

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
UNITED STATES AFRICA COMMAND AND UNITED STATES
SOUTHERN COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE
AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2020 AND THE
FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Thursday, February 7, 2019

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 10:16 a.m. in
13 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James M.
14 Inhofe, chairman of the committee, presiding.

15 Members Present: Senators Inhofe [presiding], Wicker,
16 Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Sullivan, Perdue, McSally, Scott,
17 Blackburn, Hawley, Reed, Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal,
18 Kaine, King, Peters, Duckworth, and Jones.

1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MIKE ROUNDS, U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM SOUTH DAKOTA

3 Senator Rounds: The committee will come to order.

4 I -- good morning. On behalf of Chairman Inhofe, he
5 has indicated that he wants to start these on time, and
6 asked if we would begin with opening statements. He should
7 be here shortly.

8 The committee meets today to receive testimony on
9 United States Africa Command and Southern Command. I
10 welcome our witnesses and thank them for their service:
11 General Thomas Waldhauser, Commander, U.S. Africa Command;
12 Admiral Craig Faller, Commander of U.S. Southern Command.

13 General Waldhauser, this is likely your last hearing
14 before this committee. I want to thank you for your nearly
15 43 years of dedicated service to this Nation.

16 It's also fitting to note that 12 years ago yesterday,
17 February 6th, 2007, President George W. Bush directed the
18 creation of U.S. Africa Command. It was the right decision,
19 and AFRICOM continues to play a vital role in the defense of
20 our Nation.

21 This committee's top priority is to ensure the
22 effective implementation of the National Defense Strategy,
23 which identifies competition with China and Russia as the
24 central challenge to U.S. prosperity and security. Both
25 AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM should be viewed as key fronts in our

1 global campaign to compete with China and Russia. In both
2 of your areas of responsibility, China and Russia are
3 increasingly active, using economic and military means to
4 expand their influence and challenge U.S. interests.

5 And while, on behalf of the Chairman, we agree with the
6 need to prioritize our efforts against China and Russia, we
7 cannot take pressure off of terrorist groups like ISIS and
8 al-Qaeda. Despite operational setbacks, these groups
9 continue to control territory in Africa and still pose a
10 very real threat to U.S. interests and our partners.

11 Lastly, while the challenges in your areas of
12 responsibility are on the rise, both of your commands have
13 long suffered from resource shortfalls. We look forward to
14 you to explain how these shortfalls increase risk to your
15 forces and impact your ability to execute the National
16 Defense Strategy.

17 Want to remind our members that Admiral Faller and
18 General Waldhauser will be available at SVC-217, immediately
19 following the open hearing that we're in today, to discuss
20 any classified matters that may come up today.

21 And, with that, Ranking Member.

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

3 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Rounds.

4 And let me join you in thanking our witnesses for
5 appearing today to provide an update on our security
6 situation and the U.S. military activities in your respected
7 areas of responsibility. Both of you are leading commands
8 during very challenging times, and we thank you for your
9 continued service. And please also extend our gratitude to
10 the men and women under your command for their outstanding
11 service and dedication. And let me join Senator Rounds,
12 General Waldhauser, in thanking you for your distinguished
13 service to the Nation in the Marine Corps.

14 I'm very concerned about the growing Chinese and
15 Russian influence in both Latin America and Africa. China
16 is leveraging its economic might and influence to gain
17 access to ports and loaning large sums of money for
18 infrastructure projects, many of which are not economically
19 viable and will leave these countries beholden to Beijing.
20 Russia is engaging in massive disinformation campaigns to
21 undermine U.S. influence and propping up authoritarian
22 regimes in both regions. Both of you are tasked to counter
23 Russia and Chinese influence with limited funds, equipment,
24 and people, as many of the Department's resources are being
25 diverted to the INDOPACOM and EUCOM AORs. I would like to

1 hear how this implementation of the National Defense
2 Strategy has affected the resources that you have to counter
3 Russian and Chinese influence in these critical regions, as
4 well as any additional resources you might need for this
5 vital task.

6 In Africa, as in South and Central America, we are
7 working with local and international partners to advance our
8 shared security goals. However, the complex and often
9 interlocking challenges to stability will not be solved by
10 military means alone. Indeed, many significant issues,
11 including rapid population growth, demographic changes,
12 famine, and migration, are long term and multidimensional in
13 nature and require whole-of-government policies that take an
14 equally long-term view of investment and engagement in the
15 region.

16 In December, the administration announced a new U.S.
17 strategy for Africa that highlighted the importance of the
18 region to the U.S. economic interests and the growing
19 competition with China and Russia throughout the continent.
20 However, the administration has repeatedly submitted budgets
21 that slash critical aid dollars and reduced engagement
22 across the AOR. General Waldhauser, I hope you will discuss
23 the importance of long-term engagement in Africa and the
24 types of investment we should be prioritizing to best
25 position ourselves for strategic competition in your AOR.

1 Admiral Faller, you also have a difficult problem set.
2 Narcotrafficking has flooded central and South America with
3 illicit funds that exacerbate rampant corruption, especially
4 among police forces. Poor economic conditions and a lack of
5 citizen security has led to a humanitarian crisis that
6 forces families to flee to look for better living
7 conditions. Authoritarian governments propped up with
8 Russian and Chinese support are undermining democratic
9 values and destabilizing the region.

10 Despite all of these problems, I do want to note that
11 there are some bright spots. We have several capable
12 partners in the region, such as Colombia, Peru, and
13 Argentina, who are willing to work with us and are now net
14 exporters of peace and security.

15 On a final note, Venezuela is an unfolding crisis. I
16 am hopeful that there will be a peaceful and democratic
17 transition in Venezuela led by the Venezuelan people and
18 supported by the international community. It has been
19 terrible to watch the starvation of the Venezuelan people
20 and the destruction of the Venezuelan economy by Maduro and
21 his regime. Current efforts to support interim President
22 Juan Guaido are being led by the State Department and
23 Treasury. Congress must be consulted if there is any
24 military planning action beyond the current planning for the
25 evacuation of U.S. citizens and embassy personnel. I know

1 the events on the ground are changing day by day, and it is
2 impossible to tell what event or set of events will trigger
3 Maduro's departure. I'd like to hear any updates you might
4 have on what you expect in the weeks to come.

5 Again, thank you, to our witnesses.

6 And, Senator Rounds, thank you.

7 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Senator Reed.

8 General Waldhauser, would you like to care -- would
9 care to begin with your opening statement? And your full
10 statement will be made a part of the record.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL THOMAS D. WALDHAUSER, USMC,
2 COMMANDER, UNITED STATES AFRICA COMMAND

3 General Waldhauser: Thank you very much, Senator
4 Rounds. Appreciate it.

5 Senator Rounds, Ranking Member Reed, distinguished
6 members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to
7 update you on the efforts of United States Africa Command.
8 I am honored to be here this morning with Admiral Faller and
9 discuss many of the similar challenges we face in both the
10 AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM areas of responsibility.

11 I would like to begin this morning by remembering the
12 soldier we lost on the continent during operations in
13 Somalia this past year. I offer my sincere condolences to
14 the family of Staff Sergeant Alexander Conrad, United States
15 Army. We honor his commitment, service, dedication to duty,
16 and dedication to our country.

17 We also honor the sacrifice of our African partners,
18 who paid the ultimate price across the continent this year,
19 as well, to bring security, stability, and prosperity to
20 Africa.

21 Additionally this morning, I would like to thank our
22 families, servicemembers, and civilian workforce, especially
23 those who serve on the continent, oftentimes in remote
24 locations, for their professionalism and commitment to
25 AFRICOM's mission.

1 2019 marks the beginning of AFRICOM's second decade as
2 a combatant command. As we enter this period, we have
3 adapted our strategy for Africa based on updated national
4 guidance, which includes the President's 2017 National
5 Security Strategy and the 2018 Secretary of Defense National
6 Defense Strategy. These documents have shaped the focus of
7 the armed services, outlining broad guidance to enhance
8 readiness for high-end combat while instructing the
9 combatant commands, among other things, to strengthen
10 alliances and attract new partners.

11 The recently released U.S. Strategy Towards Africa, the
12 Department of Defense Strategy for Africa, and the National
13 Strategy for Counterterrorism refocused our whole-of-
14 government approach in the era of great-power competition to
15 advance United States influence and maintain strategic
16 access not only in Africa, but around the globe.

17 Taken comprehensively, the overall U.S. strategic
18 interests in Africa are very clear: prevent the undermining
19 of our alliances or destabilization of African nations,
20 counter violent extremist organizations, decrease the
21 potential for Africa to become a failed continent, protect
22 U.S. citizens and the homeland, and advance American
23 influence, including economic opportunities and
24 transactions.

25 To underscore the strategy for disrupting extremists,

1 we remain committed to synchronizing our kinetic
2 authorities. Persistent pressure on al-Shabaab, ISIS, and
3 al-Qaeda-associated groups remains necessary to prevent this
4 destabilization of African nations. U.S. strategic
5 interests on the continent cannot be solely advanced through
6 the use of military force alone. As such, AFRICOM utilizes
7 the military tool, in concert with diplomacy and development
8 efforts, to help negate the drivers of conflict and create
9 opportunity.

10 In Somalia, we work closely with the Ambassador, now
11 permanently stationed in Mogadishu alongside with the USAID
12 Mission Director, to help the Somalis assume responsibility
13 for their own security and own prosperity.

14 In Libya, our counterterrorism commitment supports the
15 U.S. Charge, who works closely with the international
16 community to prevent civil conflict and facilitate the
17 political reconciliation process.

18 Additionally, our engagements, exercises, and
19 activities throughout Africa are designed to increase U.S.
20 influence, strengthen local security, and ensure our status
21 as the preferred security partner. For example, in East
22 Africa, our programs continue to modernize partner security
23 forces, as in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, who also export
24 security and contribute forces to the African Union mission
25 in Somalia.

1 In North Africa, we have seen significant return on
2 investment with Tunisia and Morocco, demonstrating the
3 capacity to absorb advanced U.S. programs and to lead
4 security-related exercises and operations.

5 In the western Sahel and Lake Chad region, AFRICOM
6 provides training, advice, and assistance to the western
7 African nations, which make up the G5 Sahel organization, as
8 well as those who make up the Multinational Joint Task
9 Force, working to contain violent extremism and secure the
10 borders of the Lake Chad Basin countries.

11 Our partner networks and influence ensures U.S. access
12 for U.S. forces in times of crisis to protect our personnel
13 and facilities on the continent, such as in Djibouti, a
14 location which is -- which has strategic significance to
15 multiple combatant commands.

16 In conclusion, the most important use of the military
17 tool on the African continent is where our engagements
18 emphasize relationships and capacity-building. And I am
19 proud to lead a team of professionals who have built a --
20 strong and trusting relationships with our African partners,
21 U.S. interagency, and the international community to foster
22 security, stability, and prosperity in Africa.

23 On behalf of the servicemembers, the civilian
24 employees, and families of United States Africa Command,
25 thank you for your support. And thank you for the

1 opportunity to be with you here this morning. I look
2 forward to your questions.

3 [The prepared statement of General Waldhauser follows:]

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1 Chairman Inhofe [presiding]: Thank you, Senator

2 Waldhauser.

3 Senator Faller.

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1 STATEMENT OF ADMIRAL CRAIG S. FALLER, USN, COMMANDER,
2 UNITED STATES SOUTHERN COMMAND

3 Admiral Faller: Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed,
4 thank you for the opportunity to testify before you today
5 with my shipmate, General Waldhauser. And thank you for the
6 steadfast support you provide our men and women every day.

7 I'm joined today by my wife, Martha, who is
8 passionately committed to serving our military families and
9 ensuring their readiness and welfare. Also with me are
10 SOUTHCOM's Command Sergeant Major Brian Zickefoose, my eyes
11 and ears, representing the backbone of our military, our
12 noncommissioned officers, and Master Chief Stacie U'Ren, our
13 dedicated gender advisor. Sergeant Major, Master Chief, and
14 our human rights team work together to build professionalism
15 both within our SOUTHCOM team and with our partners.
16 Professional forces have legitimacy within their ranks and
17 their populations. Professional ready forces build trust.

18 Western hemisphere is our shared home. It's our
19 neighborhood. We're connected to the nations in Latin
20 America and the Caribbean by history, culture, and
21 geography. My headquarters in Doral, Florida, it takes me
22 longer to travel to D.C. than it does to many of the
23 countries in our area of responsibility. We're connected in
24 every domain: sea, air, space, and cyber and land. Our
25 security and prosperity are inextricably linked. When our

1 neighbors succeed, we succeed. And when our neighbors are
2 threatened, we are threatened. Our partnerships in this
3 region are critical to the layered defense of our homeland
4 and to our collective ability to meet complex global
5 challenges. Ultimately, we want enemies to fear us, friends
6 to partner with us, and the western hemisphere to shine as a
7 beacon of peace, prosperity, and potential.

8 To ensure the security of the homeland, SOUTHCOM works
9 closely with interagency teammates: the Department of
10 State, USAID, Department of Homeland Security, and the
11 Department of Justice. Teamwork within the Defense
12 Department, especially with Northern Command and the U.S.
13 Coast Guard, is also critical to mission accomplishment.

