

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE
UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2019 AND
THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Thursday, March 8, 2018

Washington, D.C.

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7
8 U.S. Senate
9 Committee on Armed Services
10 Washington, D.C.
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12 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in
13 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James M.
14 Inhofe, presiding.

15 Committee Members Present: Senators Inhofe
16 [presiding], Wicker, Fischer, Cotton, Ernst, Tillis,
17 Sullivan, Perdue, Sasse, Scott, Reed, Nelson, McCaskill,
18 Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine,
19 King, Warren, and Peters.
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1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. INHOFE, U.S.
2 SENATOR FROM OKLAHOMA

3 Senator Inhofe: Our meeting will come to order.

4 We are -- the committee meets with -- receive testimony
5 on the posture of U.S. European Command, EUCOM. And we
6 welcome our witness, General Scaparrotti.

7 Chairman McCain asked that I submit a statement for the
8 record on his behalf, and read the following excerpt, quote,
9 "The United States faces a new strategic reality in Europe.
10 The first step in addressing it is to recognize the scope,
11 scale, and seriousness of the challenges Russia presents to
12 our national security and to the international order. Then
13 we need to -- a coherent strategy and policy to deter and,
14 if necessary, defeat aggression against the United States
15 and our allies. We must be prepared to face the world as it
16 is, not as we wish it to be."

17 [The information referred to follows:]

18 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Inhofe: Your testimony today is extremely
2 relevant as the United States is engaged in a renewed great-
3 power competition with Russia. The National Defense
4 Strategy prioritizes Russia and China. And it's been
5 stated, by several of the top people, that we're losing some
6 of our edge that we've had in the past. We clearly see the
7 growing threat that Russia -- especially in Europe.
8 Vladimir Putin recently discussed Russia's new nuclear
9 capabilities, including a new ICBM, intercontinental
10 hypersonic missile, nuclear-powered cruise missiles, and
11 undersea drone. This is in addition to Russia's aggressive
12 behavior in Ukraine and the cyber domain.

13 Then there's China and their militaristic expansion in
14 the Pacific. While this is not part of your AOR, it's one
15 where we -- several of us -- Senators Ernst and several of
16 us who have just recently visited, we are watching what's
17 going on there. And if something should happen in the East
18 China Sea who would draw our assets over, that would have a
19 direct effect on you, General.

20 This week, we received testimony from the Director of
21 National Intelligence in which he stated, quote, "The risk
22 of interstate conflict, including among the world's great
23 powers, is higher than at any time since the end of the cold
24 war." General Scaparrotti, we ask you to help this
25 committee begin to think through the requirements necessary

1 to implement the new strategy and what resources and
2 authorities you might need that you don't currently have.
3 And thank you very much for attending.

4 Senator Reed.

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM RHODE
2 ISLAND

3 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

4 And, General Scaparrotti, thank you for joining us this
5 morning. And let me also thank you for your service to the
6 Nation over many years. And please extend our gratitude to
7 the military men and women and their families under your
8 command for their commitment and service to the Nation.
9 Thank you.

10 The new National Defense Strategy marks a shift in U.S.
11 defense priorities from terrorism to the reemergence of
12 long-term strategic competition with near-peer rivals,
13 particularly Russia and China. This morning's hearing is an
14 opportunity to hear from General Scaparrotti on EUCOM's
15 military plans and operational requirements for implementing
16 the new defense strategy within the European theater.

17 There can be no doubt that Russia poses a serious
18 threat to U.S. national security, and that our allies and
19 partners are also threatened. We have repeatedly heard from
20 our intelligence leaders, including Director of National
21 Intelligence Coats on Tuesday, that Russia is aggressively
22 confronting the United States and its allies, seeking to
23 destabilize the international order, which President Putin
24 considers contrary to Russia's claim to great-power status.
25 Russia is also seeking to reassert a sphere of influence

1 over its neighbors, and has actively sought to prevent their
2 further integration with Europe.

3 To advance its strategic interests, Russia is using the
4 full spectrum of capabilities at its disposal, from nuclear
5 and conventional modernization to asymmetric operations
6 below the threshold of direct military conflict. Just last
7 week, President Putin gave to nuclear and conventional
8 saber-rattling in his annual address to the Russian nation.

9 The Kremlin's hybrid aggression against the West
10 includes deception, information warfare, cyberattacks,
11 political influence, and malign financial influence. Russia
12 is using the war in Ukraine as a test lab for new hybrid
13 warfare tactics, including, as the White House recently
14 confirmed, the Russian military's "NotPetya" ransomware
15 cyberattack against Ukraine. The intelligence community is
16 already warning that Russia has launched an assault on the
17 United States midterm elections this year with even more
18 sophisticated tools than in the 2016 presidential election.
19 General Scaparrotti, we'll be interested in hearing what
20 tasking, if any, you've received from the White House to
21 disrupt or prevent Russian operations aimed at interfering
22 with our democratic institution as well as those of our
23 allies.

24 Over the last few years, Congress has authorized
25 critical resources to reassure our allies and ensure a

1 credible military deterrent against Russian aggression. The
2 fiscal year 2019 defense budget request includes \$6.5
3 billion for the European Deterrence Initiative, or EDI, to
4 continue to enhance our deterrence and defense posture
5 throughout Europe. The committee is interested in hearing
6 your priorities for EDI for the coming fiscal year.

7 I commend EUCOM for taking steps to start rebuilding
8 the Command's expertise on Russia to better understand the
9 Russian threat perception and the Kremlin's decisionmaking
10 process. I remain concerned about our naval posture in
11 Europe to counter the Russian threat, and EUCOM's cyber
12 challenge.

13 The U.S. EDI funding has also been an effective tool
14 for leveraging increased defense spending by our NATO
15 allies, and I hope that will continue at the next NATO
16 summit planned for July in Brussels.

17 As Supreme Allied Commander Europe, you play a critical
18 role in ensuring that the alliance is prepared to respond in
19 the event of a crisis. In February, NATO defense ministers
20 approved changes to the alliance command structure,
21 including the establishment of a new joint force command for
22 the Atlantic. An area of concern is the ability of the NATO
23 force structure to respond quickly to any early stages of a
24 crisis before NATO reaches an Article 5 declaration. I
25 would be interested in your views on whether additional

1 authorities should be delegated to SACEUR to initiate the
2 movement of force as the crisis begins to unfold and before
3 NATO members reach a political decision.

4 Strategic competition with Russia is but one of the
5 many challenges with the EUCOM theater. Relations with
6 Turkey have been tense due to the instability and violence
7 in Syria and Turkey's decision to buy the Russian S-400 air
8 defense system, which potentially jeopardizes the full range
9 of U.S.-Turkey defense cooperation. The flow of people
10 seeking refuge across the Mediterranean to southern Europe
11 has strained these nations' security resources and has
12 helped fuel the rise of nationalistic anti-immigrant
13 political parties in some countries. And longstanding
14 simmering resentments in the Balkans risk increased
15 instability in the region.

16 I look forward to this morning's testimony. And again,
17 thank you, General Scaparrotti, for being here today, and
18 for your service.

19 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

21 General, we have -- there's another hearing that's
22 taking place at the same time -- we have nine members on --
23 of this committee that are also on Environment and Public
24 Works, so you'll see some movement back and forth. Forgive
25 us for that. And you are recognized for your opening

1 statement, anything you want. Your entire will be part of
2 the record. And try to confine it to around 5 minutes.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL CURTIS M. SCAPARROTTI, COMMANDER,
2 UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND, AND NATO SUPREME ALLIED
3 COMMANDER EUROPE

4 General Scaparrotti: Thank you, Chairman.

5 Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed, distinguished
6 members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to
7 testify before you today as the Commander, United States
8 European Command.

9 It's an honor to represent more than 60,000 men and
10 women who are forward-deployed, supporting U.S.'s mission in
11 Europe. Our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines, our
12 coastguardsmen and civilian workforce continue to
13 demonstrate selfless service and dedication in an
14 increasingly complex and competitive security environment.
15 Our adaptation to this environment has made significant
16 progress, thanks to the resourcing provided by Congress,
17 particularly under the European Deterrence Initiative.
18 EUCOM deeply appreciates Congress's support for EDI, which
19 has supported the largest reinforcement of Euro-Atlantic
20 defense in a generation.

21 In this reinforcement, the U.S. has been joined by NATO
22 alliance, which remains a keystone to our national security,
23 as it has been for almost seven decades. I'm proud to
24 report that the alliance is strong, it is unified, and it's
25 committed to being fit for purpose. Our European allies in

1 Canada have turned a corner on defense spending, with
2 increases in each of the past 3 years. During this time,
3 they've added \$46 billion to defense spending, including \$5
4 billion increase from 2016 to 2017. In 2018, eight
5 countries will meet NATO's 2-percent spending target, with
6 at least 15 nations on pace to reach or exceed 2-percent
7 mark by 2024. Backed by these collective commitments, NATO
8 is adapting to ensure its vigilance in peace, responsiveness
9 in crisis, and that it possesses the strategic depth for
10 high-end, large-scale, multidomain conflict.

11 Together with NATO, the U.S. has made significant
12 progress, but we have much work to do as we execute our
13 National Defense Strategy dealing in increasingly lethal,
14 agile, and resilient joint force in long-term strategic
15 competition with Russia, and ready to counter violent
16 extremist organizations.

17 Russia is carrying out a campaign of destabilization to
18 change the international order, fracture NATO, and undermine
19 U.S. leadership around the world. To this end, Russia is
20 advancing asymmetric capabilities in accordance with its
21 concept of warfare, which envisions the employment of the
22 full spectrum of military and nonmilitary power. Throughout
23 Europe, along its periphery, in the Middle East, and beyond,
24 Russia has demonstrated a willingness and capability to
25 exert influence, spread disinformation, and undermine

1 confidence in NATO. At sea, on land, in the air -- frankly,
2 every domain -- Russia's increasingly modernized military is
3 operating at levels not seen since the cold war. In
4 response to the challenge posed by Russia's pursuit of
5 power, the U.S. has increased its posture in Europe by
6 deploying rotational forces, to include an armored brigade
7 combat team, a combat aviation brigade as well.
8 Additionally, we've implemented the Framework Battalion Task
9 Force for NATO's enhanced forward presence in Poland. We
10 have pre-positioned equipment for an additional armored
11 brigade combat team. We have doubled the maritime
12 deployments to the Black Sea. We have exercised theater
13 antisubmarine warfare operations. We have executed bomber
14 assurance and deterrence missions. And, for the first time,
15 we've deployed fifth-generation fighters to Europe. The
16 U.S. has taken these actions in coordination with NATO,
17 which, since the 2016 Warsaw Summit, has made significant
18 gains in meeting its security commitments and in
19 implementing decisions to enhance our collective defense.
20 NATO has implemented its enhanced forward presence with four
21 multinational battle groups, backed by 29 nations. It's
22 also established a tailored forward presence in the Black
23 Sea region. Collectively, this enhanced deterrence posture
24 is necessary to prevent further Russian aggression, preserve
25 stability, and reassure allies and partners.

1 The second major threat we face throughout the European
2 area of operation is violent extremist groups. Since 2014,
3 Europe has endured 18 major terrorist attacks. While the
4 Defeat ISIS Coalition, which includes NATO, recovers seized
5 territory in Iraq and Syria, ISIS remains active, and seeks
6 to expand its operations across Europe. EUCOM provides
7 forces for military operations against ISIS, such as
8 Operation Inherent Resolve, and has increased information
9 intelligence-sharing among its U.S. agencies, international
10 partners, and the private sector. With the EU, NATO, EUCOM
11 -- with the EU and NATO, EUCOM supports a trinodal community
12 of action to identify and counter terrorist threats. Also,
13 EUCOM has increased coordination with EUROPOL and INTERPOL
14 to thwart terrorist activities.

15 Our European allies deploy forces worldwide to support
16 U.S.-led counterterrorism operations, including OIR and
17 Operation Freedom Central, and to conduct national
18 counterterrorism missions. The allies are committed to this
19 fight, and their support is essential to ongoing
20 counterterrorism efforts.

