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COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

Nominations

Wednesday, June 16, 2021

Washington, D.C.

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1	NOMINATIONS - KRASS, JONES, RATNER, SKELLY, BERGER
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3	Wednesday, June 16, 2021
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5	U.S. Senate
6	Committee on Armed Services
7	Washington, D.C.
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9	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m. in
10	Room SH-216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack Reed,
11	chairman of the committee, presiding.
12	Committee Members Present: Senators Reed, Gillibrand,
13	Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King, Warren, Duckworth, Rosen,
14	Kelly, Inhofe, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis,
15	Scott, Hawley, and Tuberville.
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OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM
 RHODE ISLAND

Chairman Reed: I would like to call the hearing to 3 4 The committee meets this morning to consider several order. 5 nominees for positions in the Department of Defense. Ι б recognize that these nominations cover a wide range of 7 positions, so the discussion today may be broad. But given 8 the large number of nominees we need to confirm, we are 9 slating them as soon as the nomination is ready for a 10 hearing rather than by related positions. So please bear 11 with us.

12 Today we will consider the nominations of Ms. Caroline 13 Krass to be General Counsel of the Department of Defense; Ms. Gina Ortiz Jones to be Under Secretary of the Air Force; 14 15 Dr. Ely Ratner to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for 16 Indo-Pacific Security Affairs; Ms. Shawn Skelly to be 17 Assistant Secretary of Defense for Readiness; and Ms. 18 Meredith Berger to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy for 19 Energy, Installations, and Environment. I thank the nominees for their service to the United States and their 20 21 willingness to assume these important roles.

I would also like to welcome the guests and family members who are here today. Ms. Krass, I welcome your husband, William, and son, James, and I thank Senator Bennet for joining us to introduce you, and he will be her shortly.

Ms. Ortiz Jones, I welcome your mother, Victorino, and
 sister, Christi, and thank Senator Duckworth for her
 introduction via Webex. And Dr. Ratner, I welcome your
 wife, Jennifer, and mother, Esther.

I know each of the nominees have family members who would have liked to have been here but due to pandemic restrictions they are proudly watching from home.

8 Ms. Krass, you are nominated to be General Counsel of 9 the Department of Defense. In addition to your current role 10 as the Senior Vice President and General Counsel at AIG in 11 New York, I would note your extreme experience as a senior 12 national security lawyer in the Obama and Bush 13 administrations, including roles as General Counsel of the 14 CIA, Acting Assistant Attorney General, and multiple legal 15 counsel positions for the White House, National Security 16 Council, and Department of Justice.

17 If confirmed, you will serve as the principal legal 18 advisor to the Secretary of Defense and guide the legal 19 framework under which the Department operates. In the 20 immediate future, it will be your responsibility to assist the Secretary of Defense in addressing extremism in the 21 22 military, and implementing the administration's 23 recommendations regarding prevention and response to sexual 24 assault and harassment, based on the work of the Independent 25 Review Commission and the Congress. You will also be

charged with coordinating the Department's legislative program and improving its process for legislative proposals, which, unfortunately, too often miss the deadlines required by this committee. I would ask that you share with the committee today how you will approach these duties.

Ms. Ortiz Jones, you have been nominated to serve as The Under Secretary of the Air Force. Your experience as an Air Force officer, DIA analyst, and advisor to the U.S. Trade Representative during the Obama administration will serve you well in this role.

If confirmed, you will be faced with a number of 11 12 pressing challenges for the Air Force. The next Under 13 Secretary will need to run the day-to-day operations of the Department while simultaneously taking steps to build up the 14 15 acquisition workforce and acquisition system to expand the 16 size of the Air Force. You will also need to improve the 17 falling retention rate of pilots and maintainers, a 18 situation that may very well get worse before it gets 19 better. All of these duties will be further complicated as 20 you aim to regain and maintain high levels of readiness in 21 the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Dr. Ratner, you currently serve as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense and Director of the Department's China Task Force. If confirmed as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, you will

undertake the immense responsibility of guiding the Department's efforts in the most strategically important region of the world. I trust that your expertise gained through senior roles with then Vice President Biden, the State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the Center for New American Security will inform your future role.

8 Last week the DoD China Task Force, which you led, 9 completed its work, and Secretary Austin initiated several 10 efforts to better focus the Department's strategy to address the challenge from China. I hope you will share with the 11 12 committee the key findings of the task force and the 13 deficiencies that the Department must improve. Ιf confirmed, your purview will also include Southwest and 14 15 Central Asia, and I would ask that you outline how the 16 Department will conduct counterterrorism operations in 17 Afghanistan through an over-the-horizon presence.

18 Ms. Skelly, you have been nominated to be Assistant 19 Secretary of Defense for Readiness. With over 20 years in 20 uniform as a Naval Flight Officer, and a distinguished 21 civilian career with senior roles at the Department of 22 Defense and Department of Transportation, and as the 23 Commissioner on the National Commission on Military and 24 National Public Service, your understandings of the duties 25 demanded of this position will be critical.

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1 There are several readiness concerns that will require 2 your attention should you be confirmed. Among them, accurate, timely readiness reporting is a constantly 3 4 evolving process. This committee has historically used the 5 NDAA to compel DoD report, but there is an argument that 6 readiness reporting needs to adapt further to account for a 7 deeper picture of readiness instead of simply listening 8 availability. Operational safety across the Services also must be improved. We have sustained far too much self-9 10 inflected damage from training mistakes and recklessness, and I would ask that you explain how the Department can get 11 12 the most out of training opportunities while ensuring 13 maintenance and safety gaps are fixed.

14 Finally, Ms. Berger, you have been nominated to be 15 Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Energy, Installations, 16 and Environment. In addition to your current work at 17 Microsoft, I would not your prior experience in this subject 18 area as the Deputy Chief of Staff for the Department of the 19 Navy and as a policy advisor at the EPA during the Obama 20 administration. You will be responsible for managing the Navy's physical footprint. Within that, you will need to 21 22 address several issues that have come to this committee's 23 attention, including the replacement of the existing AF3 24 firefighting foam and the reformation of the Military 25 Housing Privatization Initiative, which has yet to be

implemented with respect to various components of the Tenant
 Bill of Rights.

3	Additionally, in the last few years, the Navy has
4	seemingly abandoned its pursuit of hybrid electric drives
5	and certain classes of ships, despite documented fuel
6	savings of roughly 37 percent. I would ask that you address
7	this issue as well as how you would approach restoring Navy
8	labs, which continue to struggle to secure sufficient
9	funding for demolition, modernization, and new construction
10	of facilities.
11	Thank you again to the nominees. We all look forward
12	to your testimony.
13	Now let me now recognize the ranking member, Senator
14	Inhofe.
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STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM
 OKLAHOMA

3 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I echo your 4 comments and thank our nominees for being here, for the time 5 and effort that you have spent helping our nation, and this 6 would be a great continuation.

7 Our top military leaders have told us over and over 8 again that we are probably likely in the most dangerous 9 position we have been in. I believe we are. I believe we 10 are. I quite often say I look back wistfully at the days of 11 the Cold War. Things were predictable then. They are not 12 predictable any longer now.

13 That is why I continue to highlight the national 14 defense roadmap to we have right here, and I want to make a 15 request now of each one of you. I suspect you probably 16 already read this, but do it again. And that is why I am 17 very much concerned with the budget that is recommended in 18 here for our military is considerably more than the budget 19 that the President is proposing at the present time. So our 20 competitors are not letting up at all, and just last week 21 General Milley told us, in this committee, that combined, 22 Russia and China budgets far exceed ours. This is something 23 we have not been dealing with in the past.

I would just elaborate one more time, like the chairman did. First of all, Dr. Ratner, Secretary Austin has praised

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1 your efforts for leading the China Task Force. You have 2 great expertise in that area. Ms. Berger, you are charged with overseeing the Navy housing. Housing has been probably 3 4 the most labor-intensive addressing this thing for the last 5 3 or 4 years, so you have got your work cut out for you б there. Ms. Krass, we would like to hear how you are going 7 to advise the Secretary of Defense in addressing DoD's 8 number one pacing challenge, which is China. Ms. Ortiz 9 Jones, you will need to balance the readiness of your modernization of the Air Force while also handling the space 10 11 obligations. And Ms. Skelly, you are going to have to end 12 up carrying out duties with an inadequate budget, so that is 13 going to be a difficult thing. We want to hear how you are 14 going to be able to do that, and we look forward to the 15 testimony of each one of you.

16 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe. 18 Now I will ask a series of questions which are required of 19 all civilian nominees. Simply answer appropriately after 20 the question.

- 21 Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulations 22 governing conflicts of interest?
- 23 Ms. Krass: Yes.
- 24 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes.
- 25 Mr. Ratner: Yes.

1 Ms. Skelly: Yes.

2 Ms. Berger: Yes.

Chairman Reed: Have you assumed any duties or taken any actions that would appear to presume the outcome of the confirmation process?

6 Ms. Krass: No.

- 7 Ms. Ortiz Jones: No.
- 8 Mr. Ratner: No.
- 9 Ms. Skelly: No.

10 Ms. Berger: No.

11 Chairman Reed: Exercising our legislative and 12 oversight responsibility makes it important that this 13 committee, its subcommittees, and other appropriate 14 committees of Congress receive testimony, briefings, 15 reports, records, and other information from the Executive 16 branch on a timely basis. Do you agree, if confirmed, to 17 appear and testify before this committee when requested? 18 Ms. Krass: Yes. 19 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes.

- 20 Mr. Ratner: Yes.
- 21 Ms. Skelly: Yes.

22 Ms. Berger: Yes.

23 Chairman Reed: Do you agree to provide records,24 documents, and electronic communications in a timely manner25 when requested by this committee, its subcommittees, or

1 other appropriate committees of Congress, and to consult 2 with the requestor regarding the basis for any good-faith delay or denial in providing such records? 3 4 Ms. Krass: Yes. 5 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes. 6 Mr. Ratner: Yes. 7 Ms. Skelly: Yes. 8 Ms. Berger: Yes. 9 Chairman Reed: Will you ensure that your staff complies with deadlines established by this committee for 10 the production of reports, records, and other information, 11 12 including timely responding to hearing questions for the 13 record? Ms. Krass: Yes. 14 15 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes. 16 Mr. Ratner: Yes. 17 Ms. Skelly: Yes. 18 Ms. Berger: Yes. 19 Chairman Reed: Will you cooperate in providing 20 witnesses and briefers in response to congressional 21 requests? 22 Ms. Krass: Yes. 23 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes. 24 Mr. Ratner: Yes. 25 Ms. Skelly: Yes.

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- Ms. Berger: Yes.

2 Chairman Reed: Will those witnesses and briefers be 3 protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings? 4 Ms. Krass: Yes. 5 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes. 6 Mr. Ratner: Yes. 7 Ms. Skelly: Yes. 8 Ms. Berger: Yes. 9 Chairman Reed: Thank you. I understand that Senator 10 Duckworth is on Webex, and she is going to introduce Ms. 11 Ortiz Jones, so I would recognize Senator Duckworth for her

12 introduction, and then we will begin the testimony of the 13 witness. We are still waiting for Senator Bennett for Ms. 14 Krass.

15 Senator Duckworth?

16 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I 17 apologize that I am not there in person. I am actually on 18 campus at a mark-up in the Commerce Committee. That is not 19 an indication of my enthusiasm for Ms. Ortiz Jones. I think 20 she is fabulous.

21 So thank you so much for the opportunity to introduce 22 President Biden's nominee to serve as the next Under 23 Secretary of the Air Force. Gina Ortiz Jones is a former 24 Air Force captain and a veteran of the Iraq war. She is a 25 first-generation Filipino American and a member of the LGBTQ community. But most of all, Gina is a dynamic leader who is
 dedicated to serving her country.