14 Over the past 2 months, I've traveled to Colombia,
15 Trinidad and Tobago, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador to
16 get a firsthand view of the opportunities and challenges
17 that directly impact the security of this hemisphere.
18 Criminal organizations, narcotraffickers, illegal
19 immigration, violent extremists, corruption, and weak
20 governments are principal among those challenges.

21 The most disturbing insight, however, has been the
22 degree to which external state actors, especially Russia,
23 China, and Iran, are expanding their influence in the
24 western hemisphere. Russia, in particular, enables actions
25 in Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Cuba that threaten hemispheric

1 security and prosperity. And as a leading state sponsor of
2 terrorism in the world, Iran's activities in this hemisphere
3 are concerning.

4 Venezuela. The situation in Venezuela is dire.
5 Maduro's illegitimate government starves its people by using
6 food as a weapon, while corrupt generals are rewarded with
7 money from illegal drug trafficking, oil profits, and
8 businesses, all at the expense of the population and other
9 -- and the rank-and-file military. Migration out of
10 Venezuela is now over 300 million, creating a crisis for our
11 friends in Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru. While
12 Russia and Cuba and China prop up the Maduro dictatorship,
13 the remainder of the world has united. SOUTHCOM is
14 supporting diplomatic efforts, and we are prepared to
15 protect U.S. personnel and diplomatic facilities, if
16 necessary.

17 I saw, firsthand, the impacts of this humanitarian
18 crisis in Venezuela when I visited the United States naval
19 ship Comfort. The solidarity and compassion displayed by
20 Comfort's international medical team made a lasting
21 difference in the lives of thousands. The United States of
22 America provided Comfort as part of our enduring promise to
23 the hemisphere, while Russia flew nuclear-capable bombers.
24 Who would you want as your friend? And who would you trust?

25 Building strong partnerships is the best way to counter

1 threats and turn the challenges of our hemisphere into
2 opportunities. In this hemisphere, our neighborhood, a
3 little goes a long way. We need the right, focused,
4 consistent military, education, and presence. We cannot
5 achieve positive results and influence outcomes without
6 being on the playing field.

7 Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Reed, thank you again for
8 the opportunity to testify today. SOUTHCOM team -- our
9 civilians, military members, and our families -- appreciate
10 the support Congress has provided us. We will continue to
11 honor the trust you and our fellow citizens have placed in
12 us. I look forward to your questions.

13 [The prepared statement of Admiral Faller follows:]

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1 Chairman Inhofe [presiding]: All right. Thank you
2 very much.

3 First of all, let me apologize for being late. I had a
4 very small part to play in the National Prayer Breakfast, so
5 I had to choose Jesus over you guys.

6 [Laughter.]

7 Chairman Inhofe: But, that's behind us now, so we're
8 ready to get back to work.

9 First of all, let me just go ahead and -- with the
10 areas that you're working so hard in. I -- I've been
11 concerned about China for a long time, because we saw it
12 coming. In fact, in Djibouti, that was the first time --
13 it's my information, anyway -- in Djibouti is the first time
14 that China actually did devote its attention to actually
15 starting a function in a country outside its city limits.
16 And that happened in Djibouti. Now they're as far south in
17 Africa as Tanzania. They're making things happen. And, I
18 mean, everywhere you go, the same thing, they say, "America
19 tells us what we need, and we -- China gives them what they
20 need." And they have also -- you know, I -- we're all
21 committed to the IMET program. They actually, in China, as
22 you and I discussed in my office, the -- for the first time,
23 they've invited 50 -- 50 of the leaders showed up in China,
24 in Beijing, out of 52 nations, talking about how much the --
25 how close they want to be with them and trying -- what

1 they're trying to do is expand the IMET program, that we've
2 been so successful in, into China. So, anyway, that's
3 something that is there, and I'm sure you're feeling some of
4 the effects of that.

5 I'd ask both of you -- because it's happening also in
6 SOUTHCOM, what kind of -- what are the effects right now
7 that you're seeing that -- from China that weren't there in
8 just -- until recently? Starting with you, General.

9 General Waldhauser: Thank you, Senator Inhofe.

10 You know, it's interesting about Djibouti. It is the
11 first overseas base that China has developed.

12 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah, the first one. Not -- people
13 are not aware of that, that this is the first base that
14 they've established outside of their city limits.

15 General Waldhauser: That's correct. And, you know, it
16 puts us in a very unique position, because we have a Chinese
17 base roughly several miles from the front gate of our
18 location in Djibouti. So, we have some interesting
19 engagements with safety flight, weapons training on the
20 ranges, and so forth. So, we have a requirement to work
21 with them to work through some of those issues.

22 But, that said, overall on the continent, China has
23 been there for quite some time, and they have worked at this
24 relationship. What we try to do, from the AFRICOM or DOD
25 perspective, is try to show that we are the best partner --

1 the type of training we give them, the weapons, perhaps,
2 that are sold by the United States of high quality -- and
3 try to make sure that our influence remains. It's a
4 difficult task.

5 You mentioned the issue of all the security chiefs into
6 Beijing. You know, as an anecdote -- I have no way to prove
7 this, but in April of 2017, we, in AFRICOM, invited all the
8 chiefs of defense to Stuttgart for a conference. And we had
9 about 40 or so turn up. I believe the Chinese read our
10 playbook, and I believe, after that particular engagement,
11 they saw it, and they wanted to make sure that they were on
12 the same playing field as we were.

13 But, moreover, I would say that, in addition to the
14 Chinese defense -- or their defense group, in September of
15 this year, China had a forum for cooperation between China
16 and Africa, where over 50 of the heads of state of Africa
17 went to Beijing, and where President Xi rolled out \$60
18 billion or so -- \$60 billion or so of loans and grants and
19 programs.

20 So, the Chinese work at the relationship, and that's
21 one of the things that we try to combat in AFRICOM by just
22 being good partners.

23 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah. It's been my experience in the
24 continent that China never comes in unless there's something
25 they can gain from it. And, of course, they use their own

1 labor, and they're not doing that much of a benefit. But,
2 nonetheless, they have resources. And I can't figure out
3 where it all comes from, but much more than we seem to.

4 And the same thing, you don't hear so much in SOUTHCOM
5 about the activity of China. Just real briefly, just what
6 are your thoughts on that?

7 Admiral Faller: Senator, in SOUTHCOM, they're invested
8 in over 56 ports. I recently returned from a trip to
9 Central America, and my small team, the entire hotel floor
10 right below ours was completely booked by Chinese. They're
11 offering schools, all expense paid, 13 days for a half-day
12 school, no strings attached, and cash for the countries to
13 do what they want. Again, our -- so, they're there, and
14 they're there in force, and they have a long-term vision,
15 economically and militarily. Our best counter is education
16 and being there. The IMET program is huge for our partners.
17 They want to come to the United States. They want to go to
18 our schools. Our schools remain the world's best and
19 something to emulate.

20 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah. This is my own opinion, but I
21 think some up here agrees with this. Of all the coms that
22 we have, AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM are the two that are the most
23 under-resourced. And I'd like to have you be very blunt on
24 -- just very briefly, do you agree with that? And what do
25 we need to do to correct it?

1 General Waldhauser: Senator Inhofe, I do agree that
2 we're under-resourced. However, we do make the best and the
3 most of what we have.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah, I know that.

5 General Waldhauser: Certainly, with reconnaissance
6 assets, ISR assets, Medevac assets, and also non-episodic,
7 but where we can count on --

8 Chairman Inhofe: Of those you just named, which are
9 the least resourced right now? ISR --

10 General Waldhauser: As any COCOM would say here, we
11 would prefer more ISR for our counter-VEO fight.

12 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah. Yeah.

13 Do you agree with that, Admiral?

14 Admiral Faller: I would agree with that. We could
15 also use some naval assets, as well, Senator. I know our
16 Navy needs a bigger navy. We need some of that.

17 Chairman Inhofe: I understand that. You're doing
18 great work.

19 Senator Reed.

20 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
21 Again, gentlemen, thank you for your service.

22 Admiral Faller, with respect to Venezuela, your views
23 would be very much appreciated, but there's a presumption
24 that the military, at this point, is the key, sort of, power
25 base for Maduro, and that, as long as they stay with him, he

1 will be incentivized to stay in Venezuela. Is that
2 accurate, from your perspective? And what are we doing to
3 try -- and what are the Venezuelans -- the legitimate
4 President, what is he trying to do to pull the military
5 away?

6 Admiral Faller: Senator, Venezuela has about 2,000
7 generals, more than all of NATO combined. And a majority of
8 them are on the payroll of Maduro via illicit drug
9 trafficking and corrupt businesses. And that's what he's
10 using to buy their loyalty and their protection. In
11 addition, Cuba, as I mentioned in my opening statement,
12 pretty much owns the security around Maduro, and is deeply
13 entrenched in the intelligence service. And we can go into
14 more detail in closed session. And so, that remains the
15 center of gravity for Maduro.

16 The legitimate government of President Guaido has
17 offered amnesty and a place for the military forces, most of
18 which we think would be loyal to the constitution, not to a
19 dictator, a place to go. And I think the diplomacy path is
20 that path that we're trying to support.

21 Senator Reed: Thank you.

22 Over many, many years, I have had complaints about the
23 human rights abuses in Central -- Honduras and Guatemala,
24 particularly. In fact, there's a report, regionally, that
25 -- provided by the Sisters of Mercy, that a former member of

1 the Honduran Congress who's been in prison for, in a press
2 conference, suggesting who might have been involved in the
3 killing of Berta Caseras, who was a prominent
4 environmentalist in Honduras. And this is one example. So,
5 how are we conditioning our security assistance and our
6 human rights training in these countries to promote the rule
7 of law?

8 Admiral Faller: During my recent trip, Senator, I
9 emphasized professionalism as the key to being a legitimate
10 force. And professionalism, a big part of that is human
11 rights. It's like blood running through your veins. If
12 you're not legitimate to your people, you're not going to
13 have a force that is going to, ultimately, secure that --
14 the population. We had those discussions with all the
15 leaders of those countries, the chiefs of their defense.
16 And we have a human rights team that goes in there and
17 performs workshops. Part of the steps that must be taken by
18 the Embassy and our country teams to certify the deliverance
19 of those aides includes a certification that they're going
20 to go to vetted forces and forces that have complied. So,
21 we're looking at that every day, Senator. It's very
22 important to our efforts.

23 Senator Reed: Let me turn to General Waldhauser. But,
24 there's a -- I think, an issue that both of your AORs share.
25 It's under-resourcing, both military, but also on the -- to

1 the inside -- the AID, State Department, et cetera. And
2 when you talk about capacity-building, both of you are very
3 eloquent and very focused, but I've traveled through
4 AFRICOM, as you know, General Waldhauser. You were --
5 hosted when I returned. In Somalia, one of the reasons al-
6 Shabaab is so influential is that they're able to collect
7 taxes, administer justice, provide basic public services,
8 the civilian capacity. And so, the question here now is
9 that, you know, all -- even with all the military effort we
10 put in, if we don't have the civilian capacity component, I
11 don't think your mission is going to succeed. So, can --
12 you can start and -- you have the similar problems, I think,
13 in South America, also.

14 General Waldhauser: Senator, thank you.

15 To just provide some context, you know, today, since
16 the first time since 1991, we have a USAID Mission Director
17 in Mogadishu with the Ambassador. Now, this is a very
18 important step, because, in December of 2017, USAID signed a
19 -- over-\$300 million compact with the country of Djibouti.
20 This is very significant. There are issues of education,
21 agriculture, of government business, and so forth. And so,
22 it's very important now that we have an Ambassador in the
23 country, alongside with a senior USAID rep, who can oversee
24 and synchronize those development efforts and make sure that
25 the return on investment of that \$300 million is well spent.

1 Senator Reed: But, that is a good example of how it's
2 working, but there are many more examples where we don't
3 have the resources, we don't have Ambassadors. The
4 Ambassador in Mogadishu arrived, what, a few months ago,
5 finally, after years? So, I mean, there is this
6 complementary civilian-capacity issue that, if we don't get
7 right, you can do your jobs very well, and we will not
8 succeed. So --

9 Admiral Faller, your points? Because there are many of
10 the same situations in South America and Latin America.

11 Admiral Faller: Exactly the same situation. The
12 military needs to be the small "m" in support of the big
13 diplomacy and the big economic "e." And I see that, where
14 it's working. An example would be in El Salvador. We've
15 made some significant progress in the reduction of violence.
16 And this has been by targeting in really bad neighborhoods,
17 some 50 locations, where USAID comes in with public and
18 private partnerships and partnership with the government.
19 And we're there in small presence to connect those vetted
20 police force with the military.

21 Senator Reed: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 Thank you, gentlemen.

23 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah.

24 I think we're all aware that we're going to have a
25 closed session after this. So, anything that gets into an

1 area that's more appropriate in a closed session, you can
2 pass that on to that one.