21 In addition to deterring Russia and defeating violent
22 extremist organizations, EUCOM is working to strengthen
23 strategic partnerships, bolster regional security, and
24 reinforce a free and open international order conducive to
25 our security and prosperity. Thanks to the resources

1 provided by Congress, particularly through the European
2 Defense Initiative -- Deterrence Initiative, EUCOM has made
3 significant headway in establishing a defense posture that
4 is credible, capable, and relevant to our strategic
5 objectives.

6 As our National Defense Strategy states, "A strong and
7 free Europe bound by shared principles of democracy,
8 national sovereignty, and commitment to Article 5 of NATO's
9 treaty is vital to our security. The servicemembers and
10 civilians at EUCOM stand ready to protect the homeland,
11 strengthen the alliance, and defend a Europe that's whole,
12 free, and at peace.

13 Mr. Chairman, thank you, and I look forward to the
14 committee's questions.

15 [The prepared statement of General Scaparrotti
16 follows:]

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1 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, General Scaparrotti.

2 Excellent statement.

3 I think we all look at Russia now -- and with the new
4 strategy that we have, we include both China and Russia as
5 the threats. Of course, in your AOR, it's primarily Russia,
6 and it's -- we've seen the advancements. There was a RAND
7 report that came out yesterday. There are three things in
8 the RAND report that I want to refer to. One was: In 2016,
9 Russia spent 5.3 percent of its GDP on the military. It's
10 important, as we look at some of what we are expecting from
11 our NATO partners, to recognize this. Second thing that was
12 in that report, Russia has the ability to defeat a NATO ally
13 and present NATO with a strategic and operational challenge;
14 specifically, that Russian forces could reach the capitals
15 of Estonia and Latvia in 60 hours. And third, they say
16 Russia has approximately 32,000 troops in the Baltics
17 region, compared to 78,000 for Russia; and the NATO is
18 outnumbered 757 -- that's Russia -- to 129 in NATO, in tanks
19 in the AOR. In addition to the RAND report that came out,
20 the Army Times article this morning, plans on -- says the
21 Army plans on repositioning two fully modernized armored
22 brigade sets of equipment in Belgium and Netherlands and, as
23 you said in your opening statement, in addition to one, I
24 guess, rotational armored brigade combat team.

25 So, to set the -- this hearing off, let me ask you a

1 series of five -- these should be yes-or-no questions.
2 However, there's no such thing as a yes-or-no question in
3 Washington.

4 First, the National Security Advisor, General McMaster,
5 stated that U.S. ground forces are, quote -- this is his
6 quote now -- "outranged, outgunned, and overmatched by
7 Russian ground forces." Do you agree with that?

8 General Scaparrotti: Chairman, if you look at it in a
9 concentrated way, on the border of eastern Europe and only
10 on the ground force, I would agree with that statement. We
11 --

12 Senator Inhofe: All right.

13 General Scaparrotti: We fight multidomain, however.

14 Senator Inhofe: I understand that.

15 The report -- the RAND report paints a pretty bleak
16 picture and warns that NATO could be overwhelmed by superior
17 Russian firepower in a war in eastern Europe. Do you agree
18 with that statement?

19 General Scaparrotti: Chairman, would you state that
20 again, please? I'm --

21 Senator Inhofe: Yes. The statement that was in the
22 report says that NATO could be overwhelmed by superior
23 Russian firepower in a war in eastern Europe.

24 General Scaparrotti: Chairman, I don't agree with
25 that. When you look at NATO, writ large, it has the

1 strength of 29 nations. The effort that's being made in
2 NATO, and the one that's being made here in the United
3 States, is to increase our capability to deter and, if
4 necessary, defend.

5 Senator Inhofe: Okay. That's good statement. And I'd
6 -- I'm not asking you to agree with this, but I am
7 concerned, when we have so many reports coming out, that --
8 it's important for the American people to understand the
9 threats that we do face, not just here, but in China also.

10 And then, the other -- third thing it said. Do we have
11 adequate U.S. forces postured throughout Europe to meet the
12 challenge? I think you've already answered that.

13 And it says -- and then, Russia has developed a ground-
14 launch cruise missile, in violation of the INF Treaty. Do
15 you agree with that? Yeah, I'm sure you do.

16 And lastly, the -- like we saw in -- 2 weeks ago in
17 China, and what they're doing in the South China Sea -- and,
18 as I said in my opening statement, this is not something
19 that is in your AOR, but, as we have to meet those
20 challenges -- and this was a much greater challenge than I
21 thought it was before I was over there, 2 weeks ago -- this
22 still would draw off resources from you and -- from your
23 AOR, so it's one you have to be very sensitive to. So, I
24 would say, How does EUCOM partner with -- on the
25 cybersecurity side -- with Cyber Command to prevent and

1 mitigate threats? That's in cyberthreats now. You want to
2 talk a little bit about that?

3 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Chairman.

4 First of all, in terms of the cyber world, it's
5 interesting, because we each have cyber centers, we each
6 have teams committed, through CYBERCOM, to us, but cyber
7 doesn't have boundaries, like we do between I and General
8 Waldhauser on the ground. So, I think it's pretty fluid,
9 and CYBERCOM is the one that helps us, you know, shift
10 resources that might need to be shifted. And certainly, we
11 share very closely with them any intelligence that we have,
12 et cetera, that affects their AOR. So, I think there's a
13 close relationship.

14 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Well, this is -- and this is
15 the new threat. This is something that the general public
16 is not very familiar with.

17 One last thing I'd want is -- you to get on the record
18 -- you know, we have this requirement in NATO for -- a 2-
19 percent requirement. And, as it is right now, in 2018, the
20 Secretary General estimates eight of 29 NATO allies will
21 meet this, and then it'll get up to 15 allies by the end of
22 2024. Now, right -- recently, there have been a lot of
23 these countries complaining about this. And are you
24 concerned that some of the European officials criticize the
25 2-percent requirement as arbitrary and unrealistic?

1 General Scaparrotti: Chairman, I'm concerned. They --

2 Senator Inhofe: Yeah.

3 General Scaparrotti: -- need to invest in defense.

4 We've discussed the complexity of this environment, and

5 particularly in Europe. And, of course, we strongly

6 encourage them to meet that 2 percent, but also the 20-

7 percent requirement in modernization focused at specific

8 capabilities that are relevant to the environment we're in.

9 Senator Inhofe: Yeah, that was one of the first

10 things, when President Trump took office, that he examined,

11 was the burden-sharing of NATO. And I agree with that, too.

12 Senator Reed.

13 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

14 Thank you, General Scaparrotti.

15 As we all note, Russia has significant conventional

16 power, and so does NATO, but it -- they seem to be focusing

17 their attention -- asymmetric warfare, knowing that a

18 conventional fight with NATO would probably not be something

19 they could win. Is that your estimate?

20 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir. I think part of their

21 strategy is, first of all, that, as you look at their

22 doctrine, they intend to use activities below the level of

23 conflict to undermine their opponent. And if that would go

24 well, they would undermine their opponent without firing a

25 shot. And I would like to make the statement that I think

1 that, while they have advantages, even conventionally, due
2 to interior lines, proximity, and size of force, which was
3 noted by the Chairman, in the longer run, NATO has great
4 advantages that they actually recognize and fear.

5 Senator Reed: Thank you.

6 Getting into the asymmetric warfare, one of the most
7 disturbing aspects recently is the integration of
8 information warfare in cyber operations. And, as you
9 pointed out, cyber has no real limit. So, again, we've seen
10 quite extensive activity in Ukraine. But, have you noticed
11 that this -- you know, similar organizations in Russia are
12 concentrating, not just on Ukraine, but also the United
13 States? Are you beginning to pick up indications of efforts
14 that are directed against us, you know, directly?

15 General Scaparrotti: Chairman, I'll say that I have,
16 that I've seen activity related to, you know,
17 infrastructure, reconnaissance, et cetera, within the United
18 States. And I'll leave it at that.

19 Senator Reed: Fine. Are we, to your knowledge, the
20 intelligence community and the geographic commanders, kind
21 of map out the Russian, sort of, cyber infrastructure, the
22 -- how it's delegated to commercial quote/unquote
23 enterprises, how it's sometimes retained by the intelligence
24 community in Russia, et cetera? Have we got a good picture
25 of that? Because if we don't, then, you know, it's hard to

1 respond.

2 General Scaparrotti: My personal opinion is yes, we're
3 trying to map that out. We're getting better understanding
4 of it. I would not characterize it as a good picture at
5 this point, not satisfactory to me. Thank you.

6 Senator Reed: Are you getting, not only the resources,
7 but the clear direction to fill in the missing pieces on
8 your -- from your perspective as well as worldwide?

9 General Scaparrotti: Yes. I have had my Cyber
10 Operations Center reinforced substantially. We've made good
11 progress. And, over the next 2 years, thanks to both the
12 funding here in Congress as well as from CYBERCOM, that will
13 continue to give me the skills that I need in my cyber
14 center. I also, upon request, have the authorities that
15 I've asked for with respect to Russia over the past year to
16 18 months.

17 Senator Reed: Every time we get on this topic, very
18 quickly, the "whole-of-government response" response comes
19 up. So, how would you assess our whole-of-government
20 response? You have CYBERCOM within the chain of command, et
21 cetera, but the intelligence community, the Treasury
22 Department, Homeland Security -- are you -- do you feel
23 there's a unified effort among all these different agencies,
24 and the State Department, to effectively confront this
25 threat?

1 General Scaparrotti: I don't believe there's an
2 effective unification across the interagency, with the
3 energy and the focus that we could attain.

4 Senator Reed: And that's something that would -- is
5 something we should do immediately, because -- the nature of
6 the threat.

7 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Senator, it is.

8 Senator Reed: Just changing slightly, we are -- and
9 you are -- constantly trying to assess the strengths, the
10 weaknesses of the Russian forces, going forward. And not
11 just the Russian forces. Any sort of top-line sort of
12 estimate of, you know, long-term, their ability to be
13 competitive with us?

14 General Scaparrotti: Senator, in this setting, I would
15 say that, given their modernization and the pace that it's
16 on and what we are aware of they're doing, we have to
17 maintain our modernization that we've set out so that we can
18 remain dominant in the areas that we are dominant today. If
19 we were not to do that, I think their pace would put us
20 certainly challenged in almost every domain, in a military
21 perspective, by, say, 2025.

22 Senator Reed: Just a final question is that -- part of
23 this is significant investments, not just in platforms, but
24 in basic research, which, during the cold war, they were --
25 and we were -- deeply engaged at a national effort. Are

1 they engaged in this kind of basic research -- quantum
2 computing, AI, et cetera -- to a significant extent?

3 General Scaparrotti: Yes, they are.

4 Senator Reed: Thank you.

5 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 Senator Inhofe: Senator Wicker.

7 Senator Wicker: General, you did read and study that
8 RAND report, classified and unclassified, did you not?

9 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I did.

10 Senator Wicker: Okay. In that regard, Chairman McCain
11 just asked Senator Inhofe to read a statement, in which he
12 said there's a new strategic reality in Europe. General
13 Dunford is quoted as saying the United States is losing some
14 of our past edge. You have the report from RAND, which none
15 of us enjoyed listening to or studying, where it said we --
16 there are plausible scenarios where the United States can
17 lose a war with Russia. What -- in that regard, what have
18 -- what did we learn from the Russian Zapad exercises --
19 wargame exercises in eastern Europe in late 2017 regarding
20 their intentions and capabilities? How well prepared are
21 we, based on what we've learned there? And then I want to
22 ask you to respond generally about where you think the RAND
23 report is missing the mark and where you think they're
24 accurate.

25 General Scaparrotti: Senator, with regard to Zapad,

1 for the most part what Zapad did is reinforce what we
2 believed was their direction, in terms of their doctrine,
3 their training, their modernization. They focused on
4 command and control, strategic to tactical. And we saw that
5 throughout the exercise. They focused on both conventional
6 and nuclear, which we expected. They focused on both
7 offensive/defensive operations, and they incorporated what I
8 would call a whole-of-society approach. They mobilized
9 their people, et cetera, in some aspects of this. And so,
10 for us, it was a reinforcement of the doctrine that we've
11 seen developing over the last, I'd say, 10 years.

12 From that -- I mean, we learn from watching, and it
13 helps us posture our force and train our force, and also,
14 you know, the development of our plans, obviously. So, we
15 take that very seriously, watch it very closely. We had a
16 focused effort to do so. And we'll employ it, and we'll be
17 better as a result of that focused effort in their exercise.

18 Senator Wicker: So, you were informed, but we weren't
19 shocked by anything we saw --

20 General Scaparrotti: I was not. I was not shocked by
21 anything that I saw.

22 With respect to the RAND report, we have worked with
23 RAND on this. In fact, it was 2014 or '15 when the base
24 report was done. From the basis of the report, I don't have
25 any argument with the basis of the report and the threat

1 that we have, particularly in the eastern borders, with what
2 it's focused on. That report was also a basis from which
3 we've developed our war planning in EUCOM. And, since 2014,
4 we've come a good ways, both in planning and with the
5 posture of our forces there. So, that report's been helpful
6 in that regard. I would --

7 Senator Wicker: Did you plan, assuming that
8 sequestration was going to be lifted, as it has now been?

9 General Scaparrotti: We planned with -- for what we
10 need, Senator, yes. And, having said that, I would -- the
11 budget that we have before us today, with a 2-year look, as
12 well, that Congress has agreed to, funds all of those areas
13 that I need in EUCOM to get my posture and my capabilities
14 where it needs to be throughout the FYDP. So, it's an
15 important one.

16 The last point I'll make on this is, is that we have
17 repostured forces since the RAND study was done. We've
18 rewritten plans since that. And we would fight this
19 differently than RAND fought it -- fought that -- you know,
20 that experiment or that exercise that they did. But,
21 there's elements of that that are still, you know, true
22 today. Hence, my comment that I don't have all the forces I
23 need in Europe today, and we've got to continue to invest
24 and establish the posture that's required.

25 Senator Wicker: Okay. Based on what we're going to do

1 the 23rd of this month regarding this fiscal year and the
2 next fiscal year, how are you going to get the forces you
3 need?

4 General Scaparrotti: The European Deterrence
5 Initiative is a very foundational funding of the forces that
6 I need. It is actually supporting the rotational forces
7 that I noted in my opening statement. And my intent is, is
8 to use that as well to begin to station or rotate additional
9 forces, particularly enablers that I need. So, you know, as
10 you look across the FYDP, I can build the posture that I
11 believe I need, given the funding that I foresee within the
12 FYDP.

13 Senator Wicker: Just quickly, that's what number of
14 troops today versus what you hope to get to?

15 General Scaparrotti: Well, I can't -- it's difficult
16 to give you the number of troops. I can take this for the
17 record, and I can provide you, by service, the posture that
18 I believe that we should be in.

19 [The information referred to follows:]

20 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Wicker: Thank you.

2 Senator Inhofe: Senator Shaheen.

3 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 General Scaparrotti, thank you for being here and for
5 your testimony.

6 As we look at the potential for future Russian
7 aggression in Europe, how important is it for them to feel
8 some heat for what they're doing and to have that whole-of-
9 government approach to respond to their activities? So, for
10 example, how important would it be for us to go ahead and
11 implement the sanctions on their CAATSA so they understand
12 that, if they continue their cyber intrusions, that there's
13 going to be a price to pay?

14 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I think fundamental to
15 deterrence is either, you know, denial or an imposition of
16 costs. So, an effective deterrent has to have one of those
17 elements, or both, and it should have a communication aspect
18 to it, as well, that demonstrates both our capability and
19 our will.

20 Senator Shaheen: And do you -- as you talk about that
21 whole-of-government approach that you don't see happening
22 right now, do you think that would accomplish a piece of the
23 deterrence?

24 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think -- yes. And you
25 mentioned CAATSA. I think, across the board -- I don't

1 necessarily ascribe that we should always do what they do.
2 We shouldn't mirror them. But even --

3 Senator Shaheen: Sure.

4 General Scaparrotti: -- that underscores the
5 importance of a whole-of-government approach, that we ought
6 to use our other elements of power, as well, together to
7 demonstrate deterrence and also to establish limits on
8 what's acceptable.

9 Senator Shaheen: And so, as you look at the potential
10 for mischief in the future in other parts of Europe, where
11 do you see the -- where are you most concerned about future
12 Russian interference?

13 General Scaparrotti: They're involved in just about
14 every aspect of Europe, in one way or the other. The area
15 that I'm concerned about today is the Balkans, actually.
16 It's an area that, through the international community's
17 work, and the United States in particular, we've been able
18 to keep stability there, we've been able to work on
19 democratic governments, and to reinforce that. But,
20 Russia's at work in the Balkans, and I think that we've kind
21 of taken our eye off the area. It's an area where, in terms
22 of diplomacy, we have to put some focus, in my opinion, and
23 we have to continue our security reform and our capability-
24 building that we and the international community's engaged
25 in, in the Balkans. So, that's an area that we could have

1 problems with again here in the future.

2 Senator Shaheen: And how -- you mentioned our
3 diplomatic efforts -- how important is it that we have those
4 robust diplomatic and economic efforts there in the Balkans?

5 General Scaparrotti: I think it's essential. They
6 view that diplomatic effort and presence, frankly -- the
7 people see that as -- that's one way that they determine
8 whether the West is serious about their desire to be a part
9 of the West. And so, that involvement, I think, is
10 fundamental.

11 Senator Shaheen: One of the things that some of our
12 European allies in NATO have suggested is that, rather than
13 looking at sort of an arbitrary 2 percent of GDP
14 contribution to NATO, that we ought to be looking at
15 capabilities instead. And, in view of some of the recent
16 reports about the readiness of some of our NATO allies, how
17 good an argument do you think that is as we think about what
18 may be a better way to determine whether our allies are
19 making the contribution that we really want to see to NATO?

20 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I agree there's other
21 ways. In other words, it's commonly called the "three C's
22 in NATO." Cash is one, at 2 percent. Contribution is one
23 of those. And capabilities. But, I would tell you, I think
24 it's all three. It's not one or the other, or more of one
25 and less of the other two. Two percent's a reasonable

1 percent of GDP, given the threat that we're under today, in
2 my opinion. But, you have to look at, also, their
3 contributions and their capabilities. There are some of the
4 countries that aren't at 2 percent today, but their
5 contributions to NATO missions and also other international
6 missions is quite robust. That should be taken into
7 account.

8 And then last is the capabilities they provide. Are
9 they using the money in their defense to develop
10 capabilities that are interoperable and in sync with our
11 NATO planning? That's important, too, in order to have a
12 strong NATO defense and deterrence structure.

13 Senator Shaheen: So, how worried should we be about
14 some of those reports that have suggested that some of our
15 NATO allies -- some of the bigger NATO allies are not
16 prepared as they should be?

17 General Scaparrotti: I think we should continue to
18 press them to meet the standards. NATO has very well laid
19 out standards and expectations of the forces that nations
20 provide. And we should continue to press them to be a part
21 of this defense. The alliance is strong as long as every
22 member is strong and does their part.

23 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

24 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

1 Several references have been made to the report -- the
2 RAND report that just came out. So, I ask unanimous consent
3 to be made a part of the record.

4 Without objection, so ordered.

5 [The information referred to follows:]

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1 Senator Inhofe: Senator Cotton.

2 Senator Cotton: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Thank you, General Scaparrotti, for joining us once
4 again.

5 I'd like to continue the conversation about the Balkans
6 that you started with Senator Shaheen. Many people tend to
7 focus on the Baltics, since they are NATO countries
8 exclusively, but I think that NATO status probably makes
9 them a bit more stable, in terms of the threat Russia poses,
10 than the Balkans, in which there are numerous countries that
11 don't belong to NATO. Could you be more specific and say a
12 little bit more about which countries in the Balkans are
13 matters of concern for you, in terms of Russian meddling and
14 interference?

15 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think Serbia, in
16 particular, there's a connection --

17 Senator Cotton: Serbia proper or --

18 General Scaparrotti: Serbia --

19 Senator Cotton: -- Republic of --

20 General Scaparrotti: Well, I would tell you that it's
21 Serbia, as a nation, but then the Serb population, as well,
22 within the Balkans. There is obviously a historical
23 connection there, an affiliation, and -- but there is also a
24 -- because of that, a better opportunity for Russian
25 influence. And they take advantage of that, in terms of

1 disinformation, influence upon those populations, a spoiling
2 effect, in some cases, perhaps with Serbia with respect to
3 Kosovo or within the tripartite government of Bosnia
4 Herzegovina. And that's my concern. And I've seen an
5 increase in that, I believe, in the year and a half that
6 I've been in this job.

7 Senator Cotton: Last year, the Senate ratified the
8 Montenegro Accession Treaty to have Montenegro join NATO.
9 Obviously, that was an important part of our strategy to
10 close the Adriatic coast. They were the last piece of that.

11 How has Montenegro's integration into NATO gone since they
12 had their accession?

13 General Scaparrotti: It's going very well. I've
14 visited the country, spent time with their Chief of Defense.
15 You know, a small nation as a part of NATO at this point,
16 but active in providing troops for our missions, focused on
17 their military capabilities, and beginning to grow those and
18 make them better. So, I think they're going to be a valued
19 member, here, as they move on. They are a valued member,
20 but I think they'll continue to increase in strength.

21 Having said all of that, they're not out of the woods
22 with respect to Russian interference in their government,
23 influence and attempted influence in their government, which
24 you know was very severe just short of their application to
25 NATO.

1 Senator Cotton: I was in the Balkans last August, and
2 I heard some of these points, as well. One other thing we
3 heard, and some of the things we witnessed, there was not
4 just Russian influence in the Balkans, but also Turkish
5 influence, sometimes not for the good. Could you say a
6 little bit about what Turkey is up to in the Balkans?

7 General Scaparrotti: Turkey primarily enters most of
8 these countries in Balkans with a humanitarian approach and
9 to assist in that regard. There are some that have said
10 this influence isn't helpful, as you've said, in the ways
11 that they operate. But, I haven't personally seen that,
12 myself. I'd -- if I could, I'd take this for the record,
13 and I'll give you a little more concrete and accurate --

14 Senator Cotton: Sure.

15 General Scaparrotti: -- response.

16 Senator Cotton: Sure thing.

17 [The information referred to follows:]

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1 Senator Cotton: And while we're on the topic of
2 Turkey, there have been reports that Turkey may be on the
3 verge of acquiring the Russian S-400 air defense system.
4 That quite possibly could trigger sanctions under CAATSA, a
5 law that Congress passed last year. Could you give your
6 thoughts on what Turkey is thinking in buying a Russian
7 system, especially now that CAATSA is on the books here and
8 might target those kind of sanctions against a NATO partner?

9 General Scaparrotti: The -- you know, they've stated
10 publicly that they intend to purchase and they've made a
11 deal with Russia to employ the S-400 as an -- as their air
12 defense system. I've had this discussion with their Chief
13 of Defense multiple times, and we continue to discuss it.

14 If they were to employ this system, they obviously are
15 interoperable with the NATO systems and the U.S. ones, and
16 they couldn't be connected to the system. They're aware of
17 that ramification. And we've made -- not only myself, but
18 other members of our government, have made them clearly
19 aware of the other ramifications of moving forward with a
20 purchase of the S-400. So, they're aware of that.

21 The last thing I'll say is, is that we're in a close
22 discussion with Turkey with respect to air defense measures
23 and the systems they could employ. I don't think that's a
24 finished deal yet. I mean, I think that they are talking to
25 us, as well as others, to purchase a system that's

1 interoperable in NATO. And I think we have some time. And
2 my intent's to continue to work that aspect, to convince
3 them that the better system is, in fact, one of the NATO
4 interoperable systems.

5 Senator Cotton: Good. Thank you, General.

6 My time has expired.

7 Senator Inhofe: Senator Hirono.

8 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 And thank you, General Scaparrotti. Good to see you
10 again.

11 You were talking about the modernization -- Russia's
12 military modernization. And our big power competitors are
13 Russia and China. Do you have, in terms of the scope and
14 scale of Russian modernization, as compared to China's
15 modernization, is China's modernization efforts many times
16 more than Russia's modernization efforts?

17 General Scaparrotti: Senator, if I could, I would say
18 this, and I'd like to take that for the record, as well, so
19 I could think about this a bit in comparison.

20 [The information referred to follows:]

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1 General Scaparrotti: But, generally, having been in
2 the Pacific, the ways in which they're modernizing,
3 particularly with respect to their capabilities, their
4 weapon systems, the domains that they're focused on --
5 maritime, et cetera -- there's a lot of similarity in terms
6 of where they're focused. And so, you know, Admiral Harris
7 and I, when you look at what we're focused on for either
8 research and development or modernization or pacing in our
9 forces, they very closely align. So, from that perspective,
10 I think there's a -- there are common areas there. But,
11 again, I can be more specific, with a little bit of time to
12 make a very specific comparison across domains.

13 Senator Hirono: Well, that is not to say, of course,
14 that that kind of comparison should lead us to take our eyes
15 off either country.

16 One of your main priorities is to deter Russia. And
17 you noted that they use activities below the line of what
18 they -- of what might cause us to respond in some clear way.

19 And one of the ways that -- one of the activities that they
20 use is to interfere with our elections, using social media,
21 cyber, et cetera. You would consider that one of the ways
22 that they are using to undermine our country, in that we
23 need a whole-of-government approach to counter what Russia
24 is doing with our elections.

25 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Senator, I do. And you see

1 it in Europe, as well. They've been involved in --

2 Senator Hirono: Yes.

3 General Scaparrotti: -- in elections in Europe, and
4 the influence of political parties in Europe, as well.

5 Senator Hirono: So, that was going to be my next
6 question. Have we learned any lessons from Russian
7 interference with European elections that would enable us to
8 counter what they are continuing to do in our country?

9 General Scaparrotti: I think we've learned from each
10 other. I would put it that way. We helped French and --
11 France and Germany as they approached their elections, based
12 on what occurred here. And as they've gone through it,
13 we've exchanged that information. And so, as a result,
14 we've got a better idea of the Russians' approach, the
15 capabilities that they use, and how they use it. And that's
16 all improving our ability to, you know, defend the sanctity
17 and the sovereignty of our election systems.

18 Senator Hirono: All well and good, but previous
19 testimony from the -- Director Coats and others, I think, is
20 pretty clear that we do not have a whole-of-government
21 strategy at this point to counter Russian interference with
22 our elections. So, are you part of the efforts on our
23 country's part to come up with a whole-of-government
24 strategy? Have they come to you? The executive branch.

25 General Scaparrotti: I would -- with respect to our

1 elections, that's not really within my portfolio as the
2 EUCOM Commander. That is at CYBERCOM, OSD, Joint Staff
3 level. If there's a specific area that I would be involved
4 in, they would bring me into that. We have connections, we
5 have discussions on cyber operations, information
6 operations, et cetera, frequently. But, it wouldn't be one
7 that I am directly involved in.

8 Senator Hirono: No, there doesn't seem to be any one
9 agency that is taking the lead on this, and that is a cause
10 of concern for many of us.

11 Let me turn to another subject. You know, many times,
12 that it will require a whole-of-government approach for us
13 to maintain our position, let's say, in the world. And so,
14 concerns with the administration's cuts to the State
15 Department and Treasury, along with the effects that these
16 cuts would have on foreign diplomacy, which you have already
17 noted as really important, can you talk a little bit about
18 the effects of these cuts to State Department and Treasury
19 personnel on your mission?

20 General Scaparrotti: Yes. I can't speak to the cuts,
21 themselves, and how that impacts inside of State. That's
22 best to go to them. But, I will say this, that everything
23 we do in EUCOM, we look at it as an interagency activity,
24 generally with State in the lead, as diplomacy leads from
25 our -- is the way that we work here in a democracy. And so,

1 everything I do, we look at from a whole-of-government
2 approach. We look at it, usually, with one of the other
3 agencies in the lead in most of what we do in Europe. And
4 in each country, my -- you know, my first goal is to ensure
5 -- or our objective, I should say -- is that we support the
6 Ambassador and the Ambassador's country team and their
7 efforts within that country. So, a reduction --

8 Senator Hirono: Yeah.

9 General Scaparrotti: -- of their abilities would not
10 be positive.

11 Senator Hirono: Thank you. Including a 26-percent cut
12 to the State Department and the departure of many senior
13 personnel.

14 Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

15 Senator Inhofe: Senator Ernst.

16 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

17 And, General Scaparrotti, thank you so much for your
18 service and your willingness to come in front of us and give
19 us important updates today.

20 As the U.S. is turning its focus to great powers and
21 near-peer threats, it is important for us to consider ways
22 that we can best leverage our resources. And one way that
23 the United States has begun doing this is by putting into
24 place the Army's new Security Force Assistance Battalions,
25 or the SFAB, that's located at Fort Benning. We are

1 currently leveraging the SFAB in the Middle East, in
2 Afghanistan. And perhaps this unit, with its unique
3 capabilities in the train-advise-and-assist areas, could be
4 used to take stress off of our special operators, especially
5 in EUCOM. Could EUCOM benefit from those capabilities?
6 And, if so, where could you see us using the SFABs in EUCOM?

7 General Scaparrotti: Well, first of all, it's not
8 necessarily in EUCOM, but I'll respond, given that I'm also
9 the SACEUR, and U.S. is a part of Resolute Support, you
10 know, the mission within Afghanistan, which is where they're
11 deploying the SFABs. I was just in Afghanistan last
12 weekend. This is going to be a great boost to the mission
13 there, because they're trained specifically for train,
14 advise, and assist. They're organized for that. They're
15 prepared for the mission in the place that they're going to.

16 And that's what we need in Afghanistan. We need to focus
17 on train, advise, and assist to continue to build the
18 capability of their force. So, I'm fully supportive of
19 this, and I think it is an efficient use of resources and
20 also helps us to maintain the readiness of our Army units as
21 an -- as a fighting force, in terms of those other brigades,
22 as opposed to pulling one apart to do the SFAB job.

23 Within Europe, there's a time and place. There's two
24 ways. We do capability development throughout Europe with
25 our allies and our partners. There may be an application

1 there as we get into a focused training effort, like we do
2 in Ukraine, for instance, or in a projecting-stability type
3 of effort, where we assist in some countries in Northern
4 Africa, perhaps, in order to build their capability and
5 prevent destabilization.

6 Those are just a couple of quick ideas. But, I think
7 having that force, there's certainly plenty of opportunity
8 when it comes to strengthening our partners and using a
9 force like that.

10 Senator Ernst: Right. Well, I agree, and I'm excited
11 to see how their deployment goes in Afghanistan, and how we
12 can utilize their -- the adeptness of that type of unit in
13 other cultural situations, as well. And as we look to
14 Europe and what we see going on in Ukraine, it might be
15 another opportunity for our SFABs to excel. So, I
16 appreciate your feedback there.

17 Now, we know that Russia -- that's the topic, it seems,
18 this morning -- but, the malign activity across the EUCOM
19 AOR is, of course, extremely concerning. I think you've
20 seen that demonstrated from all of us here, sitting with you
21 today. Whether it's the illegal presence in Crimea, whether
22 it is their information operations, their gray zone
23 activities, we've talked about a lot of that today --
24 violations of the INF Treaty -- we need to bolster our
25 posture in their destabilizing actions. We need to push

1 against that. So, the DOD's budget request for fiscal year
2 '19 is \$2 billion -- or a near-2-billion-dollar increase for
3 the European Deterrence Initiative. If it weren't for that
4 funding provided by the EDI, do you think that EUCOM could
5 fully perform its mission to deter and, if necessary, defeat
6 aggression in Europe? And what if we no longer had those
7 dollars?

8 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I could not do my
9 mission without the EDI and the increase. That -- as I have
10 said, it not only continues what I have today, what we've
11 built, but, through the FYDP, this is what's going to
12 establish the full posture that we need, in conjunction with
13 our allies.

14 Senator Ernst: And if you had one dollar more, where
15 would you spend it?

16 General Scaparrotti: Well, that's -- I would probably
17 go -- if you look at where we need to continue development,
18 I would most likely start at C4ISR, because our
19 intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance is so
20 important to me, particularly when you don't have the
21 posture you want. You've got to be able to get ahead of and
22 be able to predict what your posture needs to be. And so,
23 that's probably the area that I'd put my next dollar into,
24 if it were up to me.

25 Senator Ernst: That is exceptional, because I think we

1 hear from many of our other commanders, as well, that ISR is
2 in high, high demand. So, thank you very much, General.

3 Thank you.

4 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

5 Senator Peters.

6 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 And, General, thank you for being here again today, and
8 thank you for your service, as always.

9 General, how would you define the term "political
10 warfare"?

11 General Scaparrotti: Political warfare. Well, I think
12 it would be the attack or efforts to spoil policy or
13 politics within a government. And that could, you know,
14 cover a range of its governmental activities, its individual
15 agencies, its policy, and its values.

16 Senator Peters: And that's certainly been an element
17 of strategy for -- since the beginning of warfare, just
18 different types of technologies. However, in today's
19 digital domain, that -- the ability to use political warfare
20 is leveraged dramatically. And I think most observers see
21 that that's going to be a major part of conflict, going
22 forward. It's a part of conflict that we're seeing right
23 now with Russians.

24 You know, I had the opportunity, when I was in Latvia
25 and Lithuania recently, to be there for Saber Strike, an

1 exercise that went on with a number of countries. And I had
2 the chance to visit STRATCOM. That was dealing with
3 communications that were coming from the Russians that were
4 really about -- were really -- in my mind, were kind of the
5 classic definition of political warfare, to sow confusion,
6 to create distrust. In fact, some of the communications
7 that I saw were put out by Russians on social media, that
8 the Americans had dropped a bomb on a farmhouse or a store,
9 some sort of civilian building, and that the Americans
10 simply can't be trusted, because, when they're in your
11 country, bad things happen. I'm sure there are other
12 examples. Could you give us a sense of the types of things
13 that the Russians are doing on a regular basis that
14 interfere with NATO's ability to have the trust and
15 confidence of the citizens of those countries?

16 General Scaparrotti: Yeah, thank you.

17 I would just tell you that the kinds of things you
18 described that you saw there is not uncommon throughout
19 particularly the east, but even into the depth of Europe.
20 Typically, when you look at their disinformation, their
21 social media, it is generally targeted at the undermining of
22 Western values, the confidence in that government,
23 confidence in their governmental leaders, almost always
24 subtly just hedging away at that. And because of today's
25 capabilities and information, where they can use a multiple

1 -- multiple platforms and generate great volume, it can
2 really undermine a nation. Because all they have to do is
3 just sow some confusion, primarily, sow enough confusion
4 that there's distrust in the government. And it's not an
5 uncommon thing to see.

6 Senator Peters: Yeah. And, in fact, it's going on
7 constantly, is it not?

8 General Scaparrotti: It is. It's subtle, but it's --
9 it is constant. It is at greater volume in the countries in
10 the east than it is, perhaps, in the south/southwest of
11 Europe.

12 Senator Peters: So, when I use the term "political
13 warfare," this -- they are engaged in political warfare with
14 the West, generally, as a result of these activities, in
15 trying to sow this distrust, which undermines any of the --
16 the fundamental basis of democracy is, the people have trust
17 in their government and their ability to effect the changes
18 in that government. And if you sow distrust, it undermines
19 it. So, I -- what -- we have to combat this. Obviously,
20 this is something -- we have to understand the Russians are
21 not our friends, they're engaged in these activities, not
22 just in the United States, but all across Europe and other
23 parts of the world. What would be the role for -- in your
24 mind, as -- in your capacity, for U.S. versus our allies,
25 and the role of government operations versus what the

1 private sector should be expected to do in civil society,
2 generally? How do we grapple with this?

3 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think one way is, is that
4 -- we, in the military, reinforce all of these civilian
5 agencies and capabilities, to include national media, et
6 cetera. And we have to continue to focus on the values and
7 -- you know, the values that democracies profess --
8 democratic institutions, international rule of law. That's
9 a very high-level, general statement. But, we've kind of
10 left that. Western democracies have kind of assumed that
11 our people understood what was important about a democracy
12 and the way that we live. We've got to reinforce that. And
13 it needs to be done across all the different levers that we
14 can do it. And that takes focus, and it takes volume. It
15 takes information volume to do that.