I am here today to introduce Gina because I am 3 4 confident in her ability to steer the Department of the Air 5 Force through a time of significant change with agility, 6 determination, inspiration, and steadfast commitment to 7 mission accomplishment. It will not be an easy job. If she 8 is confirmed, Gina will be tasked with organizing, training, 9 equipping, and providing for the welfare of nearly 700,000 active-duty Guard and reserve servicemembers, civilians, and 10 their families worldwide, alongside the Secretary of the Air 11 12 Force. She will have to do so during a time when the 13 Department of the Air Force is rapidly modernizing to 14 operate more effectively in the Indo-Pacific region and to 15 lead in the space domain, while maintaining enduring 16 strategic capabilities. All of these missions are vital to our national security. The Air Force needs leadership to 17 18 help it navigate these challenges.

19 Gina's experiences have helped shape her into the 20 leader that she is today. The daughter of an immigrant 21 single mom, she attended Boston University on an Air Force 22 ROTC scholarship, earning a bachelor's degree in East Asian 23 studies and a master's degree in economics. She served on 24 active duty in the Air Force as an intelligence officer, 25 deploying to Irag before returning to Texas to care for her

1 mother during a time of illness.

2 Gina's path to the Air Force mirrors that of many currently serving airmen. Her experience in Iraq has given 3 4 her a personal understanding of the toll that deployments 5 take on servicemembers and their families. And given that 6 she was commissioned while the so-called "Don't Ask, Don't 7 Tell" policy was still in effect, Gina knows what it is like 8 to see a military that is not welcoming to her, and yet 9 still want to serve her nation anyway. It is difficult to think of anyone better suited to lead the members of the 10 Department of the Air Force with understanding and 11 12 compassion.

13 After leaving active duty, Gina continued her career as 14 an analyst, both at U.S.-Africa Command and at the DIA, the 15 Defense Intelligence Agency, where her portfolio included operations in Latin America. Gina also worked in the Office 16 17 of the U.S. Trade Representative, and received another master's degree in global and international studies, as well 18 19 as a master's of military arts and science from the U.S. 20 Army School of Advanced Military Studies.

21 With all that experience, it is safe to say that Gina 22 understands the challenges and opportunities that we face 23 globally, and know how our military fits into that picture. 24 I would say just one more thing about Gina's 25 gualifications. When she disagreed with how she saw the

government being run, she did not just sit back and decide that it was someone else's problem. She left a promising career in the intelligence community, took a risk, and ran for office herself, because she believed in playing a part to help her community.

6 Gina's desire to be part of the solution and 7 willingness to play an active role in shaping the future of 8 America speaks volumes about her commitment to her community and to her country. This long history of engaged public 9 service gives me confidence that if confirmed to be Under 10 Secretary of the Air Force, Gina Ortiz Jones would not just 11 12 be a trailblazer and an inspiring figure, though she is both 13 of those things, she will also be an experienced, level-14 headed, and agile service leader who is capable of helping 15 to shape the Department of the Air Force that America needs. 16 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Duckworth, and now 18 let me first commend Senator Bennet for his exquisite 19 timing, like clockwork, and ask him to introduce Ms. Krass. 20 Senator Bennet: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to you and the ranking member to allowing me to 21 22 join you this morning and introduce Caroline Krass, 23 President Biden's nominee to serve as the General Counsel of 24 the Department of Defense. Caroline and I are long-time 25 friends. We have known each other since law school, where

she arrived as a Phi Beta Kappa from Stanford. I could
 barely keep up with her then, and it turns out she was just
 getting started, Mr. Chairman.

4 Pick a job that would qualify someone to serve as 5 General Counsel for the Department of Defense and there is a 6 good chance Caroline Krass has done it. She has clerked at 7 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. She worked 8 as a lawyer for the Treasury Department and the State 9 Department. She served as Special Counsel to the President 10 for National Security, a Deputy Legal Advisor to the National Security Council, Acting Assistant Attorney General 11 12 at the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice, 13 and as a prosecutor.

And in 2014, the Senate confirmed her in an overwhelming bipartisan vote as General Counsel for the CIA, the first woman confirmed to that role. During her 3 years as the CIA's top legal advisor, Ms. Krass oversaw more than 18 150 attorneys, working on highly sensitive legal and policy issues, from operational matters to cybersecurity to 20 privacy.

Over more than two decades of public service, Ms. Krass earned accolades from across the political spectrum and received a number of awards for her work, including the Department of Justice's highest award for an attorney, and a medal from the Department of Defense for outstanding

1 service.

After leaving government, Ms. Krass built a distinguished career in the private sector, where she has led a global team of lawyers to navigate complex legal issues from privacy to innovation. Her colleagues in business have gone out of their way to praise her, quote, "proven expertise" and described her as an outstanding legal talent. I could not agree more.

9 Across her career, Ms. Krass developed a reputation for 10 a brilliant legal mind, her tireless work ethic, and 11 unfailing integrity. I observed these qualities when I 12 first met her in law school many years ago, and they are 13 exactly what she will need for this important and tough new 14 role.

15 As my colleagues on this committee appreciate the 16 intersection of national security and the law has no 17 shortage of difficult, weighty questions, many with the 18 gravest of consequences, I trust Caroline to make the right 19 She has the experience, the character, and the call. 20 judqment. She is a true public servant in the truest sense 21 of both of those words, and she believes as I do that 22 America's national security goes hand in hand with our 23 commitment to American values, including privacy, respect 24 for human rights, and the rule of law.

25 Ms. Krass has my complete and enthusiastic support, and

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1	I urge the committee to advance her nomination with another
2	overwhelming bipartisan vote.
3	Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
4	Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Bennet. And let me
5	remind the witnesses your written statements are part of the
6	record. I will recognize Ms. Krass and then we will go down
7	in order.
8	Ms. Krass, your statement, please.
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STATEMENT OF HONORABLE CAROLINE KRASS, NOMINEE TO BE
 GENERAL COUNSEL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Senator Inhofe, 3 Ms. Krass: 4 and distinguished members of the committee, and thank you 5 very much to Senator Bennet for the kind introduction. Ιt б is an honor to appear before you today as the President's 7 nominee to be the General Counsel of the Department of 8 Defense. I am deeply grateful to both President Biden and 9 Secretary Austin for their trust and confidence in me, and to the committee for considering my nomination. 10

I would not be here today without the love and respect 11 12 of my husband, William, who has been by my side for more 13 than 30 years, and my daughter, Emma, and son, James. I am 14 proud to be able to introduce you to William and to James. 15 I want to thank each of you on the committee and your 16 staff members for the time you have devoted to the 17 confirmation process. I am inspired by the bipartisan 18 nature of this committee, which is consistent with my own 19 experience of serving for over 23 years as an Executive 20 branch lawyer in administrations of both parties. I am 21 eager to return to government service and to continue to 22 foster the critically important and cooperative relationship 23 between this committee and the Department of Defense. Ι 24 strongly believe that it is the General Counsel's duty to 25 ensure that the Armed Services Committees are kept properly

1 informed to further their own oversight responsibilities.

2 If confirmed, I believe that my prior experience will serve me well in providing sound and clear legal advice to 3 4 Secretary Austin and the Department's leadership team. As 5 General Counsel of the CIA, my responsibilities included б ensuring compliance with all applicable law. I also spent 7 over a decade at the Office of Legal Counsel at the 8 Department of Justice, where I had the opportunity to 9 provide legal advice on a wide range of difficult legal issues to many government agencies, including the Department 10 11 of Defense.

Over the course of my career, including two tours at 12 13 the National Security Council, I have developed productive and collegial relationships with lawyers throughout the 14 15 national security community, including among the career 16 civil service. Those relationships will heighten my 17 effectiveness at assisting the men and women of the U.S. 18 Armed Forces, together with the civilian DoD personnel, in 19 protecting our nation's security.

Finally, I have been fortunate to work with many of the lawyers in the Department's Office of General Counsel and Chairman's Legal, and I have been impressed by their dedication to the rule of law. It would be a privilege to lead the office, building not only on the leadership experience I gained as CIA General Counsel and at OLC, but

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1	also my more recent experience leading a global team as an
2	in-house General Counsel in the private sector.
3	Thank you again for your consideration, and I look
4	forward to answering your questions.
5	[The prepared statement of Ms. Krass follows:]
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1	Chairman	Reed:	Thank	you	very	much.	Ms.	Ortiz	Jones.
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STATEMENT OF GINA ORTIZ JONES, NOMINEE TO BE UNDER
 SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE

Ms. Ortiz Jones: Good morning, Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, and distinguished members of the committee. I am deeply honored to come before you today as President Biden's nominee for Under Secretary of the Air Force. I am grateful for your consideration of my nomination, and thank you to Senator Duckworth for the kind introduction.

9 Today, I am joined by my mother Victorina Medenilla 10 Ortiz, and my sister, Christi. My mother immigrated to the United States 43 years ago from the Philippines. She raised 11 12 my sister and me by herself, and she reminded us every day 13 of our responsibility to give back to a country that had 14 given us so much. It is why I served, and why my sister, 15 Christi, proudly serves in the U.S. Navy to this day. I am 16 thankful for my mother and sister's unwavering love and 17 support. I want to thank my partner, Ana, for her 18 unconditional love, endless patience, and constant 19 encouragement.

Perfecto Medenilla Ortiz, my uncle, is not here today, but his example and service also helped me be here today. In 1967, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy from the Philippines and served as a steward, one of the few ratings open to Filipinos at the time. Undeterred, he signed up, because he too wanted his chance at the American dream.

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1 My own service started with a 4-year Air Force ROTC 2 scholarship that took me from San Antonio, Texas, to Boston University. I was honored to wear our nation's cloth. 3 4 However, similar to my uncle's limited career opportunities because of his ethnicity, my experience in the Air Force was 5 б hindered by the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. Yet I, too, 7 remained undeterred because of my desire to serve our 8 country. That experience cemented my resolve to ensure 9 anyone ready and able to serve can do so to their full potential, and accordingly, our country's fullest potential. 10 If confirmed, that tenet will guide my service. 11 That 12 is what our airmen and guardians deserve, that is what the 13 American people entrusting us with their sons and daughters 14 should expect, and that is what the challenges and 15 opportunities we face as a country require. 16 The Air Force and Space Force are at the forefront of 17 our nation's ability to meet those challenges and 18 opportunities. If confirmed, I will work with Department of 19 the Air Force leaders to ensure the total force is ready to 20 deter, and if needed, win our nation's wars. Great power 21 competition requires we fully harness the total force's 22 talents and courageously invest in modernization efforts 23 that best equip our men and women for the threats they will 24 face.

25 If (

If confirmed, as the Department of the Air Force's

Chief Management Officer, I will lead guided by our need to attain and maintain air and space dominance, and our collective responsibility to foster an environment where airmen and guardians can serve without the fear of sexual harassment, sexual assault, and other behaviors that threaten our readiness.

If confirmed, I will focus on preparing the total force for emerging challenges, from the Arctic to cyberspace, while ensuring the Department's unique value proposition to the country, its contributions to the nuclear triad, are ironclad.

Finally, great power competition requires we compete for the nation's top talent. To that end, if confirmed, I will work across the Department to eradicate extremist behaviors that are antithetical to one's solemn oath to the Constitution and degrade our ability to recruit and retain our nation's finest talent.

18 I have been honored to serve our country in a number of 19 ways, as an Air Force Intelligence Officer deployed to Iraq 20 supporting close air support missions, to advising on military operations on three continents, to serving in the 21 22 Executive Office of the President protecting American 23 intellectual property and quarding against threats posed by 24 foreign investments. I have seen a range of threats to our 25 country's economic and national security. But, as

1	importantly, I have seen the indispensability of American
2	leadership. That leadership immeasurably rests on the
3	service and sacrifices of those within the Department of the
4	Air Force, from the airmen and guardians, to the civilians,
5	to their loved ones who make their service possible. It
б	would be an honor to help lead the total force.
7	Thank you for your consideration, and I look forward to
8	your questions.
9	[The prepared statement of Ms. Ortiz Jones follows:]
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1	Chairman	Reed:	Thank	you	very	much.	Now	let	me	now
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STATEMENT OF DR. ELY RATNER, NOMINEE TO BE ASSISTANT
 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INDO-PACIFIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

Mr. Ratner: Good morning. Chairman Reed, Ranking
Member Inhofe, and distinguished members of the committee,
it is an honor to appear before you this morning as
President Biden's nominee for Assistant Secretary of Defense
for Indo-Pacific Affairs.

8 I want to thank President Biden for nominating me for 9 this position, and Secretary Austin and Deputy Secretary 10 Hicks for their confidence in me. I had the privilege of working for both Senator Biden and Vice President Biden, and 11 12 I am grateful now for the opportunity to serve in the Biden-Harris administration. As a former Professional Staff Member 13 14 on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it is also a 15 distinct privilege to return to the Senate today in this 16 capacity.

Most importantly, I want to thank my family, including my parents, Joseph and Esther, and my brother, Aaron, as well as my amazing wife, Jennifer, and our two boys, Ian and Finn, for their incredible love and support.

21 Mr. Chairman, if confirmed, my top priority will be 22 positioning the Department of Defense to compete more 23 effectively with China. 'I have spent the better part of the 24 last two decades working on this challenge inside and 25 outside of government, and strongly agree with the

1 assessment in President Biden's Interim National Security 2 Strategic Guidance that China is "the only competitor capable of combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and 3 4 technological power to mount a sustained challenge to a stable and open international system." If confirmed, I 5 б would be honored to support Secretary Austin and Deputy 7 Secretary Hicks in their mission to prioritize China as the 8 Department's number one pacing challenge.

9 To that end, since January, I have served as the Director of the DoD China Task Force. Secretary Austin 10 charged the Task Force with conducting an assessment of 11 12 China-related activities and providing recommendations for 13 the way forward. Based on those recommendations, the 14 Secretary issued an internal directive on June 9, that 15 initiated a series of efforts to better align the Department 16 with the stated prioritization of China.

17 During the course of the China Task Force, I consulted 18 regularly with Congress and was encouraged by the bipartisan 19 commitment to renewing American competitiveness and rising 20 to the China challenge. I firmly believe that a strong bipartisan consensus on China is a strategic imperative for 21 the United States. If confirmed, I would look forward to 22 23 continued consultation and collaboration with members of 24 this committee, on both sides of the aisle.

25 Even as we prepare to prevail in future conflicts, it

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1 is critical to underscore, as Secretary Austin said 2 recently, that "the cornerstone of America's defense is still deterrence." Military conflict with China is by no 3 4 means inevitable. If confirmed, I would aim to support the 5 development of new operational concepts, force posture, and б emerging capabilities to prevent and deter such a conflict 7 for future generations. In this regard, I appreciate the 8 Committee's leadership on the Pacific Deterrence Initiative, and would look forward to working with you to continue 9 10 implementing this important effort.

The Indo-Pacific region rightly serves as the 11 12 Department's priority theater. We must continue pursuing a 13 free and open Indo-Pacific, while investing in our network 14 of allies and partners throughout the region, including 15 Taiwan. If confirmed, I would support the administration's 16 approach to North Korea, and affirm our alliance commitments to Japan and South Korea, including to maintain peace and 17 18 stability on the Korean Peninsula.

Our alliances with Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand, as well as our defense partnerships with India and Singapore, among many others, are also critically important. So too is our commitment to ASEAN and the region's multilateral institutions as we tackle the breadth of traditional and non-traditional security challenges in the Indo-Pacific, including extremism and climate change.

Meanwhile, we should continue pursuing defense relations
 with China to develop crisis communications and risk
 reduction mechanisms.

4 If confirmed, I would also focus on the immediate 5 objective of executing a safe, deliberate, and orderly б retrograde from Afghanistan. We must also retain 7 counterterrorism capabilities to disrupt any threats to the 8 U.S. homeland, support the Afghan Special Immigrant Visa 9 program, and protect the progress achieved for Afghan women and girls. If confirmed, I would work with this committee 10 to advance our shared goals for the future of Afghanistan 11 12 and the region.

I want to conclude by thanking the members of this committee for your bipartisan support for our servicemembers, their families, the civilian workforce, and our national defense. Thank you for considering my nomination and I look forward to your questions.

18 [The prepared statement of Mr. Ratner follows:]
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1	Chairman	Reed:	Thank	you.	Ms.	Skelly,	please.
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STATEMENT OF SHAWN SKELLY, NOMINEE TO BE ASSISTANT
 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR READINESS

Ms. Skelly: Good morning, Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, and members of the committee. It is an honor to appear before you today as the President's nominee for the position of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Readiness.

I am here today through the love and support of more people than I could adequately account for -- family, friends, mentors, and former colleagues -- but above all I must thank my own family, Beth and Michael.

12 The Department of Defense has been central to my 13 professional life, starting at 17, when I received a Navy 14 ROTC scholarship and the opportunity to pursue my young 15 dreams of flying off of aircraft carriers, which I was so 16 fortunate to be able to do. My understanding of service was 17 first instilled by my father, a proud former enlisted Marine and New York City police officer, and it has only deepened 18 19 in the nearly four decades since I first swore an oath to 20 support and defend the Constitution. If confirmed, I would be honored to bring my career's experience of service, 21 22 dedication to mission, and steadfast belief in the 23 incredible capabilities of our uniformed servicemembers and 24 civil servants who defend our nation to my performance of 25 the responsibilities of the Assistant Secretary of Defense

1 for Readiness.

2 I am simultaneously humbled and inspired by the role that the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Readiness plays 3 4 in supporting the Secretary of Defense and the Under 5 Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, shaping б the strategic decision making of the Department through the continual assessment of its ability to meet the requirements 7 8 articulated by the President and the Secretary in both the 9 present day and the future, and helping to inform critical 10 resourcing decisions. As a retired Naval Flight Officer, the importance of the Department's safety and Professional 11 12 Military Education programs and the manner in which they 13 support readiness of the total force are deeply ingrained in 14 me, and if confirmed, I will ensure they receive the 15 priority and focus they deserve. 16 Again, I am honored to be here before you and I look forward to your questions. Thank you. 17 [The prepared statement of Ms. Skelly follows:] 18 19 20 21 22 23

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1	Chairman	Reed:	Thank	you,	Ms.	Skelly.	Ms.	Berger,
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STATEMENT OF MEREDITH BERGER, NOMINEE TO BE ASSISTANT
 SECRETARY OF THE NAVY FOR ENERGY, INSTALLATIONS, AND

3 ENVIRONMENT

4 Ms. Berger: Thank you. Chairman Reed, Ranking Member 5 Inhofe, and distinguished members of the committee, it is my б honor to be before you today to be considered for the role 7 of Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Energy, 8 Installations, and Environment. I am humbled by the confidence President Biden, Vice President Harris, Secretary 9 10 Austin, and Deputy Secretary Hicks have placed in me through 11 this nomination, and I am grateful to my family, friends, 12 and colleagues. They have shown me kindness, they have 13 challenged my thinking, and they have given me opportunities to advance and contribute first and foremost in public 14 15 service, and importantly in the private sector and civil 16 society.

I am honored to be considered for this position. I recognize the urgency and the dynamic nature of the critical responsibilities that fall under this office, and I am driven by the mission of supporting the great women and men who are the marines, sailors, civilians, and their families. They are the Department of the Navy, and they do the brave work of defending this nation.

I grew up in Florida. I understood well and early the significance of the environment and our resources. They

support how we live and where we operate. There is an
 interdependence there; we are part of an ecosystem.

That became very clear to me working for the State of 3 4 Florida when the Deepwater Horizon oil spill occurred in 5 2010. The Department of the Navy had the lead on the 6 Federal response, and it was the five Gulf States that felt 7 the impacts. This disaster caused us to think hard about 8 the environmental, economic, national security, and safety implications of our energy choices. We realized that 9 singular reliance on certain resources and practices can be 10 11 a vulnerability.

12 A decade later, the Colonial Pipeline ransomware attack 13 reinforces these considerations and heightens the urgency of 14 information, cyber, and operational security.

Our energy resources and our environment are critical infrastructure for our national security. These things shape where and how the Navy and Marine Corps live, train, and operate. These things are critical to our military readiness.

We face threats, both natural and manmade, a competitive energy market, and a changing climate that impacts our installations and stresses our operational readiness. It is imperative that we act as cognizant operators in this ecosystem. We must focus on our resilience.

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1	If confirmed, I am eager to bring my experience across
2	sectors, curiosity, collaborative nature, and perspective to
3	the job, and I will work hard every day to ensure that we
4	continue to have the greatest Navy and Marine Corps the
5	world has ever known.
б	Thank you for your time and consideration today, and I
7	look forward to the conversation.
8	[The prepared statement of Ms. Berger follows:]
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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Ms. Berger. 2 Senator Inhofe must attend a critical meeting in Environmental and Public Works Committee, and as such I 3 4 asked him to go first, and then I will resume. 5 Senator Inhofe: Mr. Chairman, thank you very much, and б I will return as soon as that mission is over. 7 Dr. Ratner, Admiral Davidson, the previous Commander of 8 INDOPACOM, testified, quote, "The greatest danger the United 9 States and our allies face in the region is the erosion of conventional deterrence of China." The current commander, 10 Aquilino, also agreed with that. Do you agree with that? 11 12 Mr. Ratner: Yes, Senator. 13 Senator Inhofe: Is there anything that comes to your 14 mind that you want to do to correct that problem? 15 Mr. Ratner: Senator, I think it is imperative that the 16 Department move with greater focus and urgency to bolster 17 deterrence in the Western Pacific. 18 Senator Inhofe: Very good. Now, Ms. Berger, I want to 19 devote most of the time to you, because of a unique 20 situation that is taking place right now. Last week, the 21 Department of Justice announced that two former Balfour 22 Beatty employees pled guilty to major fraud against the 23 United States and conspiracy to commit wire fraud. 24 According to the latest charging documents, which have also

25 been reported in the press, the Balfour Beatty Regional Vice

President is also involved. So at this time we do not know
 how far up this problem, this conspiracy, actually goes.

This committee led the charge with the reforms back in 3 4 fiscal year 2020 NDAA. We were busy, all of us, busy during 5 that time, and concerned about it. Quite frankly, 6 confession is good for the soul, and I remember when I first 7 heard about this. The first finding of inadequate housing 8 and the problems that we had started with Tinker Air Force 9 Base, and so I assumed it was problem unique to my state of Oklahoma, only to find this was widespread and it was 10 underway. But this is something that is actually very, very 11 12 significant, and affects thousands, not hundreds but 13 thousands, of our people that are in inadequate housing. And we jumped on it right away, had several meetings, but it 14 15 is still ongoing.

16 So, Ms. Berger, given the recent criminal charges 17 showing that not all privatization housing companies have the best of interest in our servicemembers and their 18 19 families, with that in mind how do you intend for this not 20 to happen again under your watch, not only for privatized 21 housing but for barracks and dorms as well. Keeping in mind 22 we have a lot of good, privatized housing successes that are 23 out there. We know who they are and we know where the 24 deficiencies are. So what would be your first thought on 25 that issue?

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Are you there?

2 Ms. Berger: Yes. I did not hit my microphone to 3 start.

4 Senator Inhofe: Oh.

5 Ms. Berger: Senator Inhofe, thank you for the б attention that you have put towards our military families 7 and their housing. First, our people are our greatest asset 8 and we are entrusting our people to these housing structure 9 through the agreements that we have with the privatized 10 housing companies. And, in addition, those people's 11 greatest assets are their families. And so this is a big 12 amount of trust that we are putting in the housing 13 structures that we have.

And as you have noted, there are some good examples where this has been successful, but more importantly and more urgently, there are instances where this has failed, and it has failed our military members.

18 And so first I would wait to see, and continue to see 19 the judicial process play out and see what final 20 determinations are made there, but additionally use the 21 surveys, the housing on installation advisors and advocates 22 who are there, and then also take the opportunity, if 23 confirmed, myself, to be able to go meet with families, meet 24 face-to-face with the housing company representatives, and 25 ensure that we are holding them to a higher standard. Ιf

1 confirmed, I need to make sure that we are doing the best 2 that we can for our military families, and that would be 3 what I would do first and foremost.

Senator Inhofe: Okay. That is very good. I cannot remember any particular issue that has drawn more attention or had more hearing than we have had on that. And we made great progress and great testimonials, and I would suggest that before you start in that you get the transcripts of those meetings. In fact, I am going to ask that you will do that before taking duty. Can you handle that one?

Ms. Berger: Yes, Senator. I would be very glad to review all of those.

13 Senator Inhofe: Very good. Thank you, Mr. Chairman,14 for your help.

15 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Inhofe. Dr. Ratner, 16 I know you have concentrated over the last several weeks and 17 months intensively on China, but my sense is the first crisis you will face is Afghanistan. Our forces will be out 18 19 of there probably within less than 30 days. That will 20 contribute to, I think, further aggression by the Taliban. So I know these are preliminary ideas that you are forming, 21 22 but how will we be able to continue to support the Afghan 23 Security Forces and government? How do we literally deliver 24 the money and the resources they need and make sure that it 25 is spent for its purpose?

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1 Mr. Ratner: Senator, thank you. It is an incredibly important issue. Obviously, if confirmed, I am going to 2 support the President's agenda of pursuing a deliberate, 3 4 safe, and orderly retrograde. But to your question about 5 what happens after American forces are gone, it is just 6 going to be incredibly important that we continue to support 7 the Afghan Security Forces there, and I understand that, if 8 confirmed, my office would be in charge of overseeing the 9 delivery of some of that assistance, and would ensure that it would do so with great scrutiny, and maintain 10 11 transparency with Congress in that regard.

Moreover, as I understand it, the administration is underway trying to develop, or working to develop an overthe-horizon counterterrorism capability, and if confirmed, would support those efforts as much as I could.

16 Chairman Reed: Again, I think we are in a period of 17 time where the Taliban sees, tactically and strategically, the advantage of not engaging U.S. forces and allowing us to 18 19 I think that perspective shifts dramatically after leave. 20 we leave, and their efforts against the Afghan government will increase. So again, we have to do, collectively, not 21 22 just Executive but also Congress, we have to ensure we have 23 SIV visas for those who served with us, and I would urge you 24 to keep us informed, because this could be an hour-to-hour 25 situation as we go forward. But thank you for your

1 commitment to transparency and to keeping a close watch on 2 this issue.

Ms. Krass, we understand that the legal opinions that the General Counsel issues are usually confidential and privileged, but you committed, when you assumed the responsibilities as the CIA General Counsel, that you would share with us the legal framework, not the specific opinions but the legal framework. Will you make the same commitment with respect to Department of Defense?

10 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator, I will.

11 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much. It is very 12 important for us to understand what the legal authority is, 13 respecting the confidentiality of specific opinions, so 14 thank you for that.

15 Also, as you indicated in your testimony and that we 16 have heard from Secretary Austin personally, he has ordered 17 a review of extremist activity within the Department of 18 Defense. We all, I think, understand how that contradicts 19 the constitutional oath that servicemembers take. But how 20 do you balance also the First Amendment rights of individual 21 service men and women with respect to some of their views 22 and some of their activity? Would you give us an idea of 23 how we would approach that?

Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator. If confirmed, I would absolutely look at any proposals. I know that Secretary

1 Austin has set up the Countering Extremism Working Group, 2 and one of the questions that they are looking at is how to refine the definition of extremism, which is an issue that 3 4 needs to make sure that it is ideologically neutral and that 5 First Amendment rights are protected, as well as good order б and discipline being furthered. And so were I to be 7 confirmed, I would study those issues and provide my best 8 advice to the Secretary.

9 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.

Ms. Ortiz Jones, one of the great issues we are facing now in the Air Force, particularly facing it, is modernization versus balancing current requirements. Do you have a sense of how you would make that judgment or what factors you would consider?

15 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Senator, having worked in 16 intelligence community for a long time we always have to 17 understand the nature of the threat, and that goes to our 18 understanding of our challenger's intent and capabilities. 19 That gives us the best understanding of the threat that we 20 will face. And so meeting and addressing those threats then would allow us to assess where our capabilities allow us to 21 22 best do so. Across time, however, understanding we have got 23 current requirements but also need the best posture for what 24 we are likely to face, especially against a tier one 25 competitor.

1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much. I think the 2 emphasis on evaluating threats first is a very principled 3 and thoughtful way to begin. That is usually the best 4 approach.

5 Thank you all. Now let me now recognize Senator6 Rounds.

Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First let me
begin by saying thank you to all of you for your continued
service to our country.

Ms. Krass, most recently there has been a number of cyber incursions into some of our more critical infrastructure. There has been an attempt made to improve our cyber capabilities over a period of years. I know that in 2019, the National Defense Authorization Act, we specifically changed offensive cyber operations so that they would be considered as traditional military activity.

17 If we do not control the cyber domain, just as if we do 18 not control the domain or space or air, land, or sea, then 19 our other domains are clearly at risk. Can you share with 20 me your thoughts as to the importance of continuing to be able to allow our cyber warriors the ability to provide 21 22 offensive capabilities in response to these cyberattacks 23 that our critical infrastructure finds itself faced with? 24 Ms. Krass: Senator, I completely agree with you about 25 the challenge that cyber presents to us, as a country and

1 our critical infrastructure, and it is very important that 2 the Department of Defense has the appropriate authorities to act. As you referred to, I read the clarifications that 3 4 have been in, I think, two NDAAs, about what is traditional 5 military activity, thereby meaning that as exempt from the 6 definition of a covert action. And were I to be confirmed, 7 I would want to study the issue further to see if any 8 additional authorities are needed, but my understanding is 9 that that was a very good way forward for the Department of Defense. 10

Senator Rounds: Well, let me just ask, just briefly. 11 12 Have you been able to review yet -- and I am not sure that 13 you have -- with regard to the presidential directives? At 14 one point, under a previous administration, there was a 15 Presidential Policy Directive 20, which was replaced by 16 National Security Policy Memorandum 13. Are you familiar 17 with the changes that were made, recognizing that this is an unclassified discussion? 18

Ms. Krass: Senator, I have not. In my current role outside of the government I have not had a chance to see that directive, but were I to be confirmed I would certainly want to take a look at it.

23 Senator Rounds: Thank you. I think it is very 24 important to note that the coordination, but still with a 25 clear path forward to being able to provide immediate

offensive cyber capabilities to our warfighting teams is critical, and most certainly you will have a role to play in making certain that they stay within the guidelines but are not having their hands tied.

5 Ms. Krass: Yes. Senator, I agree. That would
6 definitely be part of my role, were I to be confirmed.

Senator Rounds: Thank you. Ms. Jones, I appreciated 7 8 the opportunity to visit with you by phone, I believe last 9 week. I am just curious. Most recently there has been not only a notice that was in the Air Force, we have now got a 10 11 pilot shortage once again. And part of it is because during 12 COVID it was difficult to get training on the schedule, but 13 second of all because the airlines are beginning to hire again, and most certainly they will take a fair number from 14 15 the Air Force's numbers. But in addition to that there has 16 been some recent reports in the press about the challenges of actually getting the number of hours for these pilots 17 18 that need the training.

19 It is disconcerting that there appears to be a shortage 20 of capable aircraft and training capabilities to actually 21 bring in and appropriately train and maintain the 22 capabilities of these Air Force pilots. I am not sure 23 whether or not you have availed yourself to those most 24 recent press reports, but I most certainly would like to 25 hear your thoughts about the training regimen and whether or

not you believe we do have some challenges with regard to
 maintaining a proper balance.

Ms. Ortiz Jones: Senator, thank you for the question and thank you for your emphasis on this issue. If confirmed, this would be a top priority of mine. The Air Force has to maintain its readiness, and that requires a sufficient number of highly qualified pilots to execute those missions.

9 Certainly, to your point, in terms of ensuring that 10 there are adequate number of training hours, this is both a 11 safety issue as well as a qualification issue, and again I 12 share your concern. If confirmed, I commit to reviewing the 13 status of the current Pilot Retention Working Group that I 14 understand is reviewing initiatives to address ways in which 15 we might be able to retain more of these pilots, reviewing 16 the status of those initiatives, what is working well, and 17 where we might be able to improve upon that. Separately, I 18 also commit to you, if confirmed, reviewing the status of 19 the training program and where we also may be able to make 20 some improvements.

21 Senator Rounds: Thank you. My time has expired.22 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 Senator King: [Presiding.] On behalf of the chairman,
 24 Senator Hirono.

25 Senator Hirono: Thank you. A warm aloha to all of the

1 nominees.

I ask the following two initial questions of every nominee in any of the committee on which I sit, so I will ask all of you en masse.

5 Since you became a legal adult, have any of you ever 6 made unwanted requests for sexual favors or committed any 7 verbal or physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature?

8 Ms. Krass: No.

9 Ms. Ortiz Jones: No.

10 Mr. Ratner: No.

11 Ms. Skelly: No.

12 Ms. Berger: No.

Senator Hirono: Have any of you ever faced discipline or entered into a settlement related to this kind of conduct?

16 Ms. Krass: No.

17 Ms. Ortiz Jones: No.

18 Mr. Ratner: No.

19 Ms. Skelly: No.

20 Ms. Berger: No.

21 Senator Hirono: For Ms. Krass, in April, Secretary 22 Austin directed several immediate actions to counter 23 extremism in the ranks. One tasked General Counsel's Office 24 with reviewing and updating the definition of prohibited 25 extremist activities among uniformed personnel. I believe there is an acknowledgement that servicemembers are targeted for recruitment by extremist organizations, and so what constitutes prohibited extremist activities is an important aspect of what Secretary Austin has requested.

5 So if confirmed, how would you approach this issue, 6 given the sensitive First Amendment freedom of association 7 issues involved and the need to maintain good order and 8 discipline in the ranks?

9 Ms. Krass: Senator, I agree with Secretary Austin's 10 focus on the extremism threat and his standing up of the 11 working group. And were I to be confirmed, I would study 12 carefully any proposals regarding a change to the definition 13 of extremism to make sure that First Amendment rights are 14 protect at the same time as we safeguard our nation and 15 instill good order and discipline.

16 Senator Hirono: I am going to want to keep in touch 17 with you as you proceed, because right now the current 18 definition does not prohibit membership in extremist 19 organizations. And so it is going to be a challenging thing 20 for you to proceed, I would say.

For Dr. Ratner, you obviously know a lot about what needs to happen in the Indo-Pacific area, and I am very glad that you mentioned the concerns we have with regard to Afghanistan. I have a particular concern, shared by Senators Collins and -- there is another member, sorry. I

should know this -- Senator Shaheen, with regard to what our responsibilities should be regarding the women and girls in Afghanistan. And we did send a letter asking the President to appoint an ambassador-at-large for global women's issue to be the point person for the administration on what we can do to support the Afghan women and girls. So I hope this is an area that you will be also focused on.

8 And then as you talked about the Indo-Pacific AOR, one 9 area that you did not note in your remarks, but I am sure 10 you are very familiar with, the Compacts of Free Association 11 with Palau, Micronesia, and the Marshall islands, and these 12 are the FAS compacts. How would you prioritize our 13 partnerships with these island nations to support our 14 overall strategy in the Indo-Pacific? And I am particularly 15 interested in how we can focus on the lines of effort 16 identified in retired Admiral Davidson's Pacific Deterrence 17 Initiative, which you noted in your remarks, with regard to 18 our FAS compacts.

19 Mr. Ratner: Senator Hirono, thank you. Those are two 20 really important questions. First of all, on the question 21 of women and girls in Afghanistan, thank you for your 22 leadership and for this committee's leadership on that 23 issue. Of course, I share those concerns. It is a top 24 priority for the Biden administration, and if confirmed, 25 will work closely with my interagency partners to ensure we

can try to protect the gains that have been made. And, of
course, even as the military presence in Afghanistan is
being wound down, the United States will continue supporting
economic, political, and humanitarian support for
Afghanistan. So that support will continue, and if
confirmed, will remain a priority of mine.

7 On your question of the compacts states, again, very 8 important issue. As I understand it, the administration is 9 in the process of renegotiation that compact. That is a 10 State Department-led effort. From the perspective of the Defense Department I would support that effort, from an 11 12 interagency capacity. With specific question from a DoD 13 perspective and the Pacific Deterrence Initiative, my view 14 is that those partners could play an important role in 15 advancing the priorities of the Pacific Deterrence 16 Initiative, including our forward presence in the region, 17 our efforts to improve our logistics there, exercises in 18 training and infrastructure as well. So I would commit to 19 you, Senator, that if confirmed, and when we begin again 20 working on the Pacific Deterrence Initiative, that I include 21 consideration of the compact states.

22 Senator Hirono: I would just like to note that I think 23 that we owe a lot more, we can be doing a lot more to 24 support these island nations, particularly with regard to 25 their economy.

1

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator King: Thank you, Senator. On behalf of the
chairman, Senator Tuberville.

Senator Tuberville: Thank you, Chairman King. Thank
you all for being here today.

Ms. Krass, bid protests have gotten ugly. How they are supposed to work, all companies should have the right to question the process, but protests cause delays to national security and hurt the taxpayer. Example, the DoD cloud computing project, JEDI, the fight has gotten so ugly that Deputy Secretary Hicks threated to kill it altogether. What should we do to get contractors to trust the DoD process?

Ms. Krass: Senator, I think this is a critically important issue that the American public has trust and confidence in the fairness of the acquisition process, and were I to be confirmed, one of my duties as General Counsel would be to ensure that that process is fair, and I commit to you that I would do so, if I am confirmed.

19 Senator Tuberville: Thank you.

Ms. Jones, secure and reliable access to space is critically important to our national security and economy. China is at a forefront and contesting our supremacy in space and targeting our commercial suppliers. What can the DoD and the Air Force do to further protect intellectual property of this country's companies that support our 1 national security and efforts?

2 Senator, thank you for the question. Ms. Ortiz Jones: Previously I served as the intelligence community's Senior 3 4 Advisor for Trade Enforcement, and the focus there was the 5 protection of American intellectual property. So I 6 certainly share your concern for the need to protect 7 American intellectual property, specifically these highly 8 specialized areas and certainly as it relates to space.

9 Senator, I would like to, in order to adequately answer
10 your question, review the current efforts underway to ensure
11 I am fully aware of those and where there might be some
12 opportunities to improve upon those, and if confirmed, I
13 commit to doing so and reporting back to you in short order.
14 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Thank you.

Dr. Ratner, you led the DoD's China Task Force, and I have got two questions. Do you believe U.S. cyber networks are secure from our adversaries, and what can the DoD do to further protect small and medium-sized contractors from cyberattacks, because the big boys can take care of themselves.

21 Mr. Ratner: Senator, thank you for your question. I 22 do think China's aggressive cyber activities continue to be 23 a problem and one that the United States and the Department 24 of Defense should be taking seriously and doing more on. I 25 think an important part of that is getting our house in

order inside the Department, working across components on
 these issues to better protect and defend our technology and
 working with the private sector as well, absolutely.

Senator Tuberville: Yeah. What can the small guy do,
though? I mean, people in Alabama, we have 800 defense
contractors, and it is rat race to try to keep them from
getting hacked. And they do not have the money the big boys
have. What can we do to help them?

9 Mr. Ratner: Well, Senator, I think we can work more 10 closely with these partners. I think to Senator Rounds' 11 question, we ought to also consider the full suite of 12 capabilities we have, including offensive capabilities, to 13 try to shift Beijing's cost-benefit calculus about these 14 activities.

15 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Thank you, Mr.16 Chairman.

Senator King: On behalf of the chairman, Senator King.
Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I do note
that it must be a humbling moment to be demoted from King to
chairman, albeit briefly.

21 [Laughter.]

Senator King: I will live with it. Thank you,Senator.

24 Senator Kaine: Ms. Skelly, I want to ask you a 25 question. I am the chair of the Readiness Subcommittee of

1 this committee, and Senator Sullivan is my ranking member, 2 and we have kind of gone back and forth in those roles. Readiness, in the committee standpoint, might be a little 3 4 bit different in how we define it than within the Pentagon, 5 but in the committee, readiness is installations and б acquisition, but also the readiness metrics that we use to 7 determine how ready we are to perform a fight or a mission 8 tomorrow if we need to.

9 We recently had a Readiness Subcommittee hearing that I 10 found, through some testimony, and it was pretty troubling. 11 The hearing was about acquisition programs, and I know there 12 are all kinds of acquisition officials in the Pentagon, and 13 it was successes and failures, sort of a greatest hits and a 14 greatest misses and what we can learn from both.

One of our witnesses was Dr. Raymond O'Toole, who is the Acting Director of Operational Test and Evaluation, and this was an open hearing. Here was a bit of testimony that he offered that were sort of frightening, both to Senator Sullivan and me.

"Unfortunately, some programs do not properly plan for cybersecurity assessments. More critically due to poor system hardening against dynamic cyber threats driven by lack of workforce cyber capacity, talent, and tools within the program offices, virtually none of the programs assessed in fiscal year 2020 were survivable against relevant cyber

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1 threats."

2 Senator Sullivan looked at me when that testimony came out and said, "I hope no adversaries are watching this 3 4 hearing." Well, it was an open hearing. Of course, adversaries were seeing it. And it has made us wonder 5 б whether, in our development of readiness metrics -- so we 7 have the metrics about, you know, what percentage of 8 platoons would be ready to fight tomorrow -- in our 9 development of readiness metrics, do we need to better 10 incorporate assessments of cyber vulnerabilities.

11 Should you be confirmed -- and these issues tend to 12 kind of get siloed into this acquisition office or that 13 service secretary's office -- but should you be confirmed, 14 could you work with us to help make sure that there are 15 appropriate readiness metrics that incorporate cyber 16 vulnerability as a key component to measuring whether we are 17 ready to fight tomorrow or not?

18 Ms. Skelly: Senator, thank you for the question. 19 Certainly. I note that, I believe it is a recent GAO 20 report, has raised the issue of the Department's readiness 21 recovery framework reporting, where it is predominantly 22 service, and their recommendation has been, I think their 23 recommendation accepted by the Department at one point, but 24 that it be viewed through the lens of domains, cyber being 25 one of them.

1 Some of the previous conversation this morning regards 2 around China. Our readiness for the future with China, as Dr. Ratner has worked on, that is about potentially an all-3 4 up fight, in all domains, simultaneously, at the high end. 5 As has been our history, we are pretty ready for the last 6 war we had, because that is the one we know when we put 7 billions and trillions of dollars into. The past two 8 decades have not had us significant challenged with regard 9 to cyber operationally in our weapons systems in that way. 10 So personally, with some experience in the defense 11 acquisition system and in making that system responsive to 12 emerging threat, it is not surprising that we are in that 13 state. However, that state is insufficient to the future 14 that we are charged by the President and the Secretary and 15 the Congress to plan for. It is certainly an area that, if 16 I were to be confirmed, is one that I want to get into as 17 soon as possible as to how we change our appreciation of 18 readiness for the future challenge.

Senator Kaine: Great. Ms. Skelly, thank you for that.I look forward to working with you on that matter.

21 And, Ms. Kress, just a last point, not really a 22 question. But your office is a very important office, in 23 tandem with others, Legal Advisor at State Department, 24 Counsel's Office in the White House, over authority for 25 military action, authorized use of military force,

1 declarations of war. I am a real stickler about Article II 2 powers being as broad as they should be, but Article I powers also being very broad. And I generally believe that 3 4 we should not be at war as a nation without a vote of 5 Congress unless the President is engaging in imminent б defense against either an attack or an imminent attack. 7 There are differences of opinion that go back to 1787 on how 8 these clauses in the Constitution are interpreted.

9 But I have often not been happy, under administrations 10 of both parties, with the rationale and the information and legal justification we get from executives when they 11 12 initiate military action without coming to Congress. There 13 is lawyer-client privilege, other documents that are protected, and I get that, but I would just like your 14 15 commitment -- and I actually am going to applaud the Biden 16 administration for starters, because Senator Young and I 17 have a bill to repeal the 1991 and 2002 Iraq AUMFs that said 18 Iraq is an enemy. Now that Iraq is a security partner we 19 want to repeal those AUMFs. The Biden administration has 20 issued up a statement supporting the repeat. We are going to have a vote in Senate Foreign Relations next week about 21 22 it. It would be the first authorization for war that 23 Congress has repealed in decades, maybe ever. So I do give 24 the Biden team credit for being willing to do that.

25 But I just would look forward to having good

1 communication with you -- certainly the committee would 2 appreciate that as well -- over legal authorities for 3 initiation of military action. And I just thought I would 4 put you on notice that I will probably be calling you a lot 5 on that.

Ms. Krass: Senator, I look forward to thoseconversations. Thank you very much.

8 Senator Kaine: We have a big task ahead of us to try 9 to revise the 2001 AUMF too in a way that would preserve the 10 authorities of the United States to take military action 11 against non-state terrorist groups that threaten us, and 20 12 years in it is time to do that, and I look forward to 13 working with you on that.

14 Ms. Krass: Senator, thank you. I agree.

15 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

Senator King: Thank you, Senator. On behalf of the chairman, Senator Cotton.

18 Senator Cotton: Thank you, and thank you all for your 19 appearance.

Ms. Krass, in your written remarks you stated that you support the Biden administration's efforts to repeal the Authorization for Use of Military Force. I think it was the current authorizations for military force, not just the 2002 AUMF. So that includes the 2001 AUMF?

25 Ms. Krass: Senator, I believe my written remarks were

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about the 2002, but I do support President Biden's commitment to replacing the existing 2001 and 2002 AUMFs with a more narrow and specific framework. But we need to make sure that there is sufficient authority to continue to protect the nation.

Senator Cotton: Under what legal authority is the
United States currently detaining 40 terrorists at
Guantanamo Bay?

9 Ms. Krass: Under the 2001 AUMFs.

10 Senator Cotton: If we repeal the 2001 and 2002 Use of 11 Force resolutions, under what authority would we continue to 12 detain those persons?

Ms. Krass: Senator, I think that that is a very important legal question that would need to be considered carefully as the administration talks to Congress about an appropriate replacement authority.

Senator Cotton: Can you commit to us today that any replacement resolution would give authority to continue detaining those very dangerous terrorists at Guantanamo Bay? Ms. Krass: Senator, I commit to working with Congress to make sure that appropriate authorities remain with respect to those detainees.

23 Senator Cotton: Can you commit to compliance with the 24 requirements of Section 1034 of the 2016 NDAA, that his 25 committee must be notified 30 days before transferring any

detainee from Guantanamo Bay to the continental United
 States?

3 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator, I commit to complying with 4 the law.

5 Senator Cotton: Thank you. Ms. Krass, the military б has long been perceived as one of the most diverse 7 institutions in our society, one of the places in our 8 society where you are most likely to get ahead, based 9 strictly on your performance and your merits, not on where 10 you come from or what you look like, or who you are. Do you believe that the color of someone's skin or what ethnicity 11 12 they might identify as should play any role in what job they 13 perform or what rank they wear on their shoulders?

Ms. Krass: Senator, I believe that diversity does make our forces the best in the world, and I do think that all decisions should be made on merit.

17 Senator Cotton: Thank you. Ms. Krass, I have some 18 concerns about what I saw in the late Obama era, as the only 19 Republican who sits on both Armed Services and the 20 Intelligence Committee, while you were the General Counsel 21 of the CIA. Many of those concerns cannot be discussed in 22 this open forum. I will simply say there was a tendency 23 towards highly bureaucratic and highly technical 24 distinctions between intelligence activities under Title 50 25 and military activities under Title 10. I found those

distinctions often to be tiresome and disruptive of efforts to do what our government should be doing for our people, which is to identify bad guys around the world and capture them or kill them.

5 Can you talk to me a little bit about your 6 understanding of the distinction between Title 10 and Title 7 50, and give us some assurance that as the General Counsel 8 of the Department of Defense you will not help recreate 9 these very tedious bureaucratic distinctions between so-10 called Title 10 activities and Title 50 activities?

11 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator. The Title 50 framework 12 authorizes covert action, and one of the exceptions from 13 what a covert action, and therefore conducted under Title 50 14 is traditional military activity. And I know that there 15 were two clarifications, I think, in the 2019 and 2020 NDAAs 16 that particular activities of the Department of Defense are 17 traditional military activities. And were I to be confirmed 18 I would certainly work to further that understanding amongst 19 the interagency.

20 Senator Cotton: I am glad to hear that. Again, we 21 cannot talk about this at great length, and I think you know 22 what I am talking about, though -- highly complex, tedious 23 distinctions that only added cumbersome bureaucratic 24 roadblocks to protecting the country from some pretty bad 25 guys around the world. I might want to speak to you in a

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1 classified setting, before the committee vote, before the 2 Senate votes on the floor, because I do think it was unnecessary in the late Obama era. I think many of these 3 4 distinctions were done primarily so the Department of 5 Defense could conduct certain operations and therefore б President Obama and then Vice President Biden could speak 7 about them publicly for political benefit. And I hope that 8 those kinds of distinctions will not be recreated, 9 especially at a time when our troop presence in Afghanistan 10 will be zero, and in Iraq it is very small, and therefore we 11 might need to depend even more on our intelligence agencies 12 to help protect the country from some very bad guys around 13 the world.

Thank you, Ms. Krass. Thank you all again for your appearance, and I will turn it back to the acting chairman, who also knows what I am talking about, and I hope agrees with me, as he always does.

18 [Laughter.]

Senator King: I try to whenever possible, Senator.
Mr. Ratner, this country is facing an intense moral
obligation right now, and it is also a national security
imperative, and that is the evacuation and protection of
those people in Afghanistan who have served with us over the
last 20 years as translator, guides, and other personnel. I
hope you will commit to me to giving this guestion your

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highest level of attention and urgency. The last figures I
saw were that it takes 900 days to process a special visa
application, and we will be out of Afghanistan in 90 days.
There is grave danger to these individuals. I would like
your commitment to, as I say, the highest level of attention
and urgency.

7 Mr. Ratner: Senator, I share your view that we have a 8 moral obligation to support those who have been working with 9 us in Afghanistan, and I commit to you to make it a top 10 priority of mine and work with you and this committee on day 11 one.

12 Senator King: I want you to be irritating within the 13 counsels of the Defense Department on this issue. Can you 14 manage that?

15 Mr. Ratner: I will commit to be irritating, Senator.

16 Senator King: Thank you. Second question, we have not 17 had much discussion about India, but I was encouraged to see 18 that India was engaged in the talks with other allies in the 19 region. Give me just a short precis of your thoughts about 20 India's potential role in the security arrangements in Asia. 21 Mr. Ratner: Senator, I think India is an essential 22 partner for the United States in the 21st century. The 23 Department of Defense has made great progress across 24 Republican and Democratic administrations in deepening our 25 defense relations with India. There are a number of

foundational agreements that have been signed over the last several years that, if confirmed, I would work hard to implement. And, of course, India is now part of the Quad framework with Australia and Japan and the United States, as a foundation of the strength of our democracies in the region.

7 Senator King: I think India's role could be incredibly 8 important in our ongoing competition with China, and I urge 9 you to pursue that opportunity, which you have already 10 indicated.

11 Ms. Krass, you are about to be a lawyer with one 12 client, and I have been in that situation. The danger is 13 telling your client what they want to hear. Give me your 14 commitment that you will provide your best legal advice to 15 the Department of Defense and to the Secretary regardless of 16 the policy proclivities of the Secretary or the President, 17 that your advice will be clear and unvarnished and delivered 18 with the rule of law paramount.

Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator, I give you that commitment.
Absolutely, that is the way that I have always conducted
myself.

22 Senator King: And you understand that it is human 23 nature. I am not accusing anyone of malevolence, but it is 24 human nature to want to sort of shade the advice to what the 25 boss wants to hear. You understand that that is of danger

1 and will actively resist it.

2 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator, I will.

Senator King: Ms. Berger, I have a more specific 3 4 In December of 2020, a memorandum was issued that question. 5 basically puts a moratorium on new lease or general services б occupancy agreements for the use of land and facilities. 7 The Portsmouth Naval Air Station is on an island, and there 8 is not enough room on that island for the demands that are 9 being made on that facility, particularly in the upcoming 10 years as a new dry dock is completed and we are talking about refueling and refurbishing our nuclear submarine 11 12 fleet. I could give you a lot of figures, almost doubling 13 the man hours required. They are already working three 14 shifts in the limited manufacturing space.

Would you please follow up on this memorandum and whether an exception can be provide so the men and women of Portsmouth Naval Ship Yard can do their job on behalf of the Navy and the country?

Ms. Berger: Senator, the people who are doing the work to support our Navy are critically important, and yes, I would be glad to follow up on that with you, if confirmed.

22 Senator King: I appreciate that. This is critical, 23 and it is a general purpose memorandum for the whole 24 country, but in this case it literally does not fit.

25

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Ms. Ortiz Jones, not much time left, but Senator Cotton

1 and I did what amounted to a focus group with a group of 2 pilots a year or two ago, and what we found was that the principal thing that is costing us pilots is that they want 3 4 to fly, and they are not getting enough time in the air. 5 And I hope that that is something you can follow up with, 6 and I would urge you to do something similar with younger 7 pilots about what is it that you need? We expected to hear 8 more about bonuses and those kinds of things. What we heard 9 was, "We want to fly airplanes and we are not getting enough time in the air." 10

11 So is that something that you would be interested and 12 willing to follow up on?

Ms. Ortiz Jones: Senator, if confirmed, absolutely. We need to look at all options to ensure that we have got, again, sufficient number of highly trained pilots to execute the Department of the Air Force missions.

Senator King: Thank you. Thank you all for your commitment and your willingness to serve your country, in many cases once again.

20 On behalf of the chairman, Senator Tillis.

Senator Tillis: Mr. Chairman, I will defer to Senator
 Hawley and follow him.

23 Senator King: Senator Hawley.

24 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank 25 you, Senator Tillis. Congratulations to all the nominees 1 and thank you for being here.

2 Dr. Ratner, I want to start with you if I could, and I want to start by commending you for the outstanding work 3 4 that you have done to help our nation meet the China 5 challenge, not just in the last few months, although I think 6 you have been doing great work then too, but for the last 7 number of years. And I think you are an outstanding 8 nominee, and I really look forward to supporting your 9 nomination. So thank you for all you have done.

I want to drill down a little bit in some of your area 10 11 of expertise here. I asked Secretary Austin and General 12 Milley, when they were before this committee just last week, 13 if they agreed that the United States needs to maintain an 14 ability to defeat a Chinese fait accompli against Taiwan. 15 Secretary Austin said yes. General Milley said yes also, 16 but then he said something that frankly surprised me, and I 17 am just going to quote. This is from the transcript now. 18 This is General Milley to me. He said, "Senator, frankly, I 19 am not sure what a Chinese fait accompli in Taiwan is, " end 20 quote.

I wondered if you could, for the record here, tell us what a Chinese fait accompli in Taiwan looks like and why we should be concerned about it.

Mr. Ratner: Senator Hawley, thank you for your support, and let me say thank you to you as well for your

1 personal leadership on this issue. My understanding of the 2 fait accompli challenge across the Taiwan Strait is the potential for China to attempt to make a very quick 3 4 offensive action against Taiwan, thereby requiring us to 5 have forces in the region and ready to respond immediately. б Senator Hawley: When we spoke in May you emphasized 7 the need to maintain the ability to defeat that kind of an 8 attempted quick strike. Just tell us why it is so important 9 -- and my colleagues are probably very tired of hearing me 10 ask about this scenario, because I ask about it just about every single committee hearing. So maybe, for them and for 11 12 us and for everybody, tell us why it is so important that we 13 maintain the ability to defeat that kind of a quick strike 14 invasion?

15 Mr. Ratner: Senator, the People's Republic of China 16 has yet to renounce the use of force against Taiwan, and it 17 is increasingly using its aggression and coercion in the 18 region, so I think this is a real concern. And in the 19 absence of the United States to impose sufficient costs and 20 denial capability, I think there is a potential that they 21 would use aggression against Taiwan to achieve their 22 political aims.

23 Senator Hawley: You and I talked a little bit about 24 the difference between deterrence by denial and deterrence 25 by cost imposition, and those things sound similar but they
1 are actually quite different. Could you explain to us what 2 the difference is between deterrence by denial and 3 deterrence by cost imposition, and why we ought to be 4 focused on deterrence by denial?

5 Mr. Ratner: Yeah, so Senator, it is really important 6 question, and I do agree that deterrence by denial is the 7 appropriate strategy for the region and for this particular 8 challenge. The distinction is deterrence by punishment 9 would suggest that if China were to use aggression against 10 Taiwan that the United States response would be to impose costs on China in another region or in another domain. My 11 12 personal view is that the absolute certain way to deter 13 China from using aggression is to ensure that they are 14 unable to achieve that goal.

I should suggest also, at the time, that I am confident today that we have that ability to deter and defeat Chinese aggression, and Senator, if confirmed, I would look forward to working with this committee to ensure we keep it that way.

20 Senator Hawley: Very good. And it is important, isn't 21 it, also for our allies and partners and our potential 22 partners in the region, in the Indo-Pacific, for them to 23 realize and understand that we have the ability today to 24 defeat an attempted fait accompli, and we are committed to 25 maintaining that ability going forward. They need to know

1 that so that they can bank on our commitment to the region 2 and so they can make their own choices about their own 3 security. Is that fair to say?

Mr. Ratner: Yes, Senator. I think that underscores
the importance of the Pacific Deterrence Initiative, as
well.

7 Senator Hawley: Very good. Let me ask you about what 8 we are doing with regard to Taiwan in terms of helping them 9 adopt the asymmetric defense strategy that they need. 10 Something you said to me when we talked was that it is very 11 important that the United States send a very clear message 12 about what sort of defense strategy we think that our allies 13 and partners in the region need to adopt. They need to be 14 clear on what we think is the right approach.

15 Taiwan has introduced the overall defense concept 16 several years ago that emphasized the need for them to adopt 17 an asymmetric defense strategy. I understand they have made 18 some progress on this, but there is still some way to go. 19 Can you give us an assessment of where Taiwan is on this and 20 what message we need to be sending to Taiwan, and any other 21 partners in the region you want to talk about, in terms of 22 their own defense capabilities in partnership with us? 23 Mr. Ratner: Yeah. Senator, another incredibly 24 important issue. I will start by saying I think President 25 Tsai is committed to taking Taiwan's military in the right

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direction, and I am encouraged by the steps she has been taking to try to develop a more mobile and resilient military, and that is an incredibly important part of the deterrent in the region. And if confirmed, I would look forward to advancing that agenda.

6 Senator Hawley: Very good. I see my time has expired 7 here. I may have a few more questions for you for the 8 record. Congratulations again. Thanks to all of the 9 nominees. I look forward to supporting you, Dr. Ratner, and 10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Chairman Reed: [Presiding.] Thank you, Senator 12 Hawley. I want to thank Senator King for stepping in and 13 doing such a superb job as chair, and let me now recognize, 14 via Webex, Senator Warren.

Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, andcongratulations to all of you on your nominations.

17 Ms. Berger, I want to spend some time this morning 18 talking about military housing and climate change. Now 19 these are going to be questions that I have asked the Air 20 Force and the Army Secretary nominees. I will ask the Navy Secretary nominee as well. But since you are the person who 21 22 has got primary responsibility for ensuring that our sailors 23 will live in safe, clean housing, and make sure that our 24 Navy is climate resilient and energy efficient, I want to 25 ask you as well.

1 We have all heard the stories from military families 2 about the deplorable conditions of on-base privatized housing. The companies hired by the DoD escaped 3 4 accountability by fudging their numbers and just sweeping 5 complaints under the rug. My office still hears from 6 military spouses that the problem is not getting any better and that landlords are not following the laws that Congress 7 8 passed to protect tenants.

9 So let me ask you, Ms. Berger, if confirmed, will you 10 commit to using all the tools available to hold landlords 11 and private companies accountable, to make sure that they 12 build and maintain quality housing for sailors, and to 13 ensure that they can no longer profit off substandard 14 housing?

15 Ms. Berger: Senator, thank you for your attention to 16 this important issue, and yes, if confirmed, I will use all 17 tools available to me to make sure that we are doing the 18 best that we can for our sailors, our marines, and their 19 families. This is an essential element of readiness, and 20 ensuring that we are taking care of people, as you said, and 21 putting them in quality housing, and safe housing, and 22 ensuring that everyone is held to the standard that is 23 available is critically important.

And I will note that the Navy and Marine Corps recently put into place all 18 of the Tenant Bill of Rights that are

important enforcement mechanisms as well, to ensure that all of these standards are being held up, and also that there are opportunities to enforce them. So yes, Senator Warren, if confirmed, this would be a priority of mine.

5 Senator Warren: I very much appreciate that. I want б to see real change, and it is time. You know, some of these 7 housing providers are not providing accessible housing to 8 military families who have a physically disabled family 9 member who needs accommodation. So do I have your commitment that you will immediately dig into this issue and 10 work to make sure that all Navy families have access to 11 12 reasonable accommodation in their housing, when they need 13 it?

Ms. Berger: Yes, Senator. If confirmed, I commit to ensuring that we look into this, and I will look forward to being in good touch with you on this important issue.

Senator Warren: Good. Good. I am looking forward totoo, because I am going to stay on this.

So you have got quite a challenge ahead of you, as our Navy bases are obviously the military installations that are most susceptible to rising seas. For example, according to one scientific study, Naval Base Norfolk has some access roads that will be under water during high tides for 50 days out of the year, by 2037. That is just high tides, not storms. So will you commit to using all the tools and authorities at your disposal to make the Navy more climate resilient?

4 Ms. Berger: Yes, Senator Warren. This issue is of 5 critical importance. Our bases, our installations are often б by the water, because it is where the Navy operates. But our installations are critical considerations in this 7 8 composition as well. And so as we think about our 9 installations being the places that we project our power 10 from, it is where our submarines, our ships, our aircraft, 11 our sailors, our marines are training. It is where they are 12 going back to resupply and to refuel. It is where families 13 are, and family readiness is important too.

And so these installations and the ability to keep them resilient to climate is of critical importance, as you note, and if confirmed, I will use all of the tools and authorities available to me to ensure that we are guarding against this threat.

Senator Warren: Good. And on the subject of climate change, there is no way to address the climate crisis without confronting DoD's role as the largest consumer of fossil fuel on the planet. Will you commit to using all the tools and authorities at your disposal to make the Navy reduce its carbon footprint, wherever possible, and to make it more energy resilient?

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1 Ms. Berger: Senator Warren, the Navy has a good 2 history and a good track record of looking into this, and I share your concern that this is of importance. 3 And if 4 confirmed, this is something that we are always balancing 5 against readiness and the ability to be able to fight, but 6 it is something that we can use to enhance our readiness and 7 ability to fight. And so if confirmed, I will surely review 8 and put to good use the authorities available to ensure that 9 the Navy is continuing to progress on this important track. 10 Senator Warren: Good, and I am glad to hear you describe this not as balancing one against the other but as 11

15 improve resiliency on shore, and electric or hybrid electric 16 engine technologies at sea. 17 You know, you are right to describe these as military 18 readiness issues. So I plan to hold you to these

truly enhancing. You know, it is critical that the Navy

continue to double down on investments in microgrids and

battery storage and appropriate infrastructure projects to

19 commitments, and I also plan to look forward to working with 20 you to help make them happen.

21 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Warren. Let merecognize Senator Tillis, please.

24 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Congratulations to all of you for being nominated in some

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1 very important roles.

Ms. Krass, I want to ask you a little bit about, in responding to advance policy questions you stated, "If pending legislative proposals to address sexual assault and harassment are enacted, ensuring that such reforms are executed seamlessly will be a challenge facing the next General Counsel." Could you explain to me, give me a little bit more meat on the bones --

9 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator.

10 Senator Tillis: -- what the challenges would be? 11 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator. As you know, the Secretary 12 has received preliminary recommendations from the 13 Independent Review Commission on the accountability prong of 14 the four prongs that that commission is looking at, and I 15 know that there are legislative proposals as well that are 16 under serious consideration. And so depending on how that 17 unfolds and what recommendations ultimately Secretary Austin makes to President Biden and then to this committee, and 18 19 whatever ensues from a legislative front, a significant task 20 that I would face, were I to be confirmed, would be to 21 ensure that those measures are implemented effectively. And 22 if I am confirmed, I would do my best. You know, I think it 23 will require very careful attention to make sure that we 24 make meaningful progress on this matter.

25 Senator Tillis: What is your understanding of the

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proposals that are coming from the 90-day independent review, and if you are familiar with the legislative proposals here, what kind of gaps do we need to work out between the commission's recommendations and some of the proposals that will be considered as a part of our NDAA mark-up?

7 Ms. Krass: Senator, I have not yet had a chance to be 8 briefed on the Independent Review Commission's proposals, 9 because I am not yet confirmed. But were I to be confirmed, 10 that would be the first thing I would want to do, to look at 11 those proposals and evaluate those in connection with 12 legislation, potential legislation that has already been 13 proposed.

14 Senator Tillis: The Military Justice Improvement and 15 Increasing Prevention Act proposes to take disposition 16 authority for felony offenses, really any offense, I think, 17 with a sentence over 1 year, away from the UCMJ, away from 18 the commanders, and vest it in a group of lawyers. In your 19 view, it seems to me there is a lot of work that needs to be 20 done on military sexual assault, but the net that we are 21 casting with some of the proposals right now go far beyond 22 that. Barracks larceny would be something that would be 23 taken out of the chain of command. Just intuitively, do you 24 think that is a good idea or a reasonable proposal, coming 25 from Congress?

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1 Ms. Krass: Senator, I know that last week Secretary 2 Austin stated that he would study that issue of the broader versus the narrower scope, in terms of reforms to the UCMJ, 3 4 and I similarly, if I were confirmed, would want to study 5 that issue.

Senator Tillis: Well, I do know that the timing б 7 problem with your confirmation may make it difficult for you 8 to play a role in the DoD putting forth a recommendation 9 before we have to set an NDAA mark-up and take up proposals. 10 So this is less for you when you get in -- Congratulations on the confirmation, now get to work -- but we have got to 11 12 make sure that the DoD is moving fairly quickly to get the 13 commission recommendations before the President, and for the 14 President to take a position on it, if it is going to have 15 any impact on our proceedings in the next month.

16 Ms. Berger, I have spent a lot of time on military 17 housing. I have spent a lot of time down at Fort Bragg and 18 Camp Lejeune. I am going to go back down there for town 19 I have been doing military family town halls down halls. 20 there, and it has improved the situation just by putting pressure on the military housing vendors. I think that the 21 22 Bill of Rights is a great idea, but I also think that if you 23 are confirmed, in order to take best care of our sailors and 24 marines, we have to take a step back and see if the entire 25 framework that we have in place for military housing makes

1 sense. It is almost 25 years old. There are 80-some-odd 2 contracts. It seems to me that if we only think about going after the housing providers, when I think there is a 3 4 legitimate shared responsibility for a lack of focus by the 5 garrison commanders, a lack of modernizing these contracts, б can I get your commitment to maybe take a step back and not 7 only look at putting out the fires that I am doing with the 8 town halls but look at the underlying programs and figure 9 out if there is way to modernize them, to make them more resilient and more responsive to military family needs? 10

Ms. Berger: Senator, the military housing issue, as 11 12 you noted, is an important one, and thank you for the work 13 that you have done on it, to take good care of our sailors, 14 marines, and their families. If confirmed, it would be 15 important to me to make sure to get and actually visit with 16 the people who are living in the houses, who are taking 17 care, on the ground, on the installations, and also to do a 18 careful review of how everything is operating, to your 19 point, to ensure maximizing resilience and the care that we 20 need to take for the families and the sailors and marines 21 that are living in this house.

22 So yes, if confirmed, I would be glad to do those 23 things.

24 Senator Tillis: Yeah, and if confirmed, I would like 25 to get a commitment from either you or a designate to

participate in some of these town halls that we are doing.
We will have a number of people there, and I think it is
good, fresh feedback, and I think it would be helpful to
have you or, like I said, a designate there when I do host
the town hall sometime in August.

Ms. Berger: Senator, thank you for the invitation. I would be glad to follow up with you and figure out the appropriate way to attend, if confirmed. Thank you.

9 Senator Tillis: Thank you, and thank you all.
10 Congratulations on your nominations. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
11 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Tillis. Now let me
12 now recognize, via Webex, Senator Rosen.

Senator Rosen: Thank you, Chairman Reed, of course Ranking Member Inhofe, for holding this hearing. I would also like to thank the nominees for testifying today, and Ms. Berger for meeting with me recently. Thank you.

I would like to speak a little bit about the Air Force, Is so Ms. Ortiz Jones, the Air Force last year requested a 300,000-acre expansion of the Nevada Test and Training Range within the Desert National Wildlife Refuge, of course, in order to modernize the range. It also asked for primary jurisdiction over the 800,000 acres of land currently shared with the refuge.

The fiscal year 2021 NDAA renewed the Air Force existing withdrawal of almost 3 million acres of public

1 lands for 25 years, and included a provision that Senator 2 Cortez Masto and I authored that mandates an intergovernmental executive committee between the Air Force 3 4 and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, to help improve the administration of, and resolve conflicts, on jointly managed 5 6 I believe we must continue supporting the Air lands. 7 Force's modernization requirements to keep up with current 8 and emerging threats while maintaining Nevada's natural and 9 cultural resources, and this is one way to do so.

10 So Ms. Ortiz Jones, as the Air Force pursues 11 modernization of the Range, can you commit, if confirmed, to 12 exchanging information and collaborating with local, state, 13 and Tribal governments, along with the relevant 14 environmental stakeholders on any proposals to withdraw

15 Nevada's public lands?

Ms. Ortiz Jones: Senator, I think it is extremely important that the Department of the Air Force is a good partner, both with local stakeholders as well as those within the interagency. So if confirmed, you have my commitment to do just that.

21 Senator Rosen: And will you also commit to working 22 with me and the rest of the delegation on any future land 23 withdrawal requests, and confirm that you will stand up the 24 Intergovernmental Executive Committee and get its first 25 meeting scheduled, as the Navy has already done so for its

1 own proposed expansion in Fallon, Nevada?

2 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Senator, my understanding is that is 3 mandated, and if confirmed, I will execute that in short 4 order.

5 Senator Rosen: Thank you. I look forward to being6 part of that.

7 And so I am going to move on to our land withdrawal at 8 Fallon Naval Air Station. So Ms. Berger, of course we had a 9 great time to talk this week, and I want to turn to the proposed Naval Air Station Fallon land withdrawal. 10 The Navy seeks to continue operations on its current 240,000 acres 11 12 and take ownership of over 600,000 acres of Federal land and 13 over 65,000 acres of non-Federal land, an action that would 14 expand the training complex to about 900,000 acres.

15 Federal land managers currently allow the public to 16 have access to much of the proposed expansion area for 17 grazing, for hunting, for mineral exploration, and for 18 geothermal development. And due in large part to safety 19 concerns, the Navy's proposal would curtail many of these 20 activities. Recently, the Navy sent over a legislative proposal to this committee, which unfortunately is almost 21 22 identical to the request from last year and does not 23 incorporate any of the suggested changes from the Nevada 24 delegation.

25

So Ms. Berger, as the Navy pursues modernization on the

Range, can you commit, if confirmed, to exchanging information, collaborating with local, state, and Tribal governments, along with relevant stakeholders on any proposals to Nevada's public lands and work with me and the rest of the Federal delegation on any land withdrawal requests?

7 Ms. Berger: Senator Rosen, thank you for the time to 8 visit with you and for the conversation, and I understand 9 the diverse interests that are at stake here and also the 10 importance that Nevada provides to our aviators and our 11 Special Forces who train in this critical area.

12 If confirmed, it is important to look at the ability of 13 these people to be able to train as they will fight and also 14 to consider the diverse interests that you listed, and if 15 confirmed, I will be glad to have an ongoing conversation, 16 share information, and collaborate with you.

Senator Rosen: Thank you. Quickly, I just want to mention, again, in 1959, the Navy dropped an inert ordnance outside Fallon's B-19 range, contaminated nearly 6,000 acres of the Walker River Paiute's Tribe reservation. And so, Ms. Berger, if confirmed, will you commit to working with me and the Nevada delegation on assuring that the Tribe is fairly compensated for this?

Ms. Berger: Senator, if confirmed, I will be glad to continue to speak with you on this issue and follow up and 2 Tribes who are important stakeholders in this issue.

3 Senator Rosen: Thank you very much. My time is up,4 Mr. Chairman.

collaborate so that we can do the best that we can for the

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rosen. Senator6 Kelly, please.

Senator Kelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to follow up a little bit on Senator Hawley's questions with you, Dr. Ratner. As you know, the integration and synchronization of forces is key to winning complex, dynamic military operations. And, you know, China's ability to operate jointly, they are late to the game, I think, here, and they are probably trying to catch up.

14 Is that an area that you looked at as you led the 15 Department's China Task Force, their ability to operate 16 jointly?

17 Mr. Ratner: Yes, Senator.

18 Senator Kelly: And their command and control of their 19 joint operations, would you be able to comment about where 20 they were and where they are today, and then how that 21 impacts -- you know, what is the operational impact to us as 22 they improve their joint ability?

23 Mr. Ratner: Senator, it is a great question. As you 24 know, the People's Liberation Army has been undergoing a 25 very rapid, intense modernization that has included an

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effort to try to develop a more joint force that would be capability of offensive operations in the Western Pacific that certainly impact our interests, our alliances, and our presence there.

Senator Kelly: Are they increasing the number of joint
exercises that they do?

7 Mr. Ratner: Yes, Senator.

8 Senator Kelly: And what do you feel the impact on us 9 is, specifically, at this point?

Mr. Ratner: Senator, I think their increasing capability continues to threaten our interests, as does their aggressive behavior, and it is all the more reason why we need to be thinking about our posture, our operational concepts, and our capabilities in the region to bolster deterrence and maintain peace and stability there, as we have for decades.

17 Senator Kelly: So one of our strengths is amplified, 18 and a strength that we have, is our relationships with our 19 allies. Considering their movement towards jointness within 20 their own force, what should we be doing today to strengthen 21 our alliances and partnerships to counter their increasing 22 effectiveness?

Mr. Ratner: Senator, our alliances and partnerships are absolutely fundamental to our strategy in the region. It is also one of our critical advantages over China. They

do not have the kind of alliances and partnerships that we
do. And we are in constant contact, trying to deepen the
interoperability of those relationships, trying to develop
joint technologies as well as starting to talk about
potential contingencies, and if confirmed, I would commit to
try to strengthen those partnerships to the best capability
possible.

8 Senator Kelly: Thank you. I think that is key to our 9 long-term success in the region.

10 I want to switch to Ms. Ortiz Jones for a second. Ms. Jones, it is clear that space is going to be an increasingly 11 12 important domain for the military in future conflicts, and 13 already today we are seeing signs of increased orbital 14 congestion. Yet our ability to coordinate effectively with 15 other nations regarding activities in space, and 16 particularly to have countries like Russia and China engage 17 meaningfully in this coordination could be improved, from 18 shared challenges, challenges that I have dealt with 19 personally, like space debris. G-7 countries announced new 20 commitments on this just this week, but to major security 21 threats this coordination is badly needed.

22 So, Ms. Jones, if confirmed, you will help oversee the 23 Service's role on these issues. How will you work to 24 improve coordination and cooperation with these nations 25 while ensuring the integrity of U.S. missions?

1 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Senator Kelly, thank you for the 2 question. One of my top priorities, if confirmed, would be to review the status of the efforts for the U.S. Space Force 3 4 to reach full operational capability. A key part of that, 5 as you mentioned, will be reviewing the status of our input б to the shaping of norms and behaviors in space that are so 7 key to addressing some of the behaviors, the dangerous 8 behaviors that you just identified. So I would want to 9 ensure that the Space Force is working in full coordination 10 with our interagency partners to ensure Department of the 11 Air Force equities are best represented in shaping those. 12 Senator Kelly: I have heard specifically from 13 leadership at the Space Force that often, especially with

14 regards to Russia, even though we are trying to make our 15 best effort to coordinate, not always received well from the 16 other side, you know, often instead of direct contact where, 17 you know, leaving messages, sending emails. And these are 18 significant events, often, that we are trying to prevent a 19 conjunction between spacecraft, and these are high-value 20 assets, not only for us but for other nations, specifically 21 our allies. So I appreciate you being willing to look into 22 this. Thank you.

23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kelly. And I25 recognize Senator Sullivan, and note that the vote is in

1 process and we have to vote. Thank you, sir.

Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank
you to all the witnesses for your service to our country and
your continued service here. Congratulations on your
nominations.

б I want to begin by -- there was a hearing many, many 7 years ago, several decades ago, Armed Services Committee. 8 The father of the U.S. Air Force, Billy Mitchell, stated that "(blank) place," this place, "was the most strategic 9 10 place in the world. Anyone who controlled this place could control North America, Europe, and Asia." Do any of you 11 12 know what place Billy Mitchell was talking about when he 13 said this in front of the Congress of the United States? 14 Take a guess.

15 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Alaska.

16 Senator Sullivan: There you go. Alaska. All right. 17 So can I get a commitment from each of you to come to Alaska 18 soon in your tenure and see why it is so strategic,

19 particularly as we are reorienting towards the INDOPACOM

20 region? Can I get a yes from everybody?

21 Ms. Krass: Yes, Senator.

22 Ms. Ortiz Jones: Yes.

23 Mr. Ratner: Yes.

24 Ms. Berger: Yes.

25 Ms. Skelly: Yes.

Senator Sullivan: Everybody? Did I get a yes? Okay,
 good.

I want to follow up on that. You know, Ms. Skelly, I 3 4 want to get your commitment, and Mr. Ratner, Dr. Ratner, 5 with regard to JPARC. That is our training ranges up in б Alaska. We just conducted -- hopefully you saw it -- the 7 Northern Edge exercise. JPARC is a first-class, probably 8 some of the best training areas in the world. Like I said, 9 the Northern Edge exercise we just did had an entire MEU/ARG 10 that participated, carrier strike group.

11 Can I get your commitment to take a look at JPARC and 12 see all the opportunities it has for training high-end, 13 fifth-gen training that we need to be ready, you know, for 14 the great power competition that, in many ways, is upon us? 15 Mr. Ratner: Yes, Senator.

16 Ms. Skelly: Yes, Senator.

17 Senator Sullivan: Thank you. Dr. Ratner, one thing 18 that is often, I think, a little bit forgotten is, again, 19 the Alaska base force is our kind of at the classic scenes 20 of different COCOMs. You have a significant threat coming from EUCOM. Those forces are OPCON to PACON. I had Admiral 21 22 Aquilino up in Alaska just a couple of weeks ago. And when 23 you are looking at the different opportunities but also 24 force posture in the region, can you commit to me to make 25 sure you are keeping Alaska in mind? We are NORTHCOM,

1 STRATCOM because of our missile defense, but again, we are going to have over 100 fifth-gen fighters, by the end of 2 this year, based in Alaska. Oftentimes, even with our most 3 4 sophisticated strategists, they kind of look at 5 International Date Line, east or west, and they forget to go б north. Alaska forces are much closer to Japan and Korea 7 than many of our forces that are east of the International 8 Date Line, even though we are west.

9 Can I get your commitment to make sure that as you are 10 looking at force posture you strongly consider Alaska and 11 the forces there, not just what we have but for future 12 forces?

Mr. Ratner: Absolutely, Senator, and I still have the map you gave me, showing those flight times, so it is on my desk at the Pentagon.

16 Senator Sullivan: Good. I appreciate that.

17 You know, the outgoing INDOPACOM commander, in a 18 hearing that made a fair amount of news just about 2 months 19 ago, a question that I asked him, given the aggressiveness 20 of Xi Jinping, Communist Chinese Party, you know how aggressive they have been with other countries -- India, 21 22 Australia, Hong Kong -- I asked him what does that entail, 23 from his perspective, with regard to Taiwan. 24 I was just in Taiwan. I led a group of Senators,

25 Senator Duckworth, who is on this committee, very good

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1 meetings. But we were there to support a strong,

2 traditional partner, as the Taiwan Relations Act mandates that we do, as a country. It came from this Senate body. 3 4 Admiral Davidson said he thought within 6 years the Chinese 5 Communist Party would move to probably try to forcefully б retake Taiwan. Do you agree with that timeline? It was 7 kind of a shocking statement. And if called upon, I know it 8 is a bit of a vague commitment that we have, one way or the 9 other, are they, or if need be, if called upon, if we make that decision, are we ready to make sure that that kind of 10 11 aggressive action would not succeed? Do you agree with that 12 timeline?

13 Mr. Ratner: Senator, it is a very important question. 14 I agree with Admiral Davidson's sense of urgency. I do not 15 think it is particularly useful to put a pin on a timeline. 16 I think what we have to do is ensure that we are maintaining 17 combat-credible deterrence going forward, whether that is 5 18 years from now, 10 years from now, 15 years from now. As I 19 said to Senator Hawley, I think we have the capability today 20 to deter and defeat Chinese aggression, and I think it is important that we maintain that going forward. 21

22 Senator Sullivan: Good. I look forward to working 23 with all of you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will have 24 several additional questions for the record.

25 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Sullivan.

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1	I want to thank the nominees for your excellent testimony,
2	and more importantly, your willingness to serve the nation.
3	And with that I will adjourn the hearing. Thank you very
4	much.
5	[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]
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