3 Senator Rounds.

4 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 General Waldhauser, I'm just curious. In your opening
6 statement for the record regarding Djibouti, you note that
7 our continued access and the ability to use, in an unimpeded
8 basis, the Doraleh Container Port is critical to our
9 logistical efforts in and around East Africa. Given China's
10 increased presence within the port complex, do you have any
11 concerns that our access and usage could be at risk, short
12 or long term?

13 General Waldhauser: Senator Rounds, thank you.

14 You know, last year at this time when I testified,
15 Djibouti had just taken that port over from the UAE. Now,
16 there's been some international court issues of
17 adjudication. I won't get into that today. But, the
18 Djiboutians have run that port now for over a year. Based
19 on data that we get from the Embassy, the Djiboutians have,
20 quite frankly, done a better job, been more efficient and
21 have had better throughput than when the Emirates ran the
22 port. I have spent time directly with President Guelleh,
23 talked with him and with the Ambassador -- our Ambassador
24 there, and spoke with him about our concern that we need
25 unimpeded access. Because it's no secret that roughly 98

1 percent of the logistics support for Djibouti, as well as
2 Somalia and East Africa, come through that port. That port
3 is one of five entities in the overall Djiboutian port. And
4 so, our access there is necessary and required.

5 We have the word from President Guelleh that we will
6 always have access there. You -- and they're -- have no
7 intention of selling out to China. Those are his words.
8 And his actions, thus far, have backed that up, so I have no
9 reason not to believe that.

10 But, the bottom line is, I still remain concerned about
11 our access there, because if we were denied access or had
12 limited access, it would have a significant impact on our
13 activities in East Africa.

14 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

15 I'm also curious. I want to just change subjects a
16 little bit. You made a comment in your statement for the
17 record pertaining to Algeria. You note that U.S. relations
18 with Algeria continue to foster cooperation and further
19 regional stability. Can you give us some examples of what
20 AFRICOM can do to foster the U.S.-Algerian security
21 relationship?

22 And I just want your thoughts, also, with regard to the
23 security implications of the Tindouf refugee camps for
24 Algeria. That refugee camp has been there for 40 years, and
25 there clearly is an issue there that we -- I've been there

1 once, and I plan on being there again. I'm just curious,
2 what's your thoughts about that situation? How big of an
3 issue is that for security for Algeria, who clearly is
4 allowing these folks to be there, and they're providing
5 humanitarian aid at this time? And I'm presuming that we're
6 offering some assistance there, as well.

7 General Waldhauser: So, let me start by talking a
8 little bit about our relationship with Algeria. And, first
9 of all, I would say that the Russians' weapon sales on the
10 continent, that's one of their number-one customers. They
11 sell high-end weapons to them -- ships, submarines, that
12 type of thing. So, the Russians, who sell the majority of
13 equipment on the continent, Algeria remains a big partner of
14 theirs.

15 That said, I've personally visited Algeria, met with
16 senior officials there, and the AFRICOM relationship is one
17 that is -- a crawl-walk-run stage. We have limited
18 engagements, but we work some issues with equipment and
19 repairs, we have visits periodically. We've participated in
20 some of these D-Day activities, and so forth. So, although
21 it's an arm's-length relationship, we do all we can to
22 continue to foster that.

23 Now, with regard to the refugee camps, you know, on the
24 continent, 12.3 million internally displaced people are all
25 over the continent. This is -- has a lot to do with

1 conflict, it has a lot to do with famine, drought, and the
2 like. And all these particular camps require a lot of care
3 and the ability for our NGOs, our nongovernmental
4 organizations, to work there freely. This has been a
5 significant issue over the last few years, because many --
6 some of the terrorist groups don't adhere to the rules of
7 war or the laws of war with regards to NGOs. So, these
8 camps, they -- they're perpetuated all over the continent,
9 and the one in Algeria, though, I'm not directly familiar
10 with.

11 Senator Rounds: Okay. Well, I understand that the --
12 it has to do with relationships between Algeria and Morocco,
13 challenges for the group of people that have been literally
14 out of their -- what they consider to be their homeland for
15 nearly 40 years now. And it seems to me that, at some stage
16 of the game, some additional attention to that would be
17 appropriate. And I'm not sure whether it starts with you or
18 with the State Department, but most certainly it's an item
19 that I think should be of interest.

20 And, Admiral Faller, I'm just curious. You mentioned
21 that, most certainly, the U.S. Navy could use some
22 additional assets. On your wish list, if you were to
23 request additional resources, specifically what would be the
24 resource that would be number one on your list of requested
25 items or equipment?

1 Admiral Faller: Senator, the additional ISR, maritime
2 patrol aircraft, helicopters, coupled with ships. So, we
3 look forward -- the Navy plans to deploy a littoral combat
4 ship later this year. That's mission fit for the kind of
5 missions that we'd have down there, which would involve
6 partnering with nations, training -- humanitarian
7 assistance, possibly, but also the drug interdiction. So,
8 that would be number one, top of my list, sir.

9 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Rounds.

12 Senator Shaheen.

13 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 Thank you both very much for your many years of
15 service.

16 General Waldhauser, we will miss you. I'm sure you
17 won't necessarily miss coming before this committee,
18 however.

19 You reference, in your written statement, General
20 Waldhauser, the Women, Peace, and Security Initiative. And
21 in the 2019 Defense budget, we included \$4 million in
22 funding for full-time gender advisors. I was pleased,
23 Admiral Faller, that you introduced your gender advisor, who
24 is here this morning. But, AFRICOM has been commended as a
25 leader in implementing the Woman, Peace, and Security

1 Initiative. Can you talk about what you have seen, and the
2 success of this initiative, and how you've see it -- seen it
3 be helpful in Africa?

4 General Waldhauser: I think -- thank you, Senator
5 Shaheen -- I think the strategy we've applied over the last
6 few years is just: take little things and keep moving
7 forward. So, for example, out of the AFRICOM headquarters,
8 we run a program every year, where we bring about 15 to 20
9 females from the African continent and take them all over
10 the United States to talk to various military leaders, and
11 so forth, to give them, basically, a leadership seminar. We
12 also have seen growth -- for example, we have -- we run
13 communications seminars in Capo Verde, which is an island
14 off of western Africa. The number of females who have come
15 to those particular engagements has increased significantly
16 over the last few years.

17 You also have an example of -- we have a Flintlock
18 Operation, which is a Special Operations main exercise of
19 the year, which, by the way, will start here later this
20 month in Burkina Faso. Last year, when it was in Niger,
21 USAID was able to bring together leader -- women leaders,
22 business leaders, bring them to this exercise, and have a
23 discussion, in a forum with military members, about women
24 and peace and what women can contribute.

25 The bottom line is, we've -- we kept chipping away at

1 small programs. We think they're having an impact. And
2 we're pretty proud of how well we do.

3 Senator Shaheen: Well, I agree. I think you're to be
4 commended. Can you talk about what kind of impact you see?
5 Why does this make a difference?

6 General Waldhauser: Well, I think, first of all, it's
7 just exposure. I mean, to let the -- to see that, you know,
8 a mixed-gender military is a better military. And with
9 various -- you know, we have a large continent, with
10 different countries and different cultures, and so forth,
11 and it exposes them to our leadership, it exposes the
12 African military male leaders to what the female can bring,
13 if you will, to the military. So, I think, from that
14 perspective -- it's really a bottoms-up approach.

15 Senator Shaheen: Great.

16 Admiral Faller, I want to switch topics, because we are
17 still struggling with the opioid epidemic here in America.
18 And New Hampshire has had, consistently, unfortunately, one
19 of the highest overdose death rates in the country from
20 opioids. And much of what we're seeing in New Hampshire is
21 heroin that has been produced in Mexico, but also in a
22 number of Central American countries. And it comes in by
23 boat and by air into the United States. At one point, we
24 had a -- before you became the head of SOUTHCOM, we had a
25 briefing with then-head of SOUTHCOM, who said that we

1 interdict a very small percentage -- my recollection was
2 about 20 percent of the -- what we see that we could
3 interdict -- because we are lacking in resources. Can you
4 update us on whether you're seeing an improvement in those
5 numbers and what you need to have in order for us to do a
6 better job with interdicting those drugs coming into the
7 country?

8 Admiral Faller: Senator, it's a national security
9 crisis. Over 70,000 deaths, as you're well aware, from your
10 home State. And, while I'd say we've made progress -- 2017-
11 2018 were record interdiction years -- we've got a lot of
12 work to do. We're not there. And we're focused on our
13 partners. El Salvador stepped up. Guatemala, Panama. But,
14 there are other partners that need to do more. And we need
15 some additional assets -- some ships, some force -- we call
16 them force packages from the ISR that we would need to
17 detect to what you'd need to interdict. And so, more work
18 to be done, for sure, in this problem, Senator.

19 Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you. I'm glad you
20 mentioned El Salvador, because New Hampshire's National
21 Guard has a State Partnership Program with El Salvador. Can
22 you talk about the difference that those partnership
23 programs make in a country like El Salvador?

24 Admiral Faller: It's a -- it's one of our main
25 efforts. They bring a lasting, long relationship to the

1 State. Before I went to El Salvador, I had a
2 videoconference with your general, and we shared -- he
3 shared more with me than I was able to share with him. And
4 I sent him my trip report afterwards. It really helps us
5 build capacity. They go in there, and they work on that
6 mil-to-mil engagement. They also work on civil affairs
7 projects, where they'll go out, build a school, dig a well,
8 and things -- other things that we need to help stabilize
9 the conditions for the citizens. It's very important,
10 Senator. Thank you for the support.

11 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

12 I'm out of time, but, General Waldhauser, the last time
13 you were here, I asked you about the girls who had been
14 kidnapped by Boko Haram, and what we're doing in AFRICOM to
15 help the Nigerians, in particular, address that issue. Do
16 you have any update for us?

17 General Waldhauser: Ma'am, I really have no update. I
18 would just tell you that, of the 276 girls who were
19 kidnapped in April of 2014, I think the number of 163 have
20 been recovered. But, the other hundred-and- -- there's 113,
21 or thereabouts that still are unaccounted for. I could talk
22 in more detail in a classified session. But, the bottom
23 line is --

24 Senator Shaheen: Okay.

25 General Waldhauser: -- there has not been much

1 progress, from what I can see, in terms of getting any of
2 those remainder back.

3 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

5 Senator McSally.

6 Senator McSally: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Thanks, gentlemen, for your leadership.

8 General Waldhauser, it was about 12 years ago that I --
9 I was sent to Stuttgart as part of the AFRICOM transition
10 team to stand up your Command. We had just a handful of us,
11 no resources, no facilities, no assets at the time. We were
12 going to be the kinder, gentler command, without a whole lot
13 of operational focus. I was the J-33, Chief of Current
14 Operations. We very quickly realized, you know, Africa
15 continues to be a potential hotspot for terrorist activity,
16 both on the east coast and the west coast and other areas in
17 ungoverned spaces. And we had to ramp up very fast to be
18 able to take on that task. However, you know -- and I see,
19 in your testimony, you're talking about al-Shabaab and the
20 challenges in Somalia. At the time, when we were running
21 the time-sensitive targeting operations, we watched --
22 literally watched, with our ISR, hundreds and hundreds and
23 hundreds of al-Shabaab-trained militants out there in the
24 middle of nowhere, with no collateral-damage concerns, being
25 trained at training camps, and then being released, because

1 the -- at the time, the civilian political leadership in our
2 country didn't want to -- didn't feel they -- we needed to
3 do anything about it. Like a cancer growing and
4 metastasizing, it, you know -- we continued to see their
5 strength grow, and their capabilities grow, but we just
6 didn't do anything about it. So, do you have the
7 authorities you need to address the terrorist threat on --
8 in your area of responsibility now, unlike back when I was
9 there? I've got bad memories about all that. And also, you
10 know, how does that fit within our vital national interests
11 and the National Defense Strategy?

12 General Waldhauser: Thank you, Senator. There's a lot
13 there, and I hope we are living up to your expectations of
14 how AFRICOM is performing. And it's a little bit better
15 than when you were there, starting things up.

16 Senator McSally: I know.

17 General Waldhauser: Look, let me just take the strikes
18 on. I'll try to be brief, but I think it's important to
19 provide some context.

20 In April of 2017 -- and we were given authorities, from
21 the national security apparatus, to initiate, to be able to
22 have offensive capabilities inside of Somalia. That,
23 combined with the legitimacy of a federal government there,
24 our strikes are tied to their strategy. Our legitimacy
25 comes from our authorities as well as the federal government

1 that we're tied in with. We had strikes for 7 months in the
2 year of 2017, where we had 35 strikes. Last year, in 2018,
3 we had 47 strikes for the overall 12-month period. Thus far
4 this year, we've had, I think, 12, so far. But, the bottom
5 -- the point I want to make is that the strikes are tied to
6 the transition strategy that the federal government of
7 Somalia and the Somalian National Army are trying to
8 execute. So, in other words, we're trying to support their
9 plan.

10 Senator McSally: Right.

11 General Waldhauser: President Farmajo has indicated
12 that his main effort for security is Mogadishu. And so, his
13 transitional strategy has that in mind.

14 Finally, I would just say that, at the end of the day,
15 these strikes are not going to defeat al-Shabaab, but
16 they're going to provide the opportunity for the federal
17 government and the Somali National Army to grow and assume
18 the security of that country.

19 I would just say that -- and that points to, really, my
20 -- my bottom line is, the strikes won't defeat. They -- we
21 know that they are causing problems. We know that they are
22 deterring. It's an open question as to how much, but we
23 know it's causing al-Shabaab problems, giving this
24 opportunity for the government. But, the bottom line is
25 that the Somali National Army needs to grow, it needs to

1 step up, and it needs to take responsibility for their own
2 security, not only for our strikes, but the overall
3 international community that's tied there. We're talking --
4 I mean, we're talking about the European Union, we're
5 talking about the United Nations, the U.K., Turkey. We all
6 have pieces of the puzzle down there, and our -- one of our
7 pieces is the strike aspect.

8 But, the bottom line is, the Somali National Army needs
9 to grow, needs to step up. And we have made this point very
10 clear, both the new Ambassador and myself, on numerous
11 occasions to President Farmajo and Prime Minister Khayre.
12 They know this. They've got to step up. It's up to them to
13 take advantage of the opportunity that they have right now.

14 Senator McSally: Great. Thank you.

15 Admiral Faller, I just have a little bit of time left,
16 but I want to get back on to the counterdrug and the drug
17 flow in your AOR. And I know you're resource- -- you're
18 short of resources that you need. What are you seeing, as
19 far as the trends of the cartel activity over water, over
20 land, submarines, light aircraft? I mean, they're nimble,
21 and they're innovative. So, what are the trends? Are they
22 still going, kind of, over water, up until then -- over
23 land, from Mexico up, or, like, what are you seeing the
24 trends, and what else do we need to combat it?

25 Admiral Faller: They are very nimble, and they're

1 agile and the -- in many cases, better funded than the
2 security forces they face. So, they adapt. We're seeing
3 them go further out to sea, as far out into the Pacific as
4 around the Galapagos and up. We're seeing them integrate
5 with fishing vessels in a different manner. We're seeing
6 them with lower-profile vessels, including some submerged
7 vessels. In the air, we're seeing them use Venezuela as a
8 launch point to fly out of Venezuela. So, cross-border
9 traffic, if you will, using Venezuela's current state as a
10 launch point up through the middle of the Caribbean and then
11 into remote airfields throughout Central America. And so,
12 as they adapt, we adapt. But, they adapt faster, and they
13 have more flexible resources. And so, we're trying to get
14 after it. But, it's a challenge.

15 Senator McSally: Thanks.

16 I'm out of time. Appreciate it.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator McSally.

18 Senator Peters.

19 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Thank you, gentlemen, for your testimony today and your
21 distinguished service over many years.

22 Admiral Faller, last year, I asked Admiral Tidd about
23 the situation in Venezuela, including the role of military
24 advisors from Cuba. Certainly, a lot has changed since that
25 meeting. I want to follow up on the question that Senator

1 Reed asked that, basically, related to the military. And
2 your response was that there are more generals in Venezuela
3 than there are in NATO. So, my question is, If Maduro's
4 going to be really relying on this military to prop him up,
5 what is the extent, to the everyday soldiers, the enlisted
6 folks, the discipline in the military? Do those generals
7 really have command over that military?

8 Admiral Faller: Senator, the leaders, including the
9 Cuban guards that completely surround the illegitimate
10 government of Maduro, seem to have a grip on the top level.
11 What we read in -- at this level, that we can talk about
12 more in a classified session -- that the rank-and-file are
13 starving, just like their population. I had the opportunity
14 to go on the Colombian-Venezuela border to one of our
15 medical camps in -- that was operating off the Comfort, and
16 see some of these kids that were -- had lost 25-30 pounds in
17 a year. They were stick thin. They had never had medical
18 attention. We think that condition affects a large swath of
19 the population. And we think that that population's ready
20 for a new leader, Senator.

21 Senator Peters: Admiral Faller, you also mentioned
22 some of the additional assets that you need: ISR and ships.
23 And you mentioned the littoral combat ship coming online,
24 and how that's going to contribute to the fulfillment of
25 your mission. Could you give us some sense of the status

1 and timing of that, and how you see that being fully
2 developed in the months and years ahead?

3 Admiral Faller: Senator, the -- we expect to have a
4 littoral combat ship this year, and that will be a big
5 benefit for our exercise program, for our engagement with
6 partners, and because of the flexibility it brings for
7 counternarcotic interdiction. Counternarcotic will be its
8 first mission. And then we forward to continuous presence,
9 moving forward.

10 We're working with our Navy. They have readiness
11 challenges, and they don't have enough ships. I think
12 that's well -- been discussed well before this committee.
13 And we have the support we need. We look forward to the
14 assets.

15 Senator Peters: In addition to those assets, I know
16 your predecessors have talked about the fact that the Navy
17 and the Southern Command has white hulls. That's the U.S.
18 Coast Guard. Performs brilliantly in those counternarcotics
19 missions, as well as other missions related to your task.
20 You know, I visited Coast Guard units in Michigan who were
21 incredibly stressed as a result of the government shutdown.
22 They're concerned about their families, particularly junior
23 enlisted, that were living on the edge. You have men and
24 women in the Coast Guard being deployed away from home,
25 worrying about their families. Could you talk a little bit

1 about the impact of the shutdown on morale and the ability
2 to execute the mission?

3 Admiral Faller: Sir, Monday morning, I had the
4 opportunity to stand on the deck of the Coast Guard cutter
5 Ford with Admiral Schultz, the Commandant of the Coast
6 Guard. This crew of 110 of America's finest had deployed
7 over Christmas. Record-number seizures. Seventeen metric
8 tons of cocaine, which is hundreds of lives saved in the
9 U.S. They did that deployment with -- in large part,
10 without pay and without adequate parts, because that was
11 affected by contracting. And it was difficult for Admiral
12 Schultz and I to address some of their questions. They had
13 remarkable resiliency and a remarkable attitude. And they
14 are our main battery. During that period, there was nine
15 Coast Guard cutters deployed, counternarcotics missions,
16 some 1600 Coast Guard men and women working for United
17 States Southern Command, and it did have an impact. And
18 we're thankful that the shutdown's over, Senator.

19 Senator Peters: And why we can't have any more
20 shutdowns, for that very reason, to make sure that our men
21 and women of the Coast Guard are getting paid, like every
22 other member of the military out there defending us. So, I
23 appreciate those comments.

24 General Waldhauser, we have talked in this committee
25 quite bit about China's influence in Africa and as it

1 continues to increase. You mentioned, in your opening
2 comments, that Russia is also increasing their involvement.
3 Would you please elaborate on that involvement to the
4 committee, and why we should be concerned about Russian
5 involvement on the continent?

6 General Waldhauser: Senator, I think the issue with
7 Russia has to do with influence. I think, in recent months
8 over the past year, they perhaps got more involved in
9 mineral extraction, but, to a large degree, it's still a
10 matter of influence, especially in areas we're not or
11 especially in areas where they can say that the United
12 States or the U.K. or Western partners are perhaps backing
13 away from Africa. It's, I think, clear that their strategy
14 along the northern part of Africa, southern part of NATO, if
15 you will, in the Mediterranean, to have influence inside
16 Libya, for example, the relationship -- the relationships
17 across that country, they want to have -- across the
18 continent -- they want to have influence on the continent.

19 I would just point to the Central Af Republic right
20 now, where the Wagner group has about 175 trainers, where
21 some individuals are in, actually, the President's cabinet,
22 and they're influencing the training, as well as, at the
23 same time, having access to minerals in that part of the
24 country. So, we're concerned that that model might be
25 looked at or viewed positively by other countries, in terms

1 of their ability to train and their ability to influence the
2 government at the presidential level, as well as then
3 getting involved in extraction of minerals.

4 Senator Peters: Thank you.

5 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Peters.

6 Senator Scott.

7 Senator Scott: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Admiral Faller, can you talk about Cuba's intelligence,
9 security, military influence in Latin America, and what
10 they're doing, and what -- how we can combat it?

11 Admiral Faller: Can't talk about Cuba without talking
12 about Russia. And Russia is entrenched in Cuba, weapons
13 systems and support. And then looking at -- across Latin
14 America, we see Cuba inextricably, just, intertwined in all
15 elements of Venezuela. In fact, the National Security
16 Advisor called it "Cubazuela" yesterday. I would agree with
17 that characterization. We see that in Nicaragua, as well.
18 And it's not helpful to democracy, and it's an autocratic
19 way of life that runs counter to, really, the principles of
20 the hemisphere, which are very much a democratic hemisphere.
21 So.

22 Senator Scott: The sanctions that we've imposed on
23 nationals in both Cuba and Venezuela, have you seen them
24 have any impact? Have you seen anybody change their action
25 as a result of them?

1 Admiral Faller: We're watching that closely. We're
2 watching the intelligence. There's a discussion of the
3 impact. We are seeing impacts. But, we haven't seen the
4 desired result, which is a peaceful, democratic transition
5 to a legitimate government, yet, Senator.

6 Senator Scott: But, the -- you know, the sanctions
7 we've done against individuals in Cuba -- and we've done
8 that over a period of time. Have you seen -- has anything
9 happened?

10 Admiral Faller: It doesn't seem to have affected the
11 overall calculus of the Cuban regime, other than harden it,
12 solidify it, and tie it more closely to Russia. But, it --
13 I think it's almost like deterrence: you don't know what
14 happens when you don't have them, Senator. So, it probably
15 has an impact. We don't see it. I would recommend -- full-
16 court pressure works.

17 Senator Scott: Okay. In the Venezuelan military, have
18 you -- I mean, is there -- have you seen any cracking, from
19 the standpoint of what we've been doing over the last --
20 especially the last 2 weeks? Has anything changed?

21 Admiral Faller: Certainly, the -- there's been
22 readiness aspects of their military that we've watched very
23 closely. It's a degraded force. But, it's still a force
24 that remains loyal to Maduro, and that makes it dangerous.
25 We're looking for signs of those cracking, and we can talk,

1 in the closed session, on some more details and trends we're
2 seeing.

3 Senator Scott: Okay.

4 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Scott.

6 Senator Jones.

7 Senator Jones: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 General, I'd like to ask you about a question --

9 Well, first of all, thank you both for not only your --
10 being here today, but for your service and all you do for
11 this country.

12 General, I'd like to ask you about a -- there was an
13 article yesterday by Reuters concerning the cutoff of
14 assistance to Cameroon because of concerns about human
15 rights abuses by the Cameroon Government. That program
16 halted -- included C-130 aircraft, a number of different
17 things. And I'd like to -- it -- that report indicated
18 there was a 2017 report by the U.S. State Department that
19 listed a number of significant human rights violations and
20 abuses that were observed in the Cameroon Government. Could
21 you comment on what we're doing there, other than just this
22 halt? Are we making progress on trying to get that
23 government to stem the tide of their human rights
24 violations?

25 Admiral Faller: Senator, thank you. Let me try to

1 explain this. And I'll start by why we're in Cameroon and
2 what we're doing there.

3 We talked this morning about the Chibok girls from a
4 couple of years ago, but Boko Haram is the issue there. In
5 2015, they were the number-one terrorist group on the
6 planet. Depending on what you read, they have killed over
7 20,000 people, some estimates quite higher than that, over
8 this timeframe, the Chibok-girls issue, all kind of
9 atrocities. They are an extremely volatile group that needs
10 to be dealt with. So, in that region, our mission there is
11 to train the counterterrorism forces in northern Cameroon
12 that deal with Boko Haram. We have been doing that for
13 several years, and, quite frankly, the BIR, the brigade of
14 rapid intervention, is the top-shelf counterterrorism unit
15 inside Cameroon. They have performed well, and they -- and
16 that training, by the way, has, certainly, law-of-war and
17 battlefield ethics. So, that's why we're there.

18 The issue on the Anglophone piece, I won't go into
19 detail on that. I think the article, plus the video this
20 morning, did a very good job of explaining the history of
21 how it got to the point where we are today. In October of
22 2017, when it came, kind of, to a head, the Anglophone
23 states said, "We want to actually form our own state, the
24 Ambazonia state." There have been issues there with
25 atrocities, issues with allegations of law-of-war issues.

1 And this is something that brings all this to a head.

2 Over the last several months or so, the State
3 Department has put on hold several security force assistance
4 programs. Right before the election in October, I, with the
5 Ambassador, went and paid a visit with President Biya, and
6 we had a very direct conversation with him with regards to
7 investigation into these atrocities, transparencies of these
8 atrocities, and appropriate battlefield behavior. Since
9 that time, the State Department has made the decision not to
10 allocate significant money, but, at the same time, they've
11 released some money that's been on hold to things like
12 ScanEagle and Cessna aircraft that assist in the Boko Haram
13 fight in the north. We still have programs that we continue
14 with them, all kind of small engagements, as well as
15 exercises. We did have the -- we talked about the State
16 Partnership Program with Nebraska. We put that on hold.
17 And, in conjunction with the Ambassador, AFRICOM, we decided
18 not to pursue that, because it wouldn't have been a good
19 place for that particular group to be, so we put a halt to
20 that.

21 So, the bottom line is, right now in Cameroon, they
22 have been a good partner with us, counterterrorism-wise, but
23 you can't neglect the fact that they have -- there are
24 alleged atrocities in what's going on there. And so, we
25 continue to take our cues from the State Department and from

1 the Ambassador, and our level of engagement will continue,
2 but not get out ahead of what the State Department would say
3 is -- if we have to take other actions. We were very
4 emphatic with President Biya that the behavior of his
5 troops, the lack of transparency, could have a significant
6 impact on our ability to work with them.

7 Senator Jones: Great. Well, thank you very much for
8 that.

9 Admiral, I was struck by a couple of things with your
10 testimony. Number one, I was struck by the charts that you
11 provided. And -- because I think people are not paying as
12 much attention. We've always heard of -- since the Cold
13 War, about the influence of Russia, but the Chinese
14 influence in our backyard is just incredible to me. And I
15 was struck by your initial comments about our shared
16 responsibilities, our shared security with our neighbors,
17 and how we share so many things together. And I'm new to
18 this committee, and so I've been reading a lot, and I've
19 seen that there are initiatives for the Pacific and in
20 Europe. Would a -- some similar initiative to that be
21 appropriate for Central America or for SOUTHCOM?

22 Admiral Faller: Senator, I think a big idea, an
23 initiative that recognizes the importance of our
24 neighborhood, recognizes what goes on right here in areas
25 connected by sea, land, air, space, cyber, is important to

1 our shared security and our future, would be of great
2 benefit. I worry, Senator, that we're not going to be
3 present on the field in enough numbers to play the game.
4 You've got -- we've got to be there to influence the outcome
5 and the results.

6 Senator Jones: All right. Well, thank you, sir. And
7 we'll send you some more Mobile-based -- Mobile-built LCSs.

8 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Cotton.

9 Senator Cotton: Thank you, gentlemen, for your
10 appearance today and your service to our Nation, for all
11 those men and women who serve underneath you in Africa
12 Command and Southern Command.

13 Admiral Faller, I want to return to your comments about
14 the presence of Cuba and Russia in Venezuela. You said,
15 earlier, Cuban guards completely surround the Maduro
16 government. Does that mean that Maduro is dependent on the
17 Cuban security and intelligence forces for his continuation
18 in office?

19 Admiral Faller: Senator, I think it's a good sense of
20 where the loyalty of the Venezuelan people are that his
21 immediate security force is made up of Cubans.

22 Senator Cotton: So, the men that surround Maduro, like
23 our Secret Service, are Cubans, not Venezuelans.

24 Admiral Faller: That is my understanding and
25 assessment of the situation.

1 Senator Cotton: So, Venezuela's intelligence security
2 services are so corrupt, so incompetent, so disloyal, so
3 sclerotic that Maduro cannot even count on his own personal
4 safety in his bed at night, on his own people.

5 Admiral Faller: That's a fair assessment, as I
6 understand, Senator.

7 Senator Cotton: How far does that go throughout the
8 Venezuelan security and intelligence services? Does Nicolas
9 Maduro have to depend on Cubans and Russians on the streets
10 to beat his own people to keep them in line?

11 Admiral Faller: Senator, I'm not -- beyond the -- what
12 I characterize -- I'm not aware of the details, but we watch
13 that closely. We've seen reporting of Russian security
14 forces being flown in. We're looking for evidence of how
15 that will play out. And certainly this is an area that has
16 our focus, as well as all our partners in the interagency.

17 Senator Cotton: And that was another point. You
18 mentioned that -- you said you can't speak of Cuba's
19 presence in Venezuela -- let me stop myself.

20 Can you estimate, in this setting, how many Cuban
21 security and intelligence officers there are in Venezuela?

22 Admiral Faller: Sir, I don't have that number. I'd
23 take that for the record.

24 [The information referred to follows:]

25 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

1 Senator Cotton: Is it fair to --

2 Admiral Faller: I'm --

3 Senator Cotton: Is it fair to say there are lots?

4 Admiral Faller: I'd say there's -- there are many,
5 sir.

6 Senator Cotton: And --

7 Admiral Faller: I also would mention, Senator, the
8 presence of China in -- China has not been helpful in a
9 diplomatic way. I'll leave that to the diplomats. But,
10 China's in there, and they're involved in cyber in ways that
11 are absolutely not helpful to a democratic outcome.

12 Senator Cotton: You talk about Russians traveling into
13 the country. Have we seen an increase in Russian presence
14 in Venezuela in the last 2 months as the National Assembly
15 began to take its seat and President Guaido declared himself
16 as interim President, and the United States and so many
17 other nations around the world have recognized his
18 legitimacy?

19 Admiral Faller: Senator, it's hard, with Russia, to
20 figure out what they're really up to. I --

21 Senator Cotton: You don't say.

22 Senator Cotton: There was reports last week by Russian
23 official TASS news agency that I was actually on the
24 Colombian-Venezuela border, and they rolled that with B-roll
25 footage of amphibious landings and helicopter assaults. I

1 was actually walking out of Senator Rubio's office at the
2 time. But, I don't think the truth goes very far when it
3 comes to their media, sir.

4 Senator Cotton: Okay, thank you for those comments,
5 Admiral Faller, about Venezuela.

6 You mentioned China's activity in Venezuela in the
7 cyber domain. They obviously are very active, as well, in
8 what you might call debt diplomacy through their Belt and
9 Road Initiative. Secretary of State Pompeo was in Panama
10 last October cautioning that nation, and all nations who are
11 participants in China's Belt and Road Initiative, about what
12 it could mean for their sovereignty. Obviously, China has
13 foreclosed in the port outside Colombo, in Sri Lanka.
14 Malaysia recently left the Initiative because of China
15 trying to throw its weight around. What's been the results
16 of Secretary Pompeo's visit in the region? And what
17 feedback are you getting from some of these Belt and Road
18 Initiative members?

19 Admiral Faller: Senator, they -- the states in the
20 region, the countries, they want to continue to partner us,
21 but I've cautioned the leaders that I've met with that,
22 "While you might want to do that, if you leverage your ports
23 and many of your businesses, including your IT
24 infrastructure, to Chinese companies, with no strings
25 attached and limited understanding of what the internal

1 workings are, that you've actually put yourself in jeopardy
2 of having a meaningful security relationship with us. It
3 gets to a point where I won't be allowed or authorized to
4 share information, because I just don't know where that
5 information is going." So, I've been very emphatic about
6 that, in terms of how it would affect us being a partner of
7 choice. This is my concern to other questions that have
8 been asked about what this hemisphere looks like, 10, 15, 25
9 years from now, and who the partner of choice is. We've got
10 to be present, Senator.

11 Senator Cotton: Thank you, Admiral Faller.

12 General Waldhauser, one question for Africa. This is a
13 little bit outside the warfighting domain, but the American
14 military is called upon to do a lot outside that domain
15 around the world, especially in your area of operations.
16 Nigeria has its elections next weekend. Nigeria is the
17 seventh-largest country in the world, way larger than Russia
18 or Mexico or Japan. Important ally of ours. What are the
19 prospects for that election? Does it appear that it will be
20 free and fair, and that either party, should they win, will
21 continue to be a partner of the United States?

22 General Waldhauser: Senator, we're very much aware of
23 the elections on February 16th. From the military
24 perspective, we will watch that from the standpoint of
25 actions leading up to and what will happen afterwards. We

1 are -- on the intelligence reports, we hope it'll be a
2 peaceful election, but I think our sights are set on
3 forward, and not in the rearview mirror, meaning that
4 whoever would win, that now, okay, let's sit down and talk
5 about where we are and how we can best help, whether it be
6 the displaced people and the issues with -- humanitarian
7 issues in northern Nigeria, whether it's their army and
8 their work against Boko Haram and ISIS-West Africa. So, my
9 answer to that question is, let's get the election over.
10 And they're watching this today, by the way. I mean, they
11 -- my comments are going to be watched in Nigeria, and it's
12 very important that I don't sway, either way.

13 Senator Cotton: Sure. Well --

14 General Waldhauser: And the bottom line is, whoever
15 wins, we want to sit down with them and now, how do we move
16 forward and improve the situation?

17 Senator Cotton: Good. Well, I appreciate that answer.
18 And, of course, their election is a choice for the Nigerian
19 people, and we want to have a good, stable relationship with
20 whoever wins, to help continue that partnership.

21 Thank you, General.

22 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Cotton.

23 Senator Duckworth.

24 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Gentlemen, thank you for being here today.

1 We've already discussed and gotten a good idea of how
2 complex your missions are in both of your areas of
3 operation. And, you know, our own vital national interests
4 are threatened by violent extremists, by great-power
5 competition, and all of multifaceted challenges that you
6 face. As I looked at recent reporting on SOUTHCOM, much
7 attention has been on the dictator's effort to citing --
8 clinging to power; in AFRICOM, the persistent presence of
9 violent extremists. Are these events merely symptoms of a
10 larger systemic problem in both regions? And what, in your
11 assessment, are the prime drivers of instability in SOUTHCOM
12 and AFRICOM? And how are your commands postured to deal
13 with the root causes? Because it's one thing to deal with
14 the symptoms, but what are we doing to really get to the
15 root causes that are occurring in both of your regions?

16 General Waldhauser: I'll go first, Senator. Thank you
17 very much.

18 And I'll use Niger as an example. Niger has a
19 population of about 19 million. About 50 percent of those
20 are under the age of 15. They certainly are in a very
21 difficult area of Africa, meaning that they have a pressing
22 from all sides, whether it be ISIS-West Africa, JNIM, in the
23 west; whether it be AQ coming down through the Algeria-
24 Nigerian border on the way to Mali; they have ISIS-West
25 Africa on their eastern flank. So, they're in a tough

1 situation. But, I think this is -- what goes unnoticed
2 sometimes is the whole-of-government approach that is used
3 in Niger. So, for example, USAID has about \$150 million a
4 year that they use for things like education, especially for
5 young girls, for government, and -- government
6 infrastructure, and so forth. Moreover, the Millennium
7 Challenge Corporation has a -- they're on the -- I think,
8 the second year of a 5-year compact down there which has to
9 do with agriculture, watering crops, and so forth. So, if
10 you look at the security assistance that we're providing,
11 and you add to that USAID's effort and the Millennium
12 Challenge compact, that's, I think, a good example of a
13 whole-of-government approach of how we're trying to deal
14 with a country that has some very significant security
15 challenges.

16 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

17 Admiral Faller?

18 Admiral Faller: We do have some bright spots. I'd
19 like to point out, Brazil has been a exporter of security in
20 our history, same with Colombia. And the trajectory of both
21 our mil-to-mil relations with those countries is very
22 positive. In the current Venezuela situation, we're sharing
23 a lot of information, we're looking at this as a regional
24 solution. Chile commanded, in our largest exercise, the Rim
25 of the Pacific. But, around the region, corruption, weak

1 governance, lack of jobs, these are things that are of
2 effect, and these are -- the military is a part of this
3 whole government solution.

4 I saw this Honduras. I was in an outreach center run
5 by USAID. It was right next to a partnered police station.
6 We had a few Army civil affairs people there meeting with
7 some young men and women that had been supplied jobs. And I
8 asked the one individual -- he had gone all the way to the
9 U.S.-Mexico border, and turned around and came all the way
10 back. Walked, as part of the caravan, but he came back. I
11 said, "Well, why did you come back?" He said, "It was
12 pretty scary for me. I felt that I should come home." I
13 said, "Well, why did you go?" He goes, "The family next to
14 us was starving -- or we were starving, and the family next
15 to them was starving, but across the street, they had some
16 food because their father had made it to the United States
17 and was sending remittance back." So, at the heart of this
18 is -- it's a -- it's the want of a better life and economy,
19 and the want to have your kids go to school. And all
20 citizens of all the world deserve that.

21 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

22 So, looking at this whole-of-government approach, how
23 easy has it been -- or, for you each, to work with other
24 executive branch agencies to provide a coordinated whole-of-
25 government approach? And is this happening -- for example,

1 it -- you may be happening in Niger, but is it happening in
2 other parts of Africa? And how are we -- are we consistent
3 in applying this approach? And what can we do to really
4 help you be part of this, this team, so that we can get at
5 the root causes?

6 General Waldhauser: Well, Senator, I would say that
7 the AFRICOM staff has individuals from those agencies that
8 work very closely with on a -- with us on a daily basis.
9 Moreover, as dollars become tight, our return on investment
10 needs to be demonstrated. As a consequence, we have to be
11 better stewards of the -- of our efforts, in terms of where
12 we want to place our emphasis. We need to coordinate that
13 and synchronize that with this agency, because, really, it
14 gets, I think, to a -- the larger issue of influence, and
15 the China influence, as well. We need to demonstrate that
16 we can compete with them. We may not be building soccer
17 stadiums or government buildings, but, at the same time,
18 we're teaching them how to be better farmers, we're showing
19 them what education can do for them. So, the bottom line
20 for us is, we need to continue to work with our partners,
21 which we have good relationships with, by the way. This
22 development, diplomacy, and defense effort in the AFRICOM --
23 at State Department and with AFRICOM is very, very positive
24 experience.

25 Senator Duckworth: Admiral?

1 Admiral Faller: We have representatives from every
2 interagency at my headquarters, and they sit in at every
3 meeting. We're working this problem set hard, and we're
4 work it in conjunction with country teams in the Embassy. A
5 consistent level of resourcing is important, and recognizing
6 this is a problem that will take years to solve, not months
7 or days.

8 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

9 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Duckworth.

11 Senator Ernst.

12 Senator Ernst: Yes, thank you, Mr. Chair.

13 And thank you, gentlemen, for being here today and, of
14 course, to the men and women in your commands. We thank
15 them for what they do for all of us. To the family members
16 that are here, thank you so much for the support that you
17 give to your loved one. So, thank you.

18 Admiral Faller, I'll start with you. We've talked
19 about a lot of different groups that are engaged in
20 SOUTHCOM, but what I'd like to do is dive in a little bit to
21 Hezbollah. They do have a notable presence in South
22 America. And, as we saw last year, Argentina and Brazil,
23 they both took action against Hezbollah assets in their
24 respective countries. And we've heard, from regional
25 authorities, that they are aware of Hezbollah's presence in

1 the tri-border area of Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay. So,
2 can you go a bit further into the threat that Hezbollah
3 presents in SOUTHCOM? And what are our interests in making
4 sure that they are not affecting us? What are those
5 national security interests for us and our partners?

6 Admiral Faller: Hezbollah is present. We watch them
7 closely. It points to the importance of partnerships in the
8 intelligence-sharing relationships that we are keen to
9 develop and strengthen even further, because a lot of what's
10 required to monitor them is human intelligence, and those
11 nations know their terrain best.

12 Hezbollah's connection to Iran can never be
13 understated. Iran is the largest sponsor of state terrorism
14 in the world. There is a nexus there that goes back. And
15 we watch that working, in partnership with the other
16 combatant commands, Defense Intelligence Agency, very, very
17 closely. We look for trends, indications, and warning. A
18 terror threat anywhere around the world could be a threat of
19 our homeland.

20 Senator Ernst: And I appreciate you highlighting how
21 Iran is interconnected here. We talk about some of those
22 near-peer threats with China and Russia in the SOUTHCOM AOR,
23 but we also need to recognize that Iran is a player, as
24 well. So, thank you for making that connection.

25 Do we have sufficient information-sharing authorities

1 in place, then? You've mentioned the need to communicate
2 with friends and allies. Do we have the right authorities
3 available?

4 Admiral Faller: Senator, we have to work that on a
5 country-by-country basis. And that is -- it's a key thing
6 that we look at when we do our country engagements. So, the
7 answer is, we never have enough. We have countries where we
8 want to sign additional agreements. We have to get
9 assurances with them about what they'll share and who
10 they'll share it with. It goes back to my concern about who
11 owns the IT infrastructure in a given city or a given fusion
12 center. And so, we're constantly looking this. I fly,
13 Sunday, to Brazil for my meeting with their new military
14 leadership. This will be one of our top areas of
15 discussion. I would say that's a very healthy intel-sharing
16 relationship that's growing, and we've been able to really
17 work with our partners. Because sharing information
18 intelligence builds trust, frankly. And that's -- building
19 trust is what is going to ensure our long-term interests in
20 this hemisphere are safeguarded.

21 Senator Ernst: That is very good. And we've also
22 talked about the role that Special Operations plays in
23 achieving your objectives in SOUTHCOM. Part that ties back
24 into Hezbollah and others. But, what are some of the
25 biggest challenges that you'll face with regard to resources

1 or authorities when it comes to our Special Operations and
2 how we employ them in SOUTHCOM?

3 Admiral Faller: We have very small numbers of Special
4 Operations teams that are engaged with partners, building
5 their security forces, and building it very effectively.
6 Those need to be habitual relationships that are keyed off
7 of what the partner needs. It's also good for our training,
8 as well, as our partners train in jungles and tough kind of
9 terrain.

10 I would say our challenge is maintaining that. Our SOF
11 forces are under pressure worldwide. And, as we look at
12 what their deployment ratio is, the amount of time they're
13 spending away from home to the time they spend at home,
14 making certain that we get that balance right, making
15 certain that we don't decimate the small presence that we
16 have, which would break trust and really break the training
17 and stability of our partner nation security forces.

18 Senator Ernst: Thank you. Yes, our dwell time is very
19 small. We need to work on that.

20 Before I move on to the General, we have also talked
21 about GITMO, Guantanamo Bay. And right now, we do have Iowa
22 National Guard soldiers deployed there as a security force.
23 And so, what can we do to ensure that the troops that we
24 have that are stationed or a rotational force at GITMO, that
25 they are being cared for, that they are safe? Not only do

1 we want to make sure that those that are held there are kept
2 in a safe environment, but also for our troops. What more
3 can we be doing? Can you explain some of the challenges
4 that we have at Guantanamo Bay right now?

5 Admiral Faller: I had the honor to visit with some of
6 your Iowa Guard prisoner guards, detainee guards --

7 Senator Ernst: Thank you.

8 Admiral Faller: -- just last weekend, Senator.
9 They're doing fabulous work. So, thanks --

10 Senator Ernst: Great. Thank you.

11 Admiral Faller: -- for the -- to the State for that.

12 They -- the facilities were built with about a 5-year
13 lifespan, and that's been 15-20 years ago. And so, our
14 responsibility is the safe, humane treatment of the
15 detainees, but also the safety of that Guard force. So, we
16 have facilities that we -- were beyond the ability to repair
17 the roofs, where the alarm systems are questionable, based
18 on the water intrusion. And so, we're -- we have -- when
19 the President's budget is released, I expect it to include
20 money that would be put for some long-term facility upgrades
21 in development. We need that for the safety of the Guard
22 force and for the future of safe detainees.

23 Senator Ernst: Thank you. I appreciate that.

24 And, in the few seconds I have remaining, General, as
25 well, Special Operations Forces in Africa, do we need to

1 maintain our Special Operators in Africa and the work that
2 they are doing?

3 General Waldhauser: Well, we certainly need to
4 maintain them, and we certainly have to take a close look at
5 how we employ and deploy them, and what their schedules are.
6 And we do -- we continually reevaluate that all the time.
7 The bottom line is, yes. But, I would say, what we really
8 need in AFRICOM are some predictable general-purpose forces
9 that can do things with regular armies on a somewhat
10 episodic, but yet predictable, basis.

11 Senator Ernst: Very good. Thank you, General. I
12 appreciate it.

13 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Ernst.

15 Senator Kaine.

16 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

17 And thank you, to our witnesses.

18 The Chair and Ranking indicated that a unifier in your
19 two regions is that you're under-resourced. I think another
20 unifier is, in both your regions, you have a real cross-
21 disciplinary, non-siloed focus, not just military assets,
22 but the entire spectrum of what the U.S. can do. And I
23 think that's a -- something about SOUTHCOM and AFRICOM that
24 I really appreciate.

25 Admiral Faller, let me start with you. The discussion

1 about Venezuela is a really important one. And if the world
2 wants to see a democracy-versus-dictatorship challenge,
3 Venezuela is just, like, the perfect test case for circa
4 2019. What do democracies care for, and what do
5 dictatorship care for? The Venezuelan government of Maduro
6 is supported by Russia, Cuba, and Iran. And they're
7 enabling him to do all kinds of horrible things,
8 economically and in violation of human rights, et cetera.
9 The Guaido interim government, which has a constitutional
10 claim that, in the vacancy of a President, the Speaker of
11 the legislative assembly becomes an interim President, is
12 supported by the United States and the EU. You really can
13 see what it -- what the difference between democracy and the
14 aspirations of democratic governments and dictatorships, and
15 what they care about, writ very clearly in the Venezuelan
16 circumstance now.

17 But, here's a reality. We're dealing with regional
18 institutions, like the OAS, for example. In the OAS, every
19 nation has one vote. The U.S. has a hard time getting the
20 OAS to firmly come out against the Maduro government,
21 because many Caribbean nations still support the Maduro
22 government. They have been bribed to do so, with low-price
23 oil. But, it's very hard for us to do something like this
24 on our own. And when a principal regional institution like
25 the OAS isn't completely with us, it's hard to put the

1 appropriate pressure on.

2 And I guess the point that I want to make is: Hard to
3 beat something with nothing. The Chinese and Russians have
4 been investing so heavily in Venezuela, billion -- tens of
5 billions of dollars, over and over and over again. These
6 Caribbean nations, they might feel culturally closer to the
7 United States, but they are getting -- they're getting
8 something from Venezuela that they need.

9 And your point about "We need to be on the field" is
10 really, really, important. And, as I talk to leaders in
11 this region, they say, "We're so much -- we would so much
12 more like to do work with you guys. We are culturally
13 connected, and we're all Americans, you know, but the other
14 guys are there and present and investing. And even if we
15 have suspicions, they're there with resources, and you
16 aren't." And so, I think that's an important lesson.

17 Want to ask about the northern triangle. It's a
18 resource question, as well. The Alliance for Progress has
19 been an initiative in the last few years to invest money and
20 security and economic development assistance in the three
21 nations in the northern triangle. Would it be your
22 recommendation -- so long as we can make those investments
23 smart, would it be your recommendation that, if we can
24 improve the security and economic development of -- arc in
25 those three countries, that that would help us deal with

1 some of the challenges that SOUTHCOM has to deal with?

2 Admiral Faller: Senator, the week before last, I
3 visited projects, in all three countries, that were a direct
4 result of the investments that you just cited. Those
5 projects were USAID, State, INL, and a small footprint of
6 Department of Defense working side by side to bring
7 security, with local policing, and jobs, and host-nation
8 investment in a way that stabilized some of the worst
9 neighborhoods and showed hope. We talked to citizens that
10 live there. We saw the results. And I think consistent
11 investment, in accordance with our laws, is a good thing in
12 that area. Investment, a dollar there is going to save
13 lives and result in better security here at home.

14 Senator Kaine: That's really important. The funds for
15 those initiatives have been pretty dramatically slashed, the
16 last 2 years. We don't know what the budget submission will
17 be that we'll get, hopefully, by the end of the month. But,
18 I think it's penny wise and pound foolish to cut development
19 and security assistance and then complain about people
20 coming to our border. We need to help build and support
21 economies there, and security there, if we want people to
22 not leave their own countries.

23 Let me quickly -- General Waldhauser, to you -- on page
24 5 of your submitted statement, you write, "In the fight
25 against Boko Haram and ISIS-West Africa, we operate with

1 partners in the Africa Union-enforced Multinational Task
2 Force." The fiscal year '18 NDAA included a provision, in
3 section 1264, that required the administration to provide an
4 initial report and subsequent updates on the legal and
5 policy frameworks for use of military force. I'm interested
6 in the initial report, which was submitted in March of 2018.
7 I'd like to put that in the record, if I could. It makes no
8 --

9 Chairman Inhofe: Without objection.

10 [The information referred to follows:]

11 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Kaine: It makes no mention of ISIS-West Africa
2 or Boko Haram as an associated force. And, as far as I
3 know, there's not been an updated report submitted to this
4 committee, as would be required if any new determination
5 were made. Has Boko Haram or ISIS-West Africa been
6 determined to be an associated force within the -- either
7 the 2001 or 2002 AUMF?

8 General Waldhauser: Senator, first of all, we do not
9 have offensive strike capabilities or authorities in those
10 countries. So, we can't strike. We can strike in Somalia,
11 we can strike in Libya, but not in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad,
12 and the like. So, we don't have authorities there.

13 Now, ISIS-West Africa has grown -- they go by different
14 names every once in a while, but they have grown in numbers.
15 They're now probably in the neighborhood of around 3- to
16 4,000. That's the best estimate that we have. They have
17 been very aggressive over the summer, into this year. They
18 now have taken large pieces of real estate in northern
19 Nigeria. And, I think, of the two, right now they're the
20 one that we have the most concern about, because we're not
21 sure what their intentions would be with regards to outside
22 the region. Boko Haram, probably around 1,000. Bottom
23 line, though, Senator, I can't say for sure whether they
24 have been designated or not. I know that we don't strike
25 them.

1 Senator Kaine: Do you -- when you say you "don't
2 strike," do you -- you also include you don't strike under a
3 collective self-defense doctrine?

4 General Waldhauser: No. Collective -- we -- if we are
5 accompanying -- that's the whole key here, now -- if we are
6 accompanying, we have the right of self-defense and
7 collective self-defense. If we are not accompanying, which
8 we have not done at all in Nigeria, and very -- we haven't
9 accompanied inside other places for quite some time -- we do
10 not have collective self-defense, because I haven't
11 designated it, and we don't use it.

12 Senator Kaine: Great. Thank you.

13 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Kaine.

15 Senator Hawley.

16 Senator Hawley: Thank you very much, gentlemen, for
17 being here. And thank you again for your exemplary service,
18 and for all those under your command.

19 General, let me start with you. The National Defense
20 Strategy, of course, reemphasizes great-power competition
21 that we've talked a lot about today and you mentioned, to
22 great degree, in your testimony. I want to ask you about
23 China, in particular, in your AOR. What could you tell us
24 -- to what degree and in what ways are we continuing to
25 shift focus and resources to engage in this great-power

1 competition and counter Chinese influence in your AOR? And
2 I'm thinking, in particular, of China's growing influence.
3 Its base in Djibouti. I've seen estimates that there may be
4 as many as 25-27 Chinese bases across the continent. What
5 can you tell us about that and what we're doing to counter
6 this growing influence there?

7 General Waldhauser: Well, thank you, Senator. Let me
8 try to take that from the 50,000-foot level. And, first of
9 all, just to emphasize, China has one overseas base in
10 Djibouti. They participate in U.N. peacekeeping operations,
11 places like Mali, places like Sudan, but they do not have
12 other bases. Will -- is that in their future? That's
13 perhaps.

14 What I would say is -- from the African perspective,
15 is, China has been there for quite some time. They're in
16 the process of building over 300 miles worth of railroads,
17 railroads tied primarily to areas of mineral extraction,
18 which, again, then take this goods to a port somewhere. So,
19 they're heavily invested and heavily involved.

20 From the African perspective, they, the Africans, do
21 not want to be in the middle of this. They don't view it
22 as, "We either choose the U.S. or we choose China." And
23 they don't want to be in the middle of that particular
24 engagement.

25 I think that one of the things that we do, from the DOD

1 perspective, is, we try to just show -- just be good
2 partners. When Secretary Tillerson was there, a year or so
3 ago -- or whenever the visit took place, I believe it was a
4 year or so ago -- you know, he talked about, "We need to
5 work with the governments of those countries to make sure
6 the arrangements they make are in their best interests."
7 And you had leaders from the African Union, you've had --
8 Paul Kagame is another one that -- you know, that -- the
9 African governments will make their decisions based on their
10 best interests, and they're capable of doing that.

11 On the other hand, Chinese efforts, in terms of selling
12 of equipment and some of the arrangements that have been
13 made, there has been some blowback from various countries.
14 Sierra Leone, for example, is walking away from an airport
15 agreement that was supposed to be built by the Chinese. The
16 Kenyans, for example, have very, very -- have problems with
17 the Chinese equipment that's been sent to them. So, again,
18 the bottom line is, in the AFRICOM AOR, China is there.

19 The final thing I would say, in order that -- this
20 issue of influence and how we want to be the best partners
21 -- the Chinese work hard at developing and maintaining the
22 relationship with the senior officials of the governments
23 inside the African continent. We are very grateful, for
24 example, of Senator Inhofe and his team and his visits that
25 they make there, but the -- I read an article the other day

1 that talked about, in the last decade, 80 senior-level --
2 we're talking Minister and above, to include the President
3 of China -- visits on the African continent. That's a lot.
4 And, moreover, since 1990, their Foreign Minister, his first
5 trip is -- every year, in January, is to a country in
6 Africa, just to see how they're doing.

7 So, I would just say, the whole-of-government approach,
8 if we want to maintain influence, we have to kind of up our
9 engagement, and develop and work at the relationship part of
10 this.

11 Senator Hawley: You testified, I think, last March --
12 to a House committee, March of 2018 -- that you expected
13 that China would -- we should expect an increasing number of
14 bases -- outright military bases. Do you think -- is that
15 still your assessment?

16 General Waldhauser: Well, I think the -- first of all,
17 the Belt and Road Initiative is what is driving all of this.
18 And I think what the Chinese are doing is, they're taking a
19 lot of lessons learned, and they are learning a lot from
20 their first overseas base that they have in Djibouti. This
21 is not an easy thing to do. The United States is very good
22 at it. They watch what we do. But, they're learning this.
23 They certainly have their eyes on other facilities. Ports,
24 for example, are a key to what would facilitate their, not
25 only mineral extraction, but their markets for their goods

1 to come into the continent, as well. I mean, they view this
2 large youth bulge, the population demographics, which we
3 haven't talked about today, but it's in the testimony --
4 they view a large consumer class as a place where they can
5 sell their goods sometime in the future. So, although
6 they're -- they don't -- Djibouti is the only base, they
7 certainly are looking at other options.

8 Senator Hawley: Let me just ask you, more generally,
9 about our European allies and their help, or lack thereof,
10 in your AOR. What things should we be doing in order to
11 encourage our European allies to -- in this era of renewed
12 great-power competition, to be helping us with our strategic
13 objectives in your -- in the area under your command?

14 General Waldhauser: From the AFRICOM perspective, the
15 European Union does a lot on the continent with regards to
16 training, so they have European -- there's -- there are
17 European Union training missions in Mali, there are European
18 training missions inside Somalia. And those are just two
19 examples. And we work closely with them, because we are --
20 we are one -- for example, I've indicated, in Somalia, we
21 are one of a group of in -- of organizations and countries
22 that is trying to, you know, make things right there. The
23 European Union is a big player, and we coordinate with them.
24 I talk with their leadership all the time. And we -- and
25 our effort to coordinate the training activities in a place

1 like Somalia, the European Union is a big player. They do a
2 lot. And they, by the way, are the ones who pay the
3 stipends for the Somali National Army. They've put a lot of
4 money into Somalia, no doubt about it.

5 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Hawley.

7 Senator Blumenthal.

8 And it's Senator Reed, presiding.

9 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Thank you both for your service and for being here
11 today in critical commands that are perhaps less in the
12 spotlight, but no less important than any of the others that
13 we oversee, both of them absolutely critical to our national
14 security. And so, thank you and the men and women who serve
15 with you, for your service to our Nation.

16 I want to begin on the topic of military partnership
17 programs, also perhaps less visible to the public, but very
18 important. And both of you, I think, have endorsed the
19 State Partnership Programs. The International Military
20 Education and Training Program, as General Votel testified
21 on Tuesday, are, he said, "dollar for dollar, the most
22 effective funding that CENTCOM receives, from a strategic
23 perspective." And the Connecticut National Guard, as a
24 matter of fact, is an active participant in the State
25 Partnership Program, and currently partners with Uruguay.

1 Next year is the 20th anniversary of this partnership. And
2 to date, the Connecticut National Guard has conducted over
3 110 mutually beneficial exchanges with their Uruguayan
4 partners. In April, the Connecticut National Guard will
5 send 40 soldiers and airmen on a Connecticut Air National
6 Guard C-130H to Uruguay, marking our last -- largest
7 contingent to Uruguay to date. This is an enormously
8 educational, beneficial experience for them, for the
9 Uruguayans, and it is repeated again and again and again all
10 around the world. And this kind of relationship, I think,
11 is extremely important to both countries, to us and other
12 countries around the world. So, thank you for your support.
13 And, General Evon, our TAG, was here this morning, and we
14 had a chance to meet with him.

15 I want to ask you, General Waldhauser. I was searching
16 for the exact statement you made, about a year before the
17 Niger tragedy, if I may put it that way, about the lack of
18 sufficient intelligence resources devoted to your command,
19 particularly to that area of your command. And I note, in
20 your testimony, you say, "Over a 3-year period, U.S. Africa
21 Command has increased Nigerian counter-IED capability, as
22 well as intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance
23 assets, sustainment maintenance, and operation." Your
24 estimate as to the dearth and deficit of intelligence in
25 that part of the world was striking to me before the Niger

1 incident. How much improvement has there been in the
2 investment in intelligence in that part of the world?

3 General Waldhauser: Senator, I think the best way to
4 answer that question is, you know, our mission there really
5 is to work with our partners. And, in this case, it's the
6 French. And I would say, over the last year, that our
7 relationship with the French, to include intelligence-
8 sharing, has really gone to as good as I've seen it. And
9 so, you know, the French have the lead in that area. You --
10 we support partners, and, in that particular case, in the
11 Sahel area of northern Mali, Niger area, they have the lead,
12 and it's our job to support them. So, we kind of use the
13 phrase, "It's African-led, French-assisted, and U.S.-
14 supported." And what I would say is that our intelligence
15 professionals, as they synchronize what we bring and what
16 they bring, is something that has really added to our
17 ability to understand the situation there over the last
18 year.

19 Senator Blumenthal: Do you think, now, that it is
20 satisfactory? Adequate? Excellent? How would you
21 characterize it? You said "as good as you've seen," but
22 that was not very good in the year before the Niger
23 incident.

24 General Waldhauser: So, I would use the words, as you
25 said, "satisfactory and adequate." We're never going to

1 have the ISR total that we need, to include the human
2 intelligence that goes into places like that, but, for our
3 support and for what our mission is, it's adequate ISR now
4 as we utilize our partners, and how we train and how we
5 assist the Nigerian forces, as well.

6 Senator Blumenthal: Would you say, Admiral Faller,
7 that that's true in your command, as well, that you're
8 satisfied that there are sufficient ISR -- intelligence,
9 surveillance, and reconnaissance -- resources devoted?

10 Admiral Faller: Senator, we're constantly looking at
11 this. I think we do have gaps. We mitigate those gaps with
12 different sources of intelligence. We are deficient in our
13 ISR for the counternarcotics mission.

14 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 Senator Reed [presiding]: On behalf of Chairman
16 Inhofe, Senator Blackburn, please.

17 Senator Blackburn: Thank you for being here today.
18 And we look forward to a closed session with you.

19 I want to come back to something each of you have
20 mentioned but we've really not talked that much about, and
21 that is the telcom issues that are in each of your AOR, and
22 the participation of China -- Huawei, ZTE -- and their
23 relationship with the Russians. And the Chairman mentioned,
24 earlier, his concern about how China is putting their
25 fingers into every area when it comes to not only the ISR,

1 but the communications component, building out these
2 networks. And he mentioned he didn't know where the money
3 came from. And, General, I'd be interested from -- to hear
4 from you. When you talk about China and how they are
5 advancing, how much of the bankrolling of this comes from
6 Russia? Or do you all know?

7 General Waldhauser: Well, ma'am, the best way to
8 answer that is, I think that when the Chinese come to a
9 country with a plan, whether it's to build railroad,
10 infrastructure, bridges, and the like, they come with a full
11 plan. They come with the charts to do it, they come with
12 the money to do it, they'll bring the workers to do it. And
13 it's just kind of a one-stop-one- --

14 Senator Blackburn: Does the money come from Russia,
15 primarily?

16 General Waldhauser: This is Chinese, now. I would --
17 in fact, how I would answer that is, in kind of a -- not to
18 be -- in a kind of anecdotal way, but recently in the
19 elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where
20 Joseph Kabila just was -- went out of office, one of his
21 opponents said that the Chinese bring the money, and the
22 Russians bring the muscle.

23 Senator Blackburn: Got it.

24 General Waldhauser: So, I think that's a good way to
25 try to illustrate, kind of, where these two different

1 countries are when it comes to their engagement.

2 Senator Blackburn: Okay.

3 Let me ask you this. When we look at what has happened
4 with the Chinese and with their access into the telcom area,
5 and as we look at artificial intelligence and 5G, how do you
6 see Huawei and their participation? And how is that going
7 to affect the buildout in your AORs?

8 And, Admiral, if you want to go at it first, and then
9 the General.

10 Admiral Faller: It's concerning. The extent to which
11 China would own the IT infrastructure of a country, their
12 intelligence or fusion centers would affect our relationship
13 and our ability to --

14 Senator Blackburn: Do they understand that you will
15 not share information with them if it is going over Huawei
16 or ZTE? Or --

17 Admiral Faller: We've had frank discussions --

18 Senator Blackburn: Very frank discussions.

19 Admiral Faller: -- Senator, about this.

20 Senator Blackburn: Okay.

21 General Waldhauser: Senator, the way I would answer
22 that is, we obviously have some unique challenges in
23 Djibouti. I mean, the Chinese bases have several miles away
24 from where we're located. The Djibouti base services not
25 only AFRICOM, but it does CENTCOM and SOCOM, I believe, as

1 General Votel testified the other day. We'd -- but, we'd be
2 naive to think that the counterintelligence and the
3 communication issues, and the fact that they have actually
4 built the system inside Djibouti, they're not trying to get
5 after what we're trying to do.

6 Senator Blackburn: Okay. How do you make certain --
7 what is your best effort in making certain that we remain
8 the partner of choice?

9 General Waldhauser: Well, again, as I said several
10 times this morning, from the -- from our military
11 perspective, we want to be sincere in our efforts, we want
12 to deliver what we say we can do, we want to be role models
13 when our troops train with African troops, we want our
14 equipment to be quality equipment, and we just -- we,
15 essentially, want to be good partners. And I think that,
16 when you bring in the agencies that we talked about --
17 USAID, Millennium Challenge Corporation, and so forth, their
18 projects -- I mean, we've got to make sure we elevate those,
19 because, in places like Senegal, for example, they're -- the
20 Chinese will build a wrestling stadium, but, at the same
21 time, we have all kind of compacts ongoing that don't get
22 the publicity that some of these things do. So, it's --
23 bottom line for us is, we have to make sure that we're
24 really doing an -- a government -- overall whole-of-
25 government approach, and we're synchronizing our efforts,

1 and we make sure that the -- we take credit for some of
2 these programs that may not get the visibility that a brand-
3 new infrastructure would.

4 Senator Blackburn: Thank you for the comments. And we
5 hope that that whole-of-government approach continues to
6 include making certain that we're paying attention to those
7 telcom and wireless networks.

8 Yield back.

9 Chairman Inhofe [presiding]: Thank you, Senator.

10 Let me just announce -- it looks like we're down to the
11 most important one, of course -- last, we say for -- we are
12 going to have -- I say to the staff of those who are not
13 here right now, we're going to have a closed session
14 immediately following this, in S- -- in Visitors Center,
15 217, for those who would like to come and ask some of the
16 questions that were not appropriate to be asked in an open
17 session.

18 Senator King.

19 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Admiral Faller, you're not going to be surprised by
21 this question. The question is, Interdiction of drug
22 shipments -- and I understand it's already been discussed,
23 to some extent -- what do you need? If you were given a
24 blank sheet of paper -- or not a -- what do you -- what does
25 the Coast Guard need? What do you need? What do we need to

1 do a better job of interdicting those drug shipments that we
2 know about? I just -- it just is in -- it's so frustrating
3 that we are only interdicting about 25 percent of what we
4 know about. So, do we need 18 more cutters, 12 more
5 Zodiacs? What -- what's on your list of assets?

6 Admiral Faller: It's all of our responsibility, and we
7 got to -- we've got to start at the source. So, very
8 encouraged by the Colombian government getting back into --
9 seriously back into the eradication game. And they've met
10 their goals for '18, and we're seeing progress in '19. So,
11 record cocaine is going to mean record drug flows, and we've
12 got to stop it along the way. That requires ISR,
13 intelligence and surveillance assets, maritime patrol
14 aircraft, helicopters --

15 Senator King: No, I understand that, but I'm asking
16 you for some specifics. Do we need eight more Global Hawks?
17 Do we need 14 more cutters? What is it we need?

18 Admiral Faller: We need more Navy ships.

19 Senator King: Okay.

20 Admiral Faller: More U.S. Navy --

21 Senator King: Of what nature?

22 Admiral Faller: Sir, the littoral combat ship is fit
23 for purpose for this type a mission, Senator. We need
24 multiple force packages. We need the Coast Guard, a
25 sustained presence. They've stepped up in a big way, from

1 five to eight cutters over the holiday. And then we need
2 the partners in the game. We're seeing improvements in some
3 of the partners. I'll credit El Salvador, Guatemala. We
4 need others to step up. And that requires pressure from our
5 government and myself to get that to happen. So, a lot of
6 work to be done, Senator.

7 Senator King: But, do you feel we are moving the
8 needle? Are we moving forward on these multiple fronts?

9 Admiral Faller: We had record interdiction in '17,
10 '18, but it's insufficient. We're nudging, but we're not
11 moving the needle enough, Senator. And one of the areas you
12 asked me to look at previously, I need to get back to you
13 on, is the authority piece and whether we have artificial
14 seams between the air-land boundary, and how we can better
15 utilize and work across that boundary. We've stepped up our
16 partnership, within the last year, with Drug Enforcement
17 Agency and fusion centers here in the United States. Again,
18 more needs to be done to stay ahead of the threat.

19 Senator King: I just hope, if there are assets, in
20 terms of either budgetary resources, authorities, you will
21 let us know, because this is -- these drugs are killing our
22 people, and -- one a day, in Maine. And this is a -- it
23 seems to me, a high-return opportunity, here, given the fact
24 that we know of the shipments that we can't interdict.

25 Admiral Faller: Senator, I agree 100 percent. It's a

1 threat to our Nation, killing our citizens. It's killing
2 citizens of our partner nations, as well. And the money
3 from this is fueling those drug and criminal organizations,
4 which is driving instability, it's contributing to the other
5 factors we see, like the illegal migration. So, it's
6 important, for many reasons, that we have to get after this.

7 Senator King: Well, keep -- stay with us on this,
8 Admiral. Thank you.

9 On the issue of -- and you mentioned in your testimony,
10 I think, in answer to Senator Kaine, about progress you're
11 seeing in the northern triangle countries based upon
12 American investments. I would point out that there was a
13 huge refugee problem in the world in 1945. There were about
14 10 million refugees in western Europe after World War II.
15 One of the responses of this country was the Marshall Plan,
16 which was designed to stabilize the economies of those of
17 that region. It was very controversial at the time, but it
18 -- I think all would agree now, it was immensely successful.
19 I think we need a similar kind of approach to stabilizing
20 those countries so people don't have to flee. The best way
21 to stop someone coming to our border is that they never
22 start on the journey. And that means -- I believe you agree
23 that that means work, AID, agriculture, all of those
24 programs in those countries, again, dealing with the issue
25 of corruption, but to try to do that effectively. Do you

1 agree that that's a -- should be a priority?

2 Admiral Faller: Senator, I agree. That should be a
3 priority.

4 Senator King: Thank you.

5 Quick question, General. By the way, these graphics
6 are terrific on the -- on Chinese and Russian influence in
7 Latin America. I compliment your staff, whoever presented
8 them. They're very dramatic and sobering.

9 General, in Africa, China's doing similar kinds of
10 things: investing, blending, developing infrastructure, all
11 those things. Is there a concern that this is a precursor
12 to a military presence? I mean, is Djibouti a beginning of
13 a militarization process that presents a kind of global
14 threat or an expansion of a threat from China?

15 General Waldhauser: Senator, I think, at this point in
16 time, it's too early to make that leap at this point. I
17 mean, they obviously want to -- one of the reasons for their
18 engagement there is, they've got, you know, 2,000 or so
19 peacekeepers, they've got 300,000 or so civilians there.
20 They want to be able to protect their interests in their
21 projects that they're working on. So, whether that leads to
22 a militarization of the continent, it's still early to tell.
23 But, I would say that one of the areas of concern that we
24 have there is, in the Djibouti -- the Straits of Bab al-
25 Mandab area, where the Red Sea comes down, where we've had

1 really open access for quite some time, that is an area of
2 concern, because not only the Chinese, but the Russians, the
3 Emiratis, the Saudis are all interested in real estate on
4 the Red Sea, on the African side -- Sudan, Eritrea --

5 Senator King: And they're using an interesting
6 technique of lending money and then calling it. It's a kind
7 of debt colonialism.

8 General Waldhauser: Well, they have leverage in some
9 -- in many of their situations. And, as I said, I mean, the
10 -- these are decisions these governments have to make, but
11 Djibouti's a -- really a classic example, where the Chinese
12 own over 80 percent of their overseas debt. And this is a
13 -- certainly a concern.

14 Senator King: Thank you.

15 Thank you, gentlemen.

16 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator King.

17 Before Senator Perdue is recognized, I want to repeat
18 to the staff that's here that there will a closed session
19 after this. Hate to ask you to go over, because there may
20 be nobody there when you get there. But, nonetheless, there
21 will be this opportunity. All right?

22 Senator Perdue.

23 Senator Perdue: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

24 And thank you both for your careers and for being here
25 today.

1 I want to beat a dead horse, because I don't think
2 we've gotten to the essence of the issue yet. We're all
3 concerned about what China and Russia are doing in your
4 AORs. General Votel was in this week. We had the same
5 conversation about China's Belt-Road Initiative in harbors
6 like Hambantota, in Sri Lanka, Gwadar, in Pakistan. We've
7 just seen the first foreclosure in Sri Lanka, obviously, but
8 what Russia is also doing in Kaliningrad and Sebastopol and
9 Latakia and Tartus -- Americans have always projected power
10 based on our Navy and based on our allies, who allow us to
11 service our military through their geography. Russia and
12 China are both now -- because we have such an advantage on
13 -- in the sea, it seems to me that they are setting the
14 stage across three continents that are of tremendous
15 strategic importance. I'd like us to talk about what the
16 NDS does or doesn't do, and what you both need in your AORs
17 to deal with what we naturally have to assume is an effort
18 that is an economic, if not military, involvement that is
19 beyond anybody's expectation 5 years ago. And when I look
20 at what Huawei is doing in some of these Latin American
21 cities, I'm very concerned. So, I'd love both of you to
22 address the question specifically.

23 Before I ask you both -- General, first of all, in
24 Africa, we know now -- Admiral, you've just told us -- there
25 are 56 port investments in South America. In Africa,

1 General, do we have a similar estimate of the ports that
2 they've made these -- what I call "debt-trap diplomacy
3 loans" in the specific port infrastructure?

4 General Waldhauser: Senator, I'm not an expert in that
5 area, and we can take that for the record.

6 [The information referred to follows:]

7 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 General Waldhauser: But, what I will say, the Chinese
2 are involved in port operations all around the world.

3 Senator Perdue: Yeah.

4 General Waldhauser: So, it's not unique that perhaps
5 you have a Chinese company that has equities in a port on
6 the African continent.

7 Senator Perdue: Right. So, what we saw in the South
8 China Sea, though, is where they had, quote, "nonmilitary
9 interests" have now -- we've got plenty of evidence that
10 they've converted those to military bases. I have no doubt
11 that they're going to have some of the same interests in --
12 particularly in Hambantota, right there. That's such a
13 strategic thing -- location.

14 The question I have is -- I don't think the NDS
15 actually addresses this growing potential threat, because we
16 haven't been able to confirm it, as you just said, General.
17 So, my concern is -- in these two AORs, you and General
18 Votel are three guys that sit right in the middle of what
19 China and Russia are both doing. And I'm worried, because
20 of the effort and the focus we have on the current crisis
21 today around the world, where we're taking our assets and
22 spreading them very, very thinly, what are we doing now to
23 preclude the potential that we won't be able to show up,
24 it'll be too late once we recognize that they've actually
25 done what we were worried they were going to do? Would you

1 both address that in -- as it relates to the NDS?

2 General Waldhauser: Well, Senator, let me just kind of
3 clarify. You know, I don't have a crystal ball to predict
4 what the Chinese will do militarily on --

5 Senator Perdue: Understood.

6 General Waldhauser: -- African continent. But, what I
7 do know is that they've made a conscious decision to put
8 their military on the world stage in an area where the
9 United States is not necessarily engaged to a large degree.

10 Senator Perdue: Yes, sir.

11 General Waldhauser: So, they work in areas where they
12 don't really have any competition from us. We're not in
13 countries where they are. We're not at places where ports
14 on the western side of Africa, which is my big concern, by
15 the way -- on the western side of Africa, we're not really
16 located there. So, there's no doubt about the fact that
17 they have long- -- a long-term vision, and, by 2049, the
18 100-year anniversary, part of this Belt and Road Initiative,
19 this is not -- Djibouti is not the first, and it won't be
20 the last port. And the growth of their military on the
21 continent, I don't know what it'll turn out to be, but I do
22 know that the Chinese -- they made a conscious decision to
23 start there, and they're not going to get smaller.

24 Senator Perdue: Other than Djibouti, do we have any
25 other access ports in Africa?

1 General Waldhauser: Well, I think I would say Capo
2 Verde, Senegal. These are places that we've talked about
3 before that are -- you know, they're good locations for the
4 Chinese. They want to have a government that's relatively
5 stable. They don't want to have to deal with problems and
6 so forth. You look where you -- where the military
7 geography -- meaning deepwater ports are there. So, I mean,
8 they certainly want other ports on the eastern -- and I
9 could -- you know, there's all kind of speculation about
10 what those other ports might be on the eastern side. But, I
11 do know they're looking on the western side, and that's a
12 concern for us, because --

13 Senator Perdue: Yes.

14 General Waldhauser: -- they can be in the Atlantic
15 Ocean rather quickly.

16 Senator Perdue: Admiral, the Ambassador in El Salvador
17 actually warned, last August, about what the military is --
18 Chinese military is planning to do in La Union, that
19 commercial port, where they do have a proprietary loan
20 there. Can you speak to how the NDS will affect this in
21 your AOR?

22 Admiral Faller: Senator, I think the NDS rightly
23 shined a light on this as a biggest challenge that will
24 confront us perhaps in the next generation --

25 Senator Perdue: But, we haven't resourced it yet.

1 Admiral Faller: We're working on the resourcing. It's
2 not -- as I've mentioned in previous questions, we need that
3 consistent level of resourcing in this AOR. In addition to
4 the ports you mentioned, I will also point out the space
5 stations that the Chinese are investing in and partnering in
6 in this AOR. And they -- and again, back to the education,
7 some of the basic military building blocks, they're taking a
8 page from our playbook. The Peace Ark deployed to South
9 America and the Caribbean this past year, they're trying to
10 replicate our playbook to win both access and influence, and
11 our counter has to be to remain present. We have the
12 ability to have the winning hand, based on our values, our
13 democratic principles, and the shared interests that we have
14 in this hemisphere.

15 Senator Perdue: Thank you both.

16 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Perdue.

17 All right. It seems this has come to a conclusion.

18 We appreciate your attention very much. It has been
19 very significant. And also appreciate the time both of you
20 have spent with me and other members of this committee.

21 If it's not an inconvenience to do so, we will now go
22 to the Senate Visitors, number 217, and we'll see how many
23 people want to conclude this with some questions that may
24 not have been appropriate for open session.

25 So, with that, we are adjourned.

1 [Whereupon, at 12:09 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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