16 Senator Peters: Do you believe that we should actively
17 engage some of the major tech platforms to be part of the
18 solution, and to be more active in this space than they are
19 now?

20 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I do. And on our side, in
21 conjunction with NATO and the other nations, we're actually
22 employing our capabilities to get our messages out, at
23 volume.

24 Senator Peters: Great. Thank you, General.

25 General Scaparrotti: Thank you.

1 Senator Inhofe: Senator Tillis.

2 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

3 General Scaparrotti, it's good to see you again. Thank
4 you for the time that you spent in my office, and also being
5 at the official launch of the NATO -- the Senate NATO
6 Observer Group. I appreciate all the work you're doing, and
7 Ambassador Hutchinson. And we look forward, with Senator
8 Shaheen, in getting more engaged as we continue the rollout.

9 I want to probably talk about something you would have
10 anticipated today, and it has to do with trade. We know
11 that -- the discussions around the tariffs, we know that
12 China is a bad actor, and that there legitimate, I think,
13 national defense concerns there. But, the way that the
14 tariffs get implemented, it could sweep in even some of our
15 NATO allies if we don't get it right. I know this is a
16 fairly new discussion, but I was wondering if, in your role,
17 you have heard any of the discussions among some of our
18 allies about concerns with how that gets rolled out.

19 General Scaparrotti: Senator, actually, I haven't, at
20 this point, because I was back in the States here for
21 meetings and then hearings. So, as this has been a topic in
22 the news and discussion, I've actually been in the States.

23 Senator Tillis: Well, would the -- it would be very
24 interesting. Maybe we can get a readout once you get back
25 over there, because, since these tariffs are moving forward

1 on the basis of national defense concerns, it would seem to
2 me that that will probably weigh into the discussion.

3 The other reason -- I'd be very interested in the
4 feedback. I won't press you more on the question. But, I
5 know that we're making great progress on our NATO partners'
6 contributions as a percentage of GDP. A part of what's
7 going to help sustain that upward trend is going to be good
8 economic performance in those nations. If they start seeing
9 a dip in their economy, then my guess is, this is one area
10 where they may look at and move their continuing
11 contribution to the right as they move up to the 2-percent
12 target. So, I think it's very important for us to get
13 feedback, and have that feedback get back to the
14 administration so that, when they tailor it, they do it in a
15 way that's not disruptive to the chemistry and the
16 relationship that we have with our partners. And I'd
17 appreciate getting that feedback.

18 The other question I have, How would you grade the mood
19 of our NATO allies and their sense that the U.S. is
20 absolutely committed to moving forward and building on the
21 partnership? Strong?

22 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I'd say it's strong. What
23 they see is investments like EDI, 5 to 6 billion dollars,
24 and then the presence of our troops. And that's a strong
25 statement.

1 Senator Tillis: Could you talk a little bit about the
2 -- I think some people believe that -- this is for the
3 benefit of the public -- when you're trying to get to that
4 2-percent margin, it's not like it's going into some NATO
5 account, being spent on the new building and all the other
6 things there. Can you talk about the inherent capabilities
7 and the readiness, the benefits to the nations themselves,
8 by virtue of upping that -- their investment as a NATO
9 partner?

10 General Scaparrotti: Well, roger. First of all, we
11 live in an environment today that's changed dramatically in
12 the last even 5 years, but certainly 10, in terms of the
13 threats that we have in the environment -- European -- the
14 Euro-Atlantic environment. So, they need a force that's
15 relevant to that. And the force that they had 5 years ago,
16 that we had 5 years ago, is not fully relevant. Take the
17 cyber domain, for instance, as just one example. The
18 increase in precision weaponry, in the types of weaponry, is
19 another. So, to secure their population, their own
20 sovereignty, which is a requirement of Article 3 and 4, and
21 also to have the benefit of Article 5, they have to invest
22 in this, and they have to have a force that's relevant.
23 It's to -- it's for their own population's security and
24 good, but it's also for us, as an alliance, the good of the
25 NATO alliance.

1 NATO alliance secures 50 percent of the GDP of the --
2 you know, of our nations and theirs in the Euro-Atlantic
3 alone. So, when you talk about prosperity, the increasing
4 -- their increasing economy, which it is improving right
5 now, I think that security in NATO's foundational security
6 is a part of that.

7 Senator Tillis: Well, thank you. And, just in
8 closing, when you get back and you get an opportunity -- it
9 may be that nobody's talking about the looming concern over
10 the -- what the President described may be a trade war. I'd
11 be very interested in seeing if that is having any sort of
12 an effect on the relationships that you're most concerned
13 with.

14 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

15 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

16 Senator Warren.

17 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 And thank you, General, for meeting with me last week,
19 and thank you for your service.

20 Now, Russia continues to actively work to meddle in
21 countries along its border and undermine unity within the
22 NATO alliance. They do it through cyberattacks, they spread
23 disinformation, they spread false stories through social
24 media, they foment institutional corruption and use a lot of
25 other manipulative measures. One of the countries in your

1 area of responsibility is Sweden, which is not a member of
2 NATO, but which did conduct major military exercises with
3 the NATO troops last year. Sweden has a general election
4 coming up in September, and I understand that they are
5 taking preemptive steps to deter Russian interference.

6 So, General, without divulging classified information,
7 can you talk just a little bit about how you're working with
8 Sweden and other countries in your area of responsibility to
9 deter this kind of Russian information warfare, and what
10 you've learned that we might apply here in the United
11 States?

12 General Scaparrotti: First of all, I'd say that Sweden
13 is one of those countries that I think's more advanced in
14 this, in terms of just my -- that's a personal opinion,
15 looking at the nations throughout Europe, in terms of their
16 willingness to take it on. One of their techniques is,
17 they're very open about an attack, they publicize it, they
18 push back against it. They're, I think, very forward-
19 leaning with respect to their population and the education
20 and how to question information that they get, broadly, and
21 ensure they know the source, et cetera.

22 With respect to Sweden, they're a very close partner, a
23 great partner within Europe, both as a partner to NATO, but
24 also with the United States. We work with them and several
25 of the other Nordic countries together in a routine

1 conference in order to look at ways that we can strengthen
2 our defense and also conduct training that's helpful to all
3 of us.

4 Senator Warren: Good. I think that's really helpful.

5 You know, whether it's Sweden or the United States or a
6 whole lot of other countries, Russia is hellbent on
7 undermining democracy. Putin and his online trolls are not
8 going away, and we face a choice. We can sit on our hands
9 and let the Russians interfere in our elections, or we can
10 be proactive and work with our allies to deter Russia and
11 Russia's information warfare.

12 Now, there's one other topic I want to ask you about,
13 and that is, last year I asked you about your support from
14 the State Department, and you told me that you believe our
15 military and diplomatic agencies need to work together to
16 confront threats to our security and threats to our allies.

17 And I understand, from your comments to Senator Hirono,
18 that it's safe to assume you haven't changed your position
19 on that. Is that fair?

20 General Scaparrotti: That's correct.

21 Senator Warren: Good. I thought so. So, I want to
22 explore one aspect of how this works, in practice. In order
23 to have robust diplomacy, we need to have the personnel to
24 carry it out. Out of the countries in your area of
25 responsibility as the head of European Command, the United

1 States currently does not have a confirmed Ambassador or
2 even an official nominee for six of them: Belarus, Belgium,
3 Iceland, Ireland, Sweden, and Turkey. So, General, as an
4 operational commander, do these diplomatic vacancies concern
5 you as you carry out your mission? And, if so, why?

6 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Senator, it does concern me.
7 There's other organizations that have an Ambassador that
8 don't have them, as well, yet, beyond the number you've
9 given. The country teams, for instance, in the Embassies,
10 have great staffs, and we work very closely with them. But,
11 the Ambassador is a key individual appointed by the
12 government, recognized by their government as the
13 Ambassador. And so, we need to fill those in each one of
14 these countries, particularly in a country, for instance,
15 where -- Turkey, today, where we don't have an Ambassador
16 now and we are in very sensitive discussions in order to
17 continue to reinforce and strengthen, you know, our
18 relationship with a key NATO ally.

19 Senator Warren: Yeah.

20 General Scaparrotti: The Ambassador's position is key.

21 Senator Warren: Thank you. Thank you very much,
22 General. You know, we need to have both a strong military
23 and a fully staffed State Department to best defend America
24 and its allies. And we can't do that with empty
25 ambassadorial posts and vacant positions throughout the

1 State Department and around the world. The Trump
2 administration's failure to fill major diplomatic posts has
3 damaged our diplomatic readiness, and that makes our
4 military's job harder.

5 Thank you. Thank you, General.

6 Senator Inhofe: Senator Sasse.

7 Senator Sasse: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 General, thank you for being here. Thanks for your
9 generosity with your time the last few weeks as you've been
10 in -- back in the U.S. A bunch of us have a lot of respect
11 for you and appreciate the tutorials you've given us.

12 I think you said, earlier -- you said it in your
13 written statement, and I think you also said earlier, in
14 response to a question, that Russia is now employing a broad
15 menu of tactics and tools to manipulate and destabilize lots
16 of nations, and to manipulate and distort public information
17 in a lot of the nations in your areas of responsibility. I
18 think, at one point, you also said that a lot of their
19 tactics are just short of war. Could you unpack what the
20 line is in information warfare between just short of war and
21 being at actual cyber war?

22 General Scaparrotti: I think that's the key question.

23 And it's something we've got to explore. And it's
24 particularly important in cyber, as well. And there are
25 discussions being had here in NATO, et cetera, to determine

1 what the definition of that is. But, it would have to do
2 with, you know, an attack that damages the vital interests
3 of the United States, I think, is the first place I would
4 start to -- you know, to define that, and particularly true
5 within cyber, as well. That's probably, at this point, what
6 I would say. I would start at the vital interests and go
7 from there. But, a better definition of that within our
8 government, within NATO, then helps us when we are in a
9 situation where we see a crisis or an attack that's
10 approaching that, and we can have greater agility, greater
11 flexibility in determining how to respond.

12 Senator Sasse: Public trust is at an alltime low.
13 We've had decent polling in this country since the 1930s.
14 Public trust is at an alltime low in most of our
15 institutions right now. And when you look at every major
16 culture-war dispute that happens amongst us -- I think about
17 when the President decided to pick the scab at the
18 Kaepernick and NFL kneeling-before-the-flag issue, in the --
19 it's public information now; I think it's been in the press
20 enough times that, in the 2 or 3 days after the President
21 decided to reignite that fight, two of the fastest trending
22 hashtags on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat were
23 #takeakneenfl and #standfortheanthem. I think those of us
24 who have spent a lot of time on this issue are well aware --
25 I know -- I think the percentage is probably still

1 classified, but the huge share of that culture warring in
2 the U.S. was actually of Russian origin. Both sides of our
3 culture wars. "Take a knee," "stand for the anthem," Putin
4 loves it. When Americans hate Americans, and when we fight
5 with each other, Russia wins. And I know that you've seen
6 lots and lots of similar things happening in European
7 nations. I don't know how that is really different, in
8 terms of the ultimate public negative consequences, than if
9 this were done to a specific U.S. corporation, who then saw
10 its market cap and its economic value collapse. And we're
11 nuts if we don't understand that the next round of this is
12 going to include lots of specific economic warfare.

13 So, when we see attacks on public trust, we're not sure
14 that it's warfare. If it were an economic action and you
15 saw a specific U.S. company devalued because of fake
16 information that was out there from the Russians, would that
17 be war?

18 General Scaparrotti: I don't know. I don't -- and I'd
19 -- you know, this is a policy question, actually, when you
20 get to it, but I think what you're driving at is what I said
21 earlier, and that is, is that we live in a different world
22 today. The change in what is considered, you know, part of
23 our environment, particularly having to do with information,
24 the speed of it, the connectivity of it, the ability to,
25 what I call, you know, develop volume, the impact of cyber

1 activity, are all things that we're wrestling with. But, we
2 need to wrestle with it, because we've got to get a better
3 definition of our activity within those, and what's
4 acceptable.

5 You know, in the international community, when it comes
6 to conflict, what we've done since the end of the second
7 World War was help to establish institutions that
8 established an international rule of order that nations are
9 expected to follow. And I think, in these new dynamics
10 here, the new strategic environment we're in, we've not done
11 that yet, and we have to begin to move forward, in some
12 means, to determine how we discipline particularly the cyber
13 and the information domains, et cetera, to a certain extent.

14 Senator Sasse: You know, one of the things that's
15 unfortunate about the ways that we're deliberating about
16 where we are in the evolution of warfare and the emergence
17 of cyberwarfare is that it's people in the uniform who are
18 doing the hardest work and then come and stand before
19 committees like this, and you end up -- you and your
20 colleagues end up taking a lot of the beating for what is
21 really a failure of political leadership in both the
22 legislative and executive branches, and both parties.
23 Right? After the Chinese attack on OPM, 3 years ago, the
24 last administration had no real response. In the current
25 moment, with Russian attacks, the current administration has

1 no real response. The legislature is not nearly serious as
2 -- serious enough about this issue. And so, regularly, we
3 take people who are in your position who are trying to help
4 develop a menu of options for us to understand the problem,
5 we're not active in response, and you're the one who ends up
6 having to take some of the brunt of the heat.

7 I would love to follow up with you. You and I have
8 discussed this in private and in the SCIF in the past. I'd
9 like to follow up with you, in a formal letter, and ask a
10 question about this policymaking issue in the definition of
11 "war" and in the cyber rules of engagement, because we'd
12 like to help push forward, at the more senior levels of the
13 Pentagon, and then ultimately at the handoff of the White
14 House, where those discussions are. Because I've been here
15 for only 3 years. I'm one of five people in this body who's
16 never been a politician before. I've been here for 3 years,
17 and I've asked these questions every 2-3 months for 36
18 months straight. And, frankly, it doesn't seem like we're
19 any closer now than we were 36 months ago to having answers
20 to these questions. And that's ultimately, chiefly the
21 responsibility of the Congress, the Article 1 branch. But,
22 we need the help of people like you to tee up those
23 questions. So, I'll follow up in letter, too.

24 General Scaparrotti: Thank you, Senator.

25 Senator Sasse: Thank you, General.

1 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

2 Senator Kaine.

3 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

4 General Scaparrotti, thank you for your service and
5 your testimony today.

6 You've been asked a couple of questions about the RAND
7 study, the unclassified version of which was entered into
8 the record. And I want to ask you a question about that,
9 too. We've been briefed about it, and one of the things I
10 noticed that was interesting about that study is, it
11 analyzed the state, sort of, power competitors we have, in
12 terms of their capacities, but it didn't really look at,
13 "Well, what if a couple of them combine capacities." That
14 really was not covered in this part that I read. We always
15 talk about our combined capacity, with NATO, for example,
16 but if you look at the RAND report, you would assume that we
17 would face, potentially, a set of discrete competitors, but
18 there's little thought, in the sections I've read, about
19 what their relationships are with one another. We're not
20 the only country that has allies, even military alliances.

21 The area that I would probably have the most concern
22 would be a Russia-China relationship that would seek to
23 exert more influence to our detriment, although you've seen
24 Russia and Turkey start to have some cooperation in areas
25 that are -- that maybe is a little bit unusual, given the

1 history between those two countries.

2 I'm wondering if you could, first, maybe address this
3 issue from your standpoint. Are you seeing anything in the
4 Russia-China relationship that would signify that they are
5 growing closer together, in terms of mil-to-mil activity or
6 other activities, where the combined effect of their
7 capacity should pose us concern?

8 General Scaparrotti: I would still -- start by saying,
9 I think that there's not a -- I think they still have issues
10 that wouldn't make them natural partners. But, what we have
11 seen, I think, in the last -- I'll just go for this past
12 year, for instance -- we've seen Russian and Chinese naval
13 operations training together in the European theater on a
14 couple of occasions now.

15 Senator Kaine: In the European theater.

16 General Scaparrotti: In the European theater.
17 Maritime operations. You know, we know that there has been
18 some work together, at least we think, in the port in
19 Djibouti, a little bit of assistance for each other there.
20 So, we've seen other areas, mil-to-mil, where they've come
21 together for specific training purposes, et cetera. So,
22 there's a little more collaboration there than we've seen in
23 the past. And, of course, that is somewhat worrisome.

24 Senator Kaine: How about Russia and Turkey?

25 General Scaparrotti: Yes. But, there again, I think

1 they've always had an economic relationship. It was
2 disturbed with a shutdown of the Russian aircraft. I think
3 part of what the government has tried to do is reestablish
4 the economic relationship. There has been, obviously, with
5 respect to Syria and their operations there --

6 Senator Kaine: Right.

7 General Scaparrotti: -- at a minimum, deconfliction,
8 if not support between Russia and Turkey.

9 Senator Kaine: And then, how about Russia and Iran?
10 Obviously, we know they are both backers of the Assad regime
11 in Syria, but are you seeing Russia and Iran engaging in
12 mil-to-mil activities, training, other things that would
13 make you worry about their combined capacities?

14 General Scaparrotti: There are activities where they
15 work together. I think it's one of convenience. But,
16 obviously, any of these nations that might be able to come
17 together, particularly with respect to areas that we're
18 operating in, would be of concern, mil-to-mil.

19 Senator Kaine: Let me switch quickly to one last
20 Turkey question. The Turkey issue is very vexing. A NATO
21 ally, we use the base at Incirlik for important tasks in the
22 fight against ISIS. Turkey has been very discouraged at the
23 U.S. alliance with the Kurds in northern Syria in the ISIS
24 battle. And that is a very serious point of contention now
25 between the Turkish government and the United States. Just

1 give us a little bit of a future look at the U.S.-Kurd
2 relationship in northern Syria. The Kurds have been great
3 fighting partners for the U.S. in defeating ISIS in northern
4 Syria, but the U.S. has also been a great partner to the
5 Kurds in enabling them to take back land that is theirs,
6 from ISIS. Having -- are we at a state now, in northern
7 Syria, where we are now sort of reducing the work we do
8 together with Syrian Kurds because of the diminished threat
9 of ISIS in a way that should cool the temperature of this
10 challenge between Turkey and the United States?

11 General Scaparrotti: In this process, I work closely
12 with Turkey. That's within EUCOM. The Kurds and those --

13 Senator Kaine: Right.

14 General Scaparrotti: -- operations in Syria --

15 Senator Kaine: CENTCOM.

16 Senator Kaine: -- are with CENTCOM. So, we -- I and
17 Joe Votel, as you can imagine, talk frequently on this, as
18 well of -- our staffs, working together.

19 My approach to this is, is that we work not only at --
20 look at the immediate interests of both nations, but we look
21 at the longer-term interests. Where do we want to be in a
22 year, 2 years, and 5 years? And with that perspective, with
23 a close NATO ally like Turkey, we know that we want to
24 maintain and strengthen our relationship. So, that's the
25 long-term objective. And I think if we look at that long-

1 term objective, it can begin to inform what we're doing
2 today with respect to NATO as an ally and the Kurds, who are
3 our partner, in defeating ISIS. And, although it's a very
4 difficult and complex situation, I'm hopeful that we can
5 walk this path and attain both interests.

6 Senator Kaine: Mr. Chair, thank you.

7 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

8 Senator Sullivan.

9 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

10 And I want to thank my friend from Georgia, here, for
11 letting me cut in line on the questioning.

12 General, good to see you again, and thanks for all
13 you're doing. I think there's -- safe to say, there's a lot
14 of us who are glad you're in your -- the position you're in.
15 And it's -- I know it's a difficult challenge. So, thanks
16 for your service.

17 A lot of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle here
18 have been talking about the importance of allies. I know
19 you get it. I think we all get it, whether it's China or
20 Russia, having our allies on board and expanding that
21 network is really important. So, you have our full support
22 on that.

23 I do want to respond to Senator Warren's comment. You
24 know, the second time in the last 2 days we've heard
25 colleagues -- and I have the utmost respect for my

1 colleagues on the other side, particularly on this committee
2 -- about how the President needs to get his people out to
3 get people in positions -- Ambassadors, Assistant
4 Secretaries. I agree. And I think we could have, maybe, a
5 little deal here among Democrats and Republicans. We'll
6 encourage the White House to get more nominees out, but my
7 colleagues on the other side can't complain about it, like
8 Senator Warren was just doing, and then go to the
9 unprecedented lengths that they have been doing to block and
10 delay and make sure President Trump doesn't get his nominees
11 confirmed. So, can't have it both ways, Senator Warren and
12 others. So, we'll work with the President. And when they
13 come to the floor, let's move them, not unprecedented
14 blocking, which has been happening, which doesn't help the
15 country, doesn't help our national security, and it's a
16 little hypocritical to be complaining, when, when they get
17 to the floor, they never get moved. But, that's not your
18 problem, that's our problem.

19 I'd actually like to talk about the Arctic. And I know
20 it's an area that you've been focused on. And we appreciate
21 that. There's a number of us, beyond just me, being from
22 Alaska, who are concerned about it. How many bases in
23 Russia -- are the Russians building or refurbishing in the
24 Arctic? Do you have a sense of that? Which would include
25 their new Arctic military command. Can you talk a little

1 bit about that?

2 General Scaparrotti: Yes. They're -- essentially, the
3 majority of this is refurbishing old bases, probably seven
4 to nine; in particular, those that are at the beginning and
5 the end of what is the Northern Sea Route across there. And
6 those are the key places. So, we're watching that closely,
7 in terms of militarization of the Arctic.

8 Senator Sullivan: And what do you think their
9 intentions are? And let me ask, Are they installing any
10 systems, including the fielding of major icebreakers, that
11 would give them de facto control of the Northern Sea Route?
12 Is that what they're trying to do, do you think? What are
13 their --

14 Senator Sullivan: It -- well, their --

15 Senator Sullivan: -- intentions up there? They're
16 clearly militarizing that part of the world. What do you
17 think they're trying to achieve?

18 General Scaparrotti: Their stated intent is to provide
19 safeguards, security for the economic well-being of the
20 Arctic. It's a very -- you know, their statement is along
21 those lines. But, if you look at what they're putting into
22 place, they would have the capability, I think, in some
23 time, you know, perhaps 2 or 3 years, to control the
24 Northern Sea Route, if they chose to do so.

25 Senator Sullivan: And do you think that's in the

1 interests of the United States, that a country like Russia
2 would have a de facto control over a new and potentially
3 incredibly important line of communication through the
4 world?

5 General Scaparrotti: No, I don't.

6 Senator Sullivan: So, in our Arctic policy that this
7 committee recommended -- or, actually, requested that the
8 Secretary of Defense promulgate 2 years ago, we talked about
9 the ability to control that sea route, to run FONOPs there.
10 Are we falling behind, in terms of the capabilities that we
11 have, vis-a-vis the Russians, to do that?

12 General Scaparrotti: We're not keeping pace.

13 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, General.

14 I wanted to ask another issue with regard to shortfalls
15 that you may or may not have in the EUCOM AOR to counter and
16 deter increasing Russian aggression. What's your thought of
17 our shortfalls with regard to missile defense? And how do
18 we need to address that?

19 General Scaparrotti: We have capable missile defense
20 systems. When you look at missile defense, though, I think
21 the things that we need to focus on are -- first of all, we
22 need to focus again on short-range and medium-range missile
23 technology. You know, we've -- we have been operating in
24 environments where we weren't -- it wasn't a contested
25 environment, et cetera. That's not the case any longer.

1 So, we need to look at those systems. We need to look at
2 the interoperability with our allies, because we can't do
3 this in Europe without doing it correctly together. And
4 then, we need to look at other parts of this, passive parts
5 of our integrated air missile defense, as well. So, I --
6 that's how I would answer that. I think it's a holistic
7 system that we've got to put together, and it's the systems
8 within the midrange that I am -- and probably short-range --
9 that I am most concerned about today.

10 Senator Sullivan: Okay. Thank you very much, General.

11 Senator Inhofe: Senator King.

12 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13 General, welcome to the committee.

14 First, I want to associate myself with the comments of
15 Senator Sasse. I -- we've talked about this a great deal.
16 We really need to develop a cyber doctrine and a strategy in
17 order to have a credible deterrent. And I think that's one
18 of the things that's lacking -- prior administration,
19 current administration. Let's just get it done. And I hope
20 you will take that message back. Because if all we do is
21 try to defend -- ultimately, as you know, the whole idea of
22 your forces and the whole idea of our nuclear force is
23 deterrence. We don't want to have to use them. And we
24 don't have a deterrent force, in terms of cyber. And I
25 think it's something that we certainly need to develop.

1 Do you agree, General?

2 General Scaparrotti: Yes.

3 Senator King: Thank you.

4 It seems to me that what's going on -- and we've had a
5 series of questions about what the Russians are doing in
6 Europe. And I think it'll be interesting to learn whether
7 they were involved in the recent Italian elections over the
8 weekend. What we're seeing before our eyes is a kind of
9 deunification of Europe. We've had Brexit, we've had a
10 populist election in Italy. We've had a very difficult
11 election in Germany. They -- we know they attempted to
12 interfere in the election in France. So, we're trying to --
13 they're trying to split the countries. And it strikes me
14 that what they are doing is a kind of geopolitical jujitsu.

15 My memory of judo and jujitsu was, you used your opponent's
16 strength against. And our strength is our freedom and our
17 First Amendment and our free press and our open society.
18 And that's exactly what they are using in order to turn it
19 back on us and to divide us, not only within countries, but
20 also within the alliance. And I presume you see this
21 Russian activity all the time, from your position in EUCOM.

22 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir, I do. And I agree with
23 your thoughts. I mean, a democratic government, the values
24 that we profess, the freedom of the press, those kinds of
25 things, those are the things that are vulnerabilities with

1 respect to Russia's attack.

2 Senator King: That's exactly what they're exploiting.

3 General Scaparrotti: That's what they're exploiting.
4 That's what they're leveraging. So, I said, earlier in my
5 comments, that it's important today that we not take for
6 granted the importance of these values, our active --
7 individuals' active participation as a member of a democracy
8 to protect all of those things. There's a certain sense
9 that I have, both here and in Europe, that we've kind of
10 begun to take that for granted. And now it's being
11 attacked. We have to think about it that way, and begin to
12 come together to protect the values and our way of life --

13 Senator King: I know.

14 General Scaparrotti: -- because that's essentially
15 what --

16 Senator King: And it --

17 General Scaparrotti: -- they've gone after.

18 Senator King: -- leads us back to the issue of some
19 kind of strategy and doctrine that we can develop, not
20 unlike NATO at the end of World War II, not unlike the
21 strategy of deterrence that underlay our nuclear policy for
22 70 years, which has worked.

23 Let me change the subject for a moment. Javelins to
24 Ukraine. Any concern about that leading to an escalation on
25 the other side, particularly given the fact that Russia is

1 so much more proximate to the battlefield? Give me your
2 thoughts about that.

3 General Scaparrotti: I wouldn't say I had zero
4 concern, but I -- it's not a lot of concern, particularly
5 because, if you look at the Russian proxies and the force
6 structures, the kinds of equipment provided by Russia, the
7 presence of Russian leadership and the proximity of Russian
8 units on the border to eastern Ukraine, I can't see -- I
9 mean, they would obviously take advantage of this in
10 information warfare to say that it's of concern to them.
11 But, it should not be.

12 Senator King: Do you -- in the few seconds that I have
13 left, your thoughts about the status of that conflict. It
14 seems to be, at least from the point of view of our
15 attention, in a kind of limbo, in a kind of standoff. Is
16 that the situation?

17 General Scaparrotti: Well, you know, sometimes there
18 will be those that add this to, kind of, the frozen
19 conflicts that we see in Europe, particularly in the east.
20 But, I would say it's not that. It's a hot war, yet. They
21 take casualties on both sides, but particularly in Ukraine,
22 you know, every week, to this date. We have seen the
23 violence level go down, of late. But, I would tell you what
24 you don't see is, within that lower violence level, it's
25 less heavy artillery and more things like snipers, et

1 cetera. So, the casualties haven't gone down. In fact,
2 they've gone up a bit.

3 Senator King: But, it's still a hot war.

4 General Scaparrotti: It's still a hot war. And my
5 personal opinion is, is that, although Russia states that
6 it's Ukraine's problem that we're not moving forward with
7 the Minsk agreement, et cetera, I think it's actually Russia
8 who doesn't want it to move forward. They could certainly
9 do more than they're doing today with respect of helping us
10 move in the right direction, protection of the mission
11 monitors, for instance, in the Donbass, which they don't
12 help with at all, et cetera.

13 Senator King: Final question, on a different subject.

14 It could be a yes-or-no answer. You note, in your
15 testimony on page 4, Russia is revitalizing its northern
16 fleet, as you just discussed with Senator Sullivan, in
17 anticipation of increased military, commercial activity.
18 They intend to assert sovereignty over the Northern Sea
19 Route, in violation of the U.N. Convention on the Law of the
20 Sea. Would it be advantageous to our country for us to
21 ratify the U.N. Convention of the Law of the Sea so that we
22 could be a participant in those proceedings?

23 General Scaparrotti: Yes.

24 Senator King: Thank you.

25 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 Senator Inhofe: Senator Perdue.

2 Senator Perdue: General, thank you for being here, and
3 for your decades of service.

4 It -- I want to talk about Russia just a minute, but
5 particularly about Georgia and their intent there and our
6 strategy there. It seems to me, when you look at their
7 facilities in Murmansk, Kaliningrad, Sevastopol now, in the
8 Crimea region, what they've done in Georgia, and now what
9 they've done in Latakia and Tartus in Syria, I'm concerned
10 about these frozen conflicts. I'd like to get your update
11 on the Georgian frozen conflict. I guess we still call that
12 a frozen conflict. What is -- what's our posture there, and
13 what's the long-term strategy regarding, specifically,
14 Georgia, but also -- you talked about the current situation
15 in Ukraine. I'd love for you to also update us on your
16 current thinking -- the U.S. current posture with regard to
17 Ukraine and Georgia, relative to what looks to be a
18 solidification of Russia's positioning in a crescent around
19 eastern Europe.

20 General Scaparrotti: First, Senator, with respect to
21 Georgia, one, I would state that, as a partner -- Georgia,
22 as a partner, is a strong one. You know, they provide
23 forces in Afghanistan and others. Not a large country, but
24 a good fighting force and a good partner. What we see there
25 today, when you look into the two areas that Russians have

1 presence, those breakaway portions of Georgia -- Ossetia, et
2 cetera -- they are now working to bring them into, I think,
3 you know, almost the Russian Federation, in the sense that
4 you -- what you begin to see is the use of Russian
5 administration within those --

6 Senator Perdue: Putin calls them independent states
7 now, those two --

8 General Scaparrotti: He does, but it's not recognized
9 internationally as --

10 Senator Perdue: Right.

11 General Scaparrotti: -- independent states, neither
12 one of them. They call it that. I don't think there's more
13 than maybe three nations, or four, in the world that accept
14 his definition. But, my point is, what he's doing is, he's
15 drawing them into their administration. In some of these
16 countries -- and I can't recall if Georgia is one of them --
17 but, in some of those countries, for those areas that they
18 have presence, they have declared those soldiers' either
19 ability to become a part of the Russian Federation military
20 forces or they have agreements that they would become a part
21 of that if there were a conflict. So, you -- my point is,
22 you can just see them drawing them into their orbit.

23 Now, you asked about others. I think, if you go to
24 Moldova or other areas where we have frozen conflicts, this
25 is to their advantage, because they use that in order to

1 help secure what they see as part of their strategic depth
2 on the periphery. It points to their --

3 Senator Perdue: Well, I apologize for interrupting,
4 but --

5 General Scaparrotti: -- area of influence.

6 Senator Perdue: So, what is our strategy in those
7 frozen conflicts? And I'd like a brief answer, and then --
8 because I want to ask a quick question on Israel as I -- as
9 you finish up.

10 General Scaparrotti: The -- well, our strategy is --
11 is, diplomatically, to stay very involved in a -- different
12 areas, whether it's OSCE, Minsk, which is what it is for a
13 couple of those, diplomatically, in order to resolve the
14 conflicts and, at the same time, respect the sovereignty of
15 the nations and the determination of the people involved,
16 like in Nagorno-Karabakh, for instance, their desire to
17 determine their own government. So, we generally follow
18 that track, but a better question for the diplomats who are
19 working that.

20 In our regard, we have a relationship with each of
21 these countries, where we help them with security reform and
22 also capacity-building, because, in each case, they're
23 looking to the West, and they would prefer to come to the
24 West. Russia's continuation of this frozen conflict is one
25 way that they freeze that ability of a nation to then look

1 to the West for either NATO or EU.

2 Senator Perdue: Thank you.

3 In the remaining time I've got, just a quick question
4 about Iran and their increased activity in Syria. It seems
5 that they've built a permanent base now outside Damascus
6 that has a warehouse that's capable of storing missiles that
7 could hit Israel. We know that they talk openly about a
8 land bridge to -- from Tehran to Beirut. The changing
9 situation in Syria certainly raises questions, particularly
10 with the latest aggression with the drone incident in
11 Israel. How does that situation in Syria -- Israel is part
12 of your area of responsibility, if I understand correct,
13 correct?

14 General Scaparrotti: That's correct, it is.

15 Senator Perdue: And so, what is the current situation?
16 How do you assess that? And what is your command's posture
17 relative to the security of our ally, Israel?

18 General Scaparrotti: My mission in EUCOM with respect
19 to Israel is to support the defense of Israel. In fact, we
20 have a large contingent there today doing an -- defense and
21 rehearsing, basically, you know, those operations that we
22 planned in defense of Israel, should it be needed. I'm
23 going there tonight in fact. And so, we continue to work
24 closely with them in a defensive means, but also to stay
25 very close to them with intelligence. And, as you know,

1 they see Iran as an existential threat. They're concerned
2 about the posture of Iranian forces or Iranian-supported
3 forces in Syria, and perhaps that they might be intending to
4 remain in Syria as this is resolved. They're concerned
5 about the missile technology they believe maybe transferred
6 from Iran to any of this -- extremist organizations or the
7 Lebanese Hezbollah to their north. And so, we're watching
8 this very closely with them. I agree that a land bridge,
9 you know, between Iran -- through into Syria would not be a
10 good outcome.

11 Senator Perdue: Thank you, sir.

12 Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

13 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

14 Senator Gillibrand.

15 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you so much, General.

16 I want to continue the conversation you're having with
17 my colleague. This week, more than 2500 U.S. personnel are
18 taking part in EUCOM's Juniper Cobra missile defense
19 exercise with the Israeli Defense Forces. According to
20 Israeli media, this year's exercise will simulate a large-
21 scale ballistic missile attack against Israel. Will the
22 Arrow, Iron Dome, and David Sling missile defense system be
23 involved in this exercise? And am I correct that this is
24 the first such exercise since David Sling system went
25 operational in April of last week?

1 General Scaparrotti: The -- this will involve their
2 systems as well as ours, and, in particular, the
3 interoperability of those systems and the interoperability
4 and the connection of our command-and-control systems. In
5 terms of their system, specifically, if it's a new system --
6 this is the first exercise that we've done, but I couldn't
7 comment. I can come back for the record after I look at it.
8 I'm going there this evening to spend a few days as we
9 conduct this exercise.

10 [The information referred to follows:]

11 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Gillibrand: And do you think this exercise can
2 effectively counter some of the threats to Israel?

3 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I think it does. It's a
4 matter of deterrence. It's -- it is making sure that those
5 who may think about doing them harm knows that we have a
6 credible and a expert defense that we can establish rather
7 rapidly.

8 Senator Gillibrand: And have you discussed with Israel
9 our commitment to maintaining their qualitative military
10 edge?

11 General Scaparrotti: Yes. And I support that. And we
12 work very closely. I would -- it's -- in terms of our daily
13 activity, it's one of the closest nations with EUCOM.

14 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

15 Switching gears. Media reported that, on Feb 7-8,
16 hundreds of Russian military contractors were killed when
17 U.S. forces and Kurdish allies repelled an attack against a
18 base in eastern Syria. Based on what you have seen in
19 Europe, how does Russia tend to use military contractors?
20 And what is your assessment of the goal of this attack?
21 From your viewpoint in EUCOM, what do you believe Russia is
22 trying to accomplish in Syria?

23 General Scaparrotti: I won't comment specifically on
24 Syria that you noted. That's in CENTCOM's AOR. I would
25 just say, generally, that Russia is known, through their

1 oligarchs or some businesses, to establish and use private
2 military forces, which is what I'd call them -- private
3 military forces.

4 Senator Gillibrand: I was very interested in your
5 exchange earlier about a Russian cyberattack. And I
6 understand, from many of your colleagues, that this is
7 something that the President has not asked you to do. What
8 recommendations would you make to the President to protect
9 our country from a cyberattack that could harm American's
10 vital infrastructure?

11 General Scaparrotti: First of all, I -- you know, the
12 President wouldn't -- it wouldn't be normal that he'd
13 provide direction directly to me at EUCOM at my level with
14 respect to this topic. It would be CYBERCOM's area. And
15 CYBERCOM's Commander would be the best to give him best
16 military advice. So, to that extent, I'd probably go to
17 Admiral Rogers. Mine would be, if asked for best military
18 advice, is that we continue to develop the capabilities we
19 have. I think we have excellent capabilities. And we need
20 to consider what a deterrent effect we want or need to have.

21 But, I would leave it very generally at that and go to the
22 specifics to the person that he turns to normally, being the
23 Secretary and, within COCOMs, the CYBERCOM Commander.

24 Senator Gillibrand: The NATO Secretary General has
25 said that alliance members agreed that a serious cyberattack

1 threatening critical military and civilian infrastructure
2 could trigger Article 5 of the NATO Treaty in the same way
3 that a conventional military assault would. Is that -- is
4 this a possibility that your forces are training for, in
5 cooperation with our allies? And what can you tell us about
6 any collaboration on this front?

7 General Scaparrotti: Yes. We train. We're a member
8 of NATO. So, within NATO, for example, you know, we are
9 defining the domain, with U.S. as a part of that, and we've
10 actually conducted exercises, one this past year that
11 involved ambiguous cyber activity or attacks, that involved
12 attacks on infrastructure, et cetera, in order to get right
13 at your point. And that is to get better clarity on attacks
14 on infrastructure, when is that of -- you know, an attack on
15 a vital national interest? And then, how do we respond to
16 that? So, there is, both the United States and within NATO
17 at large, work on this very question.

18 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

19 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Senator Inhofe: Senator Scott.

21 Senator Scott: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 And good morning, General. Good to see you again.

23 My concern -- we've had a lot of conversation over the
24 last several weeks about the state of Turkey and the region,
25 and especially as a NATO partner of ours. Much of my

1 concern has been focused on the fact that what used to be a
2 very secular Turkey is moved in the direction of becoming a
3 more religious Turkey, and the cultural shift seems to have
4 had a significant impact on the behavior of Turkey. Can you
5 walk me through your assessment?

6 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think that, in Turkey
7 overall, there is a shift of some note, specifically within
8 the government, perhaps to be a government that's more
9 Islamist, based on its religion, than in the past. And
10 perhaps you might say it's less secular. But, I think it --
11 the outcome of this remains to be seen. Most of this has
12 happened just as a result of an attempted coup. And
13 President Erdogan has taken steps to, in his mind, secure
14 his country and secure his form of government. So, I think
15 we have to watch this and look a little deeper.

16 Having said all of that, I have routine conversations
17 with my counterpart in Turkey and their security officials.
18 We have a close mil-to-mil relationship. They're a valued
19 member as an ally and as a NATO ally. And we're going to
20 continue to develop that relationship and strengthen it.
21 And I think that, too, can have an influence on the
22 government as a whole and -- because they intend -- I am
23 sure, they intend to remain a member of NATO that is based
24 on the Washington Treaty and the values that all of us
25 profess.

1 Senator Scott: Thank you, General.

2 Russia's violated the Open Skies Treaty, refused to
3 implement the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty,
4 and the Vienna document suspended the PMDA while placing
5 outrageous and unreasonable conditions on resuming and
6 undermined the Chemical Weapons Convention through its
7 support to Syria and its chemical weapons program. What
8 conclusions do you draw from this record about the
9 reliability of Vladimir Putin and the Russian government as
10 negotiating partners? And I would just point out that the
11 PMDA, from my research, suggests that the 34 metric tons
12 that we had agreed to dispose of would lead each side to
13 having about 17,000 metric tons, which could create multiple
14 -- thousands and thousands of weapons out of that weapons-
15 grade plutonium.

16 General Scaparrotti: Well, the short answer is, I
17 think, with the Russians, just based on what you walked
18 through -- and it's obvious to us, in terms of their
19 treaties -- is that we -- I believe in the treaty system. I
20 believe in nonproliferation and to continue our weapons
21 control treaties that we have in place. But, we have to
22 verify what they say they're doing. And that's what it's
23 based on. It's not a trust. It's verification.

24 And then, secondly, while they've stepped away from the
25 CFE and others, and a violation of INF, I think we take

1 steps, as this administration is doing, as the Secretary of
2 Defense has laid out, that is using the different levers of
3 power in order to bring them back into compliance with the
4 INF Treaty, in particular. And I think that's the right way
5 to go.

6 I think we had spent some time where we weren't
7 confronting them with either their violations of that treaty
8 or some others, and we need to take a strong stand.

9 Senator Scott: Thank you.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Senator Inhofe: Thank you.

12 Senator Blumenthal.

13 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

14 I have advocated, for some time, strong measures to
15 deter and counter the blatant Russian aggression in Ukraine
16 -- and around the globe, the assault on democracies through
17 cyber and disinformation. But, Ukraine is a blatant ongoing
18 instance of physical force that violates standards of common
19 decency and norms of international law. The obligation of
20 the United States to provide lethal military assistance, I
21 think is clear. I have advocated, for some time, and we've
22 included it in the National Defense Authorization Act, the
23 Department of State has cleared the sale of Javelin antitank
24 missiles to Ukraine, which is a long overdue move to
25 increase Ukraine's defense capabilities. Although lethal,

1 these arms are, essentially, defensive in nature. Would you
2 agree with me that more of these type of weapons are
3 necessary to deter and counter Russian aggression against
4 Ukraine?

5 General Scaparrotti: I think, for what we're providing
6 of those types of weapons right now, I would personally --
7 my best military advice -- say let's put this into play.
8 We've got training, et cetera, that we need to do. And then
9 take a look at the situation from that point. There are
10 more -- there are -- there is more, and there is equipment
11 that they can use effectively that we in EUCOM will continue
12 to advise Congress and provide our best advice for what will
13 help them most.

14 Senator Blumenthal: Let me ask a very simple question,
15 which may be overly simplistic, but -- Are we winning in
16 Ukraine? Aren't the Russians effectively winning in
17 accomplishing their objective?

18 General Scaparrotti: Yeah, that's -- I mean, it's --
19 depends on your definition of "win." I would say that we're
20 not progressing, because our interest there is to resolve
21 this conflict.

22 Senator Blumenthal: And if we're not progressing, we,
23 meaning we and Ukraine, are losing.

24 General Scaparrotti: I don't know that I would say
25 we're losing. I would say, again, we're not progressing.

1 We're more or less at a stalemate in where we're at. If you
2 look at Ukraine -- the reason I would say we're not losing
3 is, Ukraine's forces, for instance, are steadily getting
4 stronger and much more confident. The nation itself is --

5 Senator Inhofe: Excuse me, General, let me interrupt
6 for just a moment. Forgive me for this, but --

7 Senator Scott, presiding.

8 Go ahead.

9 General Scaparrotti: And the government itself, in
10 terms of the reforms that they want and we expect as well,
11 is moving forward, not at the pace we want, but it is moving
12 forward. So, I said -- so, even within that conflict still
13 residing, I think we're making progress in important ways,
14 and we should continue to press in that direction.

15 Senator Blumenthal: We're making progress, do you
16 think, in countering the endemic corruption that has
17 existed? Is that what you meant by "reforms"?

18 General Scaparrotti: That's part of it, yes. You
19 know, they just voted for their anticorruption law, the
20 first vote of three they think they have to take. That law
21 is not everything we wanted in it, but it's a step in the
22 right direction, as well.

23 Senator Blumenthal: Because 2 years ago, at this
24 hearing exactly -- this kind of hearing -- I asked your
25 predecessor, General Breedlove, about the issue of

1 corruption. And he acknowledged that there was a lot to be
2 done, it was a very unfortunate problem. And I wonder
3 whether there's more that can be done by your command to
4 counter it.

5 General Scaparrotti: It is still a problem, as I just
6 noted, in the law. Between us and our interagency,
7 particularly State, we continue to press. We've got -- you
8 know, we have personnel both in the mission there with the
9 Embassy, but also a multinational joint committee that meets
10 regularly, works with State and with the other nations that
11 are involved, as well, in progressing both capability-
12 building and the reform of their security institution. We
13 need to continue to press in that regard. I think that
14 there is more that can be done, in terms of other assets
15 that we can bring to bear.

16 Senator Blumenthal: I just want to note, finally, the
17 -- because I'm almost out of time -- the FY19 budget request
18 includes increases for the European Deterrence Initiative
19 and the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative. There is
20 200 million for the Ukraine Security Initiative, 50 million
21 above the President's request from the previous year. In
22 addition, the President's asked for 6.5 billion for EDI, 1.7
23 billion more than last year. I assume -- I hope that you
24 would agree these investments in our defensive capability
25 are important in Ukraine, because they demonstrate resolve

1 against Russian aggression there, but also in Europe
2 generally and around the world.

3 General Scaparrotti: I agree. They're foundational in
4 Ukraine to the activity we have there and the progress that
5 both we and their nation, and particularly their forces, are
6 making.

7 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

8 Thank you, General. And thank you for your service.

9 General Scaparrotti: You're welcome.

10 Senator Scott [presiding]: Thank you, Senator.

11 Just a couple more questions for you, General.

12 Angus, do you have any questions?

13 Senator King: I just want to compliment the Chairman
14 on his meteoric rise.

15 [Laughter.]

16 Senator Scott: As fast as you go up, you typically go
17 back down, by the way, so you may see me in the corner.
18 Yes, yes, yes. Realize that.

19 General, in my office, you and I had a robust
20 conversation about the resources that you might need to make
21 sure that we have the quickest response -- rapid response is
22 what I called it, not what you called it -- in your command
23 and your responsibilities. Can you perhaps remind me of the
24 issues or the items that you would want to see included in
25 the FY19 budget so as to make sure that you have all the

1 resources necessary to meet what we expect you to
2 accomplish? And, second, the problem of the anti-access
3 aerial denial, or the A2AD, is a big one. But, if you can
4 overcome it, it may help us avoid the escalate-to-dominate
5 scenario. Which items in the budget request specifically
6 help you become -- deal with the A2AD problem?

7 General Scaparrotti: Yeah, thank you. I'll give you a
8 general answer --

9 Senator Scott: Yes.

10 General Scaparrotti: -- Senator, here. And if you
11 want more detail, I'd be happy to do this in a classified
12 means, as well.

13 First of all, in terms of resources, generally if you
14 look at our budget proposal and the way it's being used, I'd
15 start by saying that, of those requirements that I have had,
16 that this budget and the FYDP gets after virtually every one
17 of those areas in some means. So, I'm very appreciative to
18 Congress for that. If I were to categorize them, I would
19 start, as I said before, with command-control computers,
20 information, surveillance, and reconnaissance, C4ISR, areas
21 that have to do with integrated air and missile defense.
22 There are, across each of the services, specific areas that
23 I could give you in a classified vein. And then, lastly,
24 munitions.

25 So, as you look at A2AD, or the anti-access area

1 denial, problem set with respect to Russia, the combination
2 of the services' requirements that I have laid out, as well
3 as precision munitions, helps me with that second threat
4 that you noticed -- that you noted, of A2AD. The
5 combination of those, together, I can underline those
6 systems.

7 Senator Scott: Thank you, General.

8 Thank you, General, for your time. Hope you have a
9 great day.

10 [Whereupon, at 11:26 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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