## Stenographic Transcript Before the

## COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

## UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATIONS OF:
DR. CELESTE ANN WALLANDER TO BE ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS;
MS. MELISSA G. DALTON TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
DEFENSE FOR HOMELAND DEFENSE AND HEMISPHERIC
AFFAIRS; AND DR. JOHN F. PLUMB TO BE ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPACE POLICY

Thursday, January 13, 2022

Washington, D.C.

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1	HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATIONS OF:
2	DR. CELESTE ANN WALLANDER TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
3	DEFENSE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS;
4	MS. MELISSA G. DALTON TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
5	FOR HOMELAND DEFENSE AND HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS; AND DR. JOHN
6	F. PLUMB TO BE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPACE
7	POLICY
8	
9	Thursday, January 13, 2022
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11	U.S. Senate
12	Committee on Armed Services
13	Washington, D.C.
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15	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:36 a.m. in
16	Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack Reed,
17	chairman of the committee, presiding.
18	Committee members present: Senators Reed [presiding],
19	Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King,
20	Warren, Peters, Manchin, Rosen, Kelly, Inhofe, Wicker,
21	Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Scott,
22	Blackburn, Hawley, and Tuberville.
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- OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM
- 2 RHODE ISLAND
- 3 Chairman Reed: The Committee meets this morning to
- 4 consider the nominations of Dr. Celeste Wallander to be
- 5 Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security
- 6 Affairs, Ms. Melissa Dalton to be Assistant Secretary of
- 7 Defense for Homeland Defense and Hemispheric Affairs, and
- 8 Dr. John Plumb to be the Assistant Secretary of Defense for
- 9 Space Policy.
- I thank the nominees for their nominees for their long
- 11 careers of service to the United States and a willingness to
- 12 assume these important roles.
- I would also like to welcome the colleagues and family
- 14 members who are here with us today.
- Dr. Wallander, I welcome your guest, Professor Jeffrey
- 16 Anderson.
- Ms. Dalton, I welcome your guest, Jason.
- And Dr. Plumb, I welcome your parents, John and Marie.
- Dr. Wallander, you were nominated to be Assistant
- 20 Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. In
- 21 this role, you will be the principal advisor to the Under
- 22 Secretary of Defense for Policy and the Secretary of Defense
- on international security issues that relate to Europe,
- 24 Russia, the Middle East, and Africa. I would note your
- 25 qualifications and experience for this position, including

- 1 your role as president and CEO of the U.S. Russia
- 2 Foundation, Senior Director for Russian-Eurasian Affairs on
- 3 the National Security Council, and Deputy Assistant
- 4 Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia during
- 5 the Obama administration.
- If confirmed, there are several challenges that will
- 7 require your immediate attention. Most pressing is Russia's
- 8 increasingly aggressive posture on the Ukrainian border.
- 9 Diplomatic meetings are being held as we speak, but this
- 10 relationship is likely to remain a point of contention.
- I would ask that you share your assessment of U.S. and
- multilateral efforts to train and equip the Ukrainian
- 13 Security Forces and what balance the Department should
- 14 pursue in near term, training and equipping needs, and the
- 15 longer-term defensive capability development.
- 16 Iran also remains a complex challenge for the
- 17 Department. Even as indirect negotiations to return to the
- 18 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, the JCPOA, take place in
- 19 Vienna this month, Iranian-linked proxies continue to mount
- 20 drone and rocket attacks in the region, including against
- 21 bases in Iraq and Syria with a U.S. military presence.
- I look forward to your testimony on how the Department
- of Defense should respond to Iranian and malign influence in
- 24 the region, while preserving our continuing nuclear
- 25 negotiations.

- 1 Ms. Dalton, you are nominated to be Assistant Secretary
- of Defense for Homeland Defense and Hemispheric Affairs.
- 3 This position is responsible for supervision of the Homeland
- 4 Defense activities of the Department of Defense, as well as
- 5 defense support of civil authorities, Arctic, and global
- 6 resilience, and also western hemispheric affairs.
- 7 You have decades of experience, including your current
- 8 role, performing the duties of Assistant Secretary of
- 9 Defense to Strategy, Plans and Capabilities, will serve your
- 10 well in this position. If confirmed, you will be
- 11 responsible for integrating the Department of Defense's
- 12 Homeland Defense activities to include efforts to protect
- 13 critical infrastructure and assisting in Homeland Defense
- 14 matters for U.S. Northern Command, other combatant commands,
- 15 and the National Guard.
- I would like to know what you see as the major
- 17 challenges in the coming years with respect to these issues,
- 18 including protection of the Defense Industrial Base.
- Additionally, you will be responsible for policy issues
- 20 relating to the Western Hemisphere and the Arctic; regions,
- 21 that have seen increased attention from Russia, China, Iran,
- 22 and other recent actors.
- I look forward to your testimony on the appropriate
- 24 role of the Department of Defense in competing strategically
- 25 in these key regions.

- Dr. Plumb, you are nominated to be Assistant Secretary
- of Defense to Space Policy. This is a new position that was
- 3 established in the fiscal year 2020 National Defense
- 4 Authorization Act to ensure dedicated policy oversight over
- 5 the newly created Space Force. You are well qualified for
- 6 this position, having managed Missile Defense and Space
- 7 Policy issues for the Defense Department during the Obama
- 8 administration, as well as holding an undergraduate degree
- 9 in physics and a doctorate in aerospace engineering.
- 10 As Section 955 of the fiscal year 2020 NDAA outlines,
- 11 the principal duty of the Assistant Secretary shall be
- 12 overall supervision of policy of the Department of Defense
- 13 for space warfighting. I would highlight the word
- 14 "principal," because the Department has undertaken a major
- 15 reorganization of the office of the Under Secretary of
- 16 Defense for Policy and has realigned Nuclear Missile
- 17 Defense, Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction, and
- 18 Cybersecurity to your space portfolio.
- 19 Although similar in scope to earlier versions of this
- 20 position, there are major differences for your office,
- 21 including the disbanding of the Office of Nuclear Missile
- 22 Defense Policy, significant changes to the former Office of
- 23 Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction, and the movement of
- 24 Missile Defense to the Office of Space Policy; furthermore,
- 25 Cybersecurity, with all of its complexity, has been added to

Τ	your plate.								
2	During today's hearing, I will ask for your views about								
3	this reorganization and your plan to ensure that nuclear								
4	deterrence, the bedrock of our national security, is not								
5	lost in the shuffle; especially, as a new Nuclear Posture								
6	Review is imminent and we continue to grapple with serious								
7	challenges from China and Russia.								
8	Thank you, again, to our nominees. I look forward to								
9	your testimonies.								
10	Now, let me recognize the ranking member, Senator								
11	Inhofe.								
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- 1 STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM
- 2 OKLAHOMA
- 3 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to
- 4 our witnesses for being with us for this session.
- In 2021, our top military and intelligence leaders told
- 6 this Committee that the world is in the most dangerous and
- 7 complex position that it has been in our lifetimes and I
- 8 agree with it, and looking at what is happening across the
- 9 world, you have to agree.
- In 2018, the National Defense Strategy, there is our
- 11 book that we, it served us very well as a blueprint. It
- 12 provides a roadmap to prioritize security to challenge. And
- 13 I know that they are going to be re-doing this and upgrading
- it and all of that, and I hope that we don't lose the value
- 15 that it has been to us before, because it is truly a
- 16 masterpiece.
- We have a lot of challenges in areas overseas. China's
- 18 military modernization continues at an alarming pace and the
- 19 massive growth in its arsenal of nuclear weapons and
- 20 hypersonic missiles clearly shows that they are watching in
- 21 an unprecedented strategy breakout.
- Russia has built up well over 100,000 troops around
- 23 Ukraine and is ready for, yet, another invasion if Putin
- 24 gives the word. Russia also recently tested an anti-
- 25 satellite missile, creating a cloud of lethal debris that

- 1 made astronauts scramble for safety. This, again, shows
  2 Putin's blatant disregard for established norms.
- Meanwhile, Iran continues to fund global terrorism and
- 4 target American personnel and partners, and rampant
- 5 inflation is eating away at the defense budget. Not only
- 6 our troops, A, and the benefits, but also funding for
- 7 training, maintenance, and weapons acquisition. This
- 8 administration seems unable and/or unwilling to effectively
- 9 respond to the growing dangers and this paralysis damages
- 10 U.S. credibility and undermines the trust of our partners
- 11 and allies.
- 12 Even know, the administration seems intent on ending
- decades of all the security guarantees by watering down our
- 14 United States nuclear policies and exposing allies. And I
- will have the chance to pursue this a little bit during my
- 16 time for questioning.
- 17 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 18 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.
- And now let me recognize Dr. Wallander for her
- 20 testimony. Doctor?

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- 1 STATEMENT OF DR. CELESTE ANN WALLANDER, NOMINEE TO BE
- 2 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
- 3 AFFAIRS
- 4 Ms. Wallander: Good morning, Chairman Reed, Ranking
- 5 Member Inhofe, and distinguished members of the Committee.
- 6 Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you
- 7 today as you consider my nomination to serve as Assistant
- 8 Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.
- 9 I am grateful to President Biden, Secretary Austin, and
- 10 Under Secretary Kahl for their trust in my ability to serve
- in this role. It is also a privilege to appear on this
- 12 panel with colleagues who have also been nominated for
- 13 Assistant Secretary roles. If confirmed, it would be my
- 14 honor to work alongside them and ensure coordination between
- 15 the regional and functional policy offices within the
- 16 Department.
- I would like to take a moment to thank my dad, who
- 18 served in the U.S. Navy, and is a retired Chicago police
- officer, and my mom, who immigrated to the United States as
- 20 a little girl from Europe after World War II. They taught
- 21 me the gift of American citizenship and the duty to serve
- our country. I also thank my husband Jeff and our children
- Nathaniel, Joseph, