10 story of POTFF. So we are making efforts in that, to not 11 only to smarter-base the SOCOM solution but also human 12 factors dashboard that we are working on at the USASOC 13 level.

14 Senator Ernst: Thank you. Admiral?

15 Admiral Howard: Thank you. One of our data advantage 16 initiatives is around POTFF and seeing the data in a way 17 where we can more accurately articulate measures of 18 effectiveness, understand needs. I would just say a 19 tremendous effort on our team to destigmatize mental health 20 The care that we have embedded is transformation issues. 21 from our ops psychologists to our chaplains, with emphasize 22 on neurocognitive health as well.

And then lastly I will just say that veteran health, and thinking about POTFF into our veteran population. This is where we are partnering with outside-of-government

entities and bringing those best practices to our veteran
 teammates.

3 Senator Ernst: Yeah, great. Thank you, Admiral.4 General Glynn?

5 General Glynn: Senator, I will likewise thank you for 6 your continued support of POTFF. I think I will take a 7 different tack and just flag an area where I think all of us 8 should pay attention, with the shift in the future of what 9 military health care is likely to be. We find ourselves 10 focused on potential gaps between POTFF as we have known it and the areas where it has extended that and our need to 11 12 walk it back, if you will, to fill in gaps that seem to be 13 created. And I will give you an example.

You have heard several references to mental and behavioral health. That specialty care is an area that we are paying very close attention to going forward. You can see that that is going to be a persistent need, and access to that is -- I known it is challenging across the enterprise, not just military health care, but that is an example of an area.

21 On the plus side, we talked about this in office call 22 but for wider awareness. SOCOM's investment and our 23 opportunity to work on the cognitive performance side, our 24 ability to baseline folks who join MARSOC, and now we can 25 watch them over time is already interesting. I think it is

going to become fascinating over the course of 5 to 10
 years.

3 Senator Ernst: Absolutely. Thank you so much. Mr.4 Chair.

5 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Senator. So I just returned 6 from visiting our allies and servicemembers, a couple of 7 stops in Poland and Germany. It is clear that U.S. Special 8 Operations Forces can act as a significant force multiplier 9 for our strategic partners, including when facing off some 10 well-armed adversaries. And I think nowhere is this more 11 apparent than in what is going on in Ukraine today.

As I mentioned, and I think General Braga mentioned during our opening remarks, reports have indicated that Putin's army here has stalled in Ukraine because of the direct support in training special operations forces of the Ukrainian military since the invasion of Crimea in 2014.

General Braga, I know that you cannot comment on the specifics in this training but can you discuss some of the lessons learned from Ukraine regarding the use of Army special operations capabilities as the U.S. military continues in this pivot towards great power competition with Russia?

General Braga: Senator, thank you for the opportunity. I think there are lots of lessons learned that can be applied elsewhere, although other parts of the globe are not

1 certainly the same, from our information ops and 2 psychological operations, civil affairs teams on the ground right now working with the multitude of international non-3 4 governmental organizations supporting the people of Ukraine, 5 and certainly our special forces teams who have been there, 6 again, for multiple years now, helping them. I mean, the 7 credit really goes to the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian 8 military. We just helped them a little bit along that 9 journey.

10 But I do think what is an untold story is the 11 international partnership with the special operations forces 12 of a multitude of different countries. I will not name the 13 number right now but they have absolutely banded together in 14 a much-outsized impact to support Ukrainian SOF and 15 Ukrainian military in their efforts right now that I think 16 is a great new story. And I think that really bore out from 17 the last 20 years of working together, sweating together, 18 bleeding together in different battlefields, on different 19 continents. And some of these partners are new. There has 20 been a coalescence and a joining of that unity of effort. It is absolutely inspiring to see. That, itself, is -- I 21 22 think you mentioned earlier -- is something that our 23 adversaries desire to have, that we have, and that is really 24 a gold standard, those international partnerships, that can 25 be part of the solution moving forward.

1 Certainly we are taking tactical lessons learned and 2 immediately trying to apply them to our schoolhouses and our 3 other foreign partners for everyone to learn as this 4 unfortunate conflict continues to unfold.

5 Senator Kelly: Yeah. Sometimes it is not ideal to 6 share those lessons learned. Do you have any examples that 7 you are comfortable --

8 General Braga: Well, it is impressive to see, just in 9 open press, you see the impact that manned and unmanned drones and teaming is having. I think that is an absolute 10 11 critical growth area for United States Army Special 12 Operations Command. It is one of our modernization 13 priorities, one of our seven modernization priorities. Ι cannot envision a future battlefield without ever-increasing 14 15 manned, unmanned robotics and the application of AI to 16 maximize their effect and impact across all warfighting 17 functions. That is something we are looking at extremely 18 closely and only seeing growth in future prioritization 19 resources training. And even possibly we are experimenting 20 what type of MOS or branches or specialties are inside the Army Special Operations Command, so it is not just an 21 22 additional duty. It is an actual specialty.

23 Senator Kelly: Can you comment on a little bit about 24 how the cultural and language, you know, training that Army 25 special operators receive and how that has helped in

1 training our special operations partners in other countries?

Senator, it is imperative that we are 2 General Braga: both culturally attuned and speak the language. Now, do we 3 4 speak the language of every country we go to? We cannot 5 really match that up, but we try, and we put a lot of effort б into it. It is a baseline requirement, coming out of the special forces pipeline. It is maintained throughout, 7 8 through sustained training. And perhaps most importantly, 9 as we geographically align -- I mean, our special forces groups and their civil affairs and SYOPS teams, they stay 10 regionally aligned. 11

12 We are working in all geographic combatant commanders 13 to this day, and many of them have not taken their eyes off 14 the ball to support the GCC commanders' priorities there, be 15 it SIMC [phonetic] teams, military information and support 16 teams, our special forces ODAs, or even aviation detachment, 17 advisories detachments. They are operating around the globe 18 in support of every GCC commander's priorities, but language 19 is absolutely critical to being part of that

20 interoperability. It is not just equipment, and it also 21 shows that you care.

22 Senator Kelly: Before I turn it over to Senator Ernst 23 here for the third round of questions, and I know this has 24 been a focus that the Army has had for decades, this 25 language capability, but for General Slife, Admiral Howard,

and General Glynn, is this something that your special operators are also focused on, or is it a capability you would like to integrate into the force in the future?

4 General Slife: Senator, specifically for AFSOC, 5 because most of our operations deal either directly with б aviation or with the integration of air and ground 7 capabilities through Joint Terminal Attack Control and 8 things of that nature, English is the international language of aviation, as you know, and so what we have found is that 9 10 our partners generally prefer to do those security force assistance type activities in English because it is what 11 12 they deal with in the aviation world.

13 So we do not see a demand signal for increased language 14 capability, although to General Braga's point about cultural 15 training, cultural awareness, and those types of things, 16 that is an area of investment for us as we think about 17 security force assistance.

Admiral Howard: Thank you, Senator. We have a modest investment, I think it is calibrated the right way, and we also make an effort to increasingly identify candidates that are coming in with natural language capability.

General Glynn: Senator, language and culture have been part of our training pipeline since inception, and so every critical skills operator that is created, or has been created over the course of the last 15 years, goes through a

language unique to the theater in which we intend, or they
 are most likely to deploy. So as you would hope, like we
 have recently shifted to some of the more significant
 languages in the INDOPACOM AOR, to include Mandarin Chinese.
 Senator Kelly: Thank you. Senator Ernst.

6 Senator Ernst: Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chair, and I know 7 our vote has been called so I will just be brief, and if you 8 can provide brief answers as well.

9 I did mention a little bit in my opening statement the 10 fact that SOCOM's budget is flat for this year in what the 11 President has submitted. So we know that that is less 12 buying power with the rate of inflation out there.

13 If you can, talk through the impact that that will have 14 on your ability to train and resource and mobilize then your 15 forces. I also noted that SOCOM submitted \$650 million in 16 unfunded requirements to buy down risk and to accelerate 17 modernization, which really further reinforces the 18 inadequacy of the budget as presented by the President.

So if you can, just very briefly again, General Slife we will start with you, if you could talk about the impacts and what that will have on training modernization resourcing.

General Slife: Yes, Senator. Briefly, it delays -you know, any resource shortfall delays our ability to modernize. It delays our ability to maintain the force at

the highest state of readiness. These are all balances.
They are part of the risk calculus. And so I think you see,
as you characterized it, the SOCOM unfunded priority list
are those things that SOCOM believes will buy down that risk
to a lower level than where we are carrying it right now.
Senator Ernst: Great. Thank you.

7 General Braga: Senator, I echo, obviously, the 8 unfunded priority list will help buy down that risk by 9 accelerating some of the capabilities we are looking to expand upon that we have been talking about. I mentioned 10 briefly that inflation is absolutely having an impact. It 11 12 affects our flying hour programs, repair parts, repair 13 engines, and that certainly has an impact, and what that 14 ultimately results in is at the other end, reduced readiness 15 if you do not have the way to keep your aircraft maintained 16 and your crews up to speed, just from an aviation type 17 aspect.

18 So it certainly has an impact, and at the ultimate end 19 of the day can you put forward less into the theater to 20 support the geographic combatant commanders if there is less resources, and I would say that would be something we have 21 22 to look at as we maintain and restack our prioritization 23 between training, readiness, modernization, and employment. 24 Senator Ernst: Yeah. Thank you. Admiral? 25 Admiral Howard: Where I have a concern is really in

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readiness and the ability to -- what we are seeing with the focus on experimentation and concept development for step changes to be ready for what is ahead. You know, we are seeing an increase in requirements for that experimentation and concept development, and to get ready.

6 Where I see concern going forward is in unmanned 7 systems, multi-demand with an emphasis on software, not 8 hardware. That gets to the autonomy and interoperability. 9 We have to win as a nation in that capability space.

Senator Ernst: Thank you. Major Glynn, or General
Glynn? Excuse me. Major Glynn. Sorry. I demoted you
horribly. I am so sorry. General Glynn.

13 General Glynn: I would go back and do that all over 14 again.

15 Senator Ernst: A better day and age, maybe.

General Glynn: Senator, as a component without major platforms it boils down to people in our case. So what the choice is in modernization, investments in modernization, how quickly can we go after the technological capability and expertise to understand our electromagnetic signature and our digital footprint, and to have an awareness of our adversaries? That would be one.

The pace at which that change will occur is going to be impacted by resourcing. The alternative is to maintain a less -- as has been alluded to by the other commanders -- a

less-ready force or present a smaller force offering around the globe, which is obviously not what we want to do because we have longstanding relationships with allies and partners that we want to sustain. But that is where we are at, as a component, when it comes to that budget situation.

6 Senator Ernst: Thank you. So I think all of your 7 statements just further emphasized that we do need to have 8 growth within this component, within SOCOM, and the budget, 9 to make sure that you are able to modernize, to make sure 10 your readiness does not suffer, to make sure that we are 11 able to fill the ranks and continue to fill the ranks in the 12 future.

You know, I have always had it hammered in my head to assume prudent risk, but at what point does that risk no longer present itself as prudent? And I think we need to continue to move forward with a robust budget, and it is something that I will be pushing for as we move into our budget cycle through appropriations and with this National Defense Authorization Act.

And with that I will have no more questions, and so I will turn it back to you, Mr. Chair. Thank you.

22 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Senator Ernst. I have got a 23 few more. I want to try to get through them briefly so we 24 can get to this vote. At 30 minutes people start to get 25 nervous.

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1 General Slife, SOCOM is nearing a contract award for 2 maybe up to 75 Armed Overwatch airframes, and this would provide reconnaissance and strike capabilities to small, 3 4 geographically disaggregated teams of special operations 5 forces. Can you articulate the requirement for the Armed б Overwatch Program and explain why a new platform is more 7 affordable and effective than existing platforms, including 8 certainly for ground attack the A-10 but also for 9 reconnaissance, something like the MQ-9, and just a little 10 bit about on the requirements and the affordability 11 effectiveness aspect of this.

12 General Slife: Thanks for the opportunity to talk 13 about it, Senator. So a couple of aspects of that. First 14 of all, our methodology for supporting our forces on the 15 ground over the last several decades has really boiled down 16 to the development of what we call an air stack over 17 objective areas. And so you will typically have single-18 role, specialized platforms, AC-130s, A-10s, MQ-9, U-28s. 19 You have this stack of airplanes over an objective, each 20 platform providing a niche capability to the force on the 21 ground. That averages, in terms of cost per flying hour, 22 over \$150,000 an hour is what it costs to generate kind of 23 the typical stack for that.

As we look at having a multi-role platform in the Armed Overwatch concept, that kind of multi-role set of

capabilities comes down to something less than \$10,000 a
flight hour. So it is a much more efficient way to do that.
Further, it allows us to push those platforms further
forward into more austere areas where they can operate colocated with the ground teams that they are partnered with.

And so not having them have to fly from, you know, hundreds of miles away but rather being partnered with the ground team that they will be supporting in places that have very austere aviation support with a very light logistics footprint is really what we are after, Senator.

11 Senator Kelly: How do you resolve the issue of 12 something like an AC-130 gunship being able to lay down a 13 massive amount of fire to the ground with something like an 14 AT-6 with a limited? Has that been well planned and thought 15 out?

16 General Slife: Senator, I think I would say it depends 17 on the mission that is being contemplated. And so clearly 18 there will be missions that require more deep magazine fire 19 support than what an Armed Overwatch platform might have. 20 But the idea of the Armed Overwatch platform is it is a modular capability, and so you can outfit the aircraft with 21 22 a robust suite of sensors that will exceed what is available 23 with most dedicated ISR platforms today, or you can outfit 24 the platform with a robust suite of precision munitions. Ιt 25 really depends on the mission.

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And so clearly the Armed Overwatch platform is not a panacea for every tactical situation that a ground force might find themselves in, but for what we envision the enduring counter-VEO mission looking like we think it is prudent investment.

6 Senator Kelly: When do you feel that the contract 7 award will be made?

8 General Slife: Senator, I think in months, so this 9 summer I expect to see a contract award. All the back-and-10 forth with industry, the proposals have been received, all 11 the questions have been answered. And at this point the 12 source selection team is going through their deliberations 13 and is going to make a recommendation to the milestone 14 decision authority at SOCOM here in the coming weeks, and 15 then a contract will probably be awarded prior to the end of 16 the summer.

17 Senator Kelly: Thank you. I have one final question 18 for General Braga. You know, at present sometimes obtaining 19 approval to drop a bomb is a lot easier than getting the 20 permission to send a text message. So have you seen any 21 improvement in the ability of your psychological operators 22 to gain the authorities and permissions necessary to operate 23 effectively in the information environment, and if you have 24 not, what more do you think we need to do?

25 General Braga: Senator, I have seen some improvement.

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1 In my professional opinion, in order to match the sheer capability and capacity of adversaries, collectively all of 2 us need to expand that capability, and we need to be able to 3 4 move at the speed of the information environment, which is 5 faster than perhaps we have been used to in the past. So I б think it requires new relationships. Certainly we are 7 investing our own resources into expanding that capability 8 in information ops to support our psychological operations 9 forces. It is new ground for all, but it is what we need to do in order to succeed, both in competition and I actually 10 see it for a role in high-end conflict as well. 11

So we have a long way to go. We are on a journey. We have seen some improvements. We are dedicating resources, time, effort, and training towards it, but I absolutely look forward to working with the leadership at the Pentagon and our interagency partners to inform you of any recommended changes moving forward.

18 Senator Kelly: Please do, and my door is always open 19 to all of you. I know Senator Ernst's as well. So anything 20 you need we want to help.

I also want to thank you, Generals, Admiral, for participating in this hearing today, and I look forward to continuing to support you and all the men and women at SOCOM, all 74,000.

25 This hearing is adjourned. Thank you.

| 1 | [Whereupon, | at | 4:03 | p.m., | the | subcommittee | was |
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| 2 | adjourned.] | | | | | | |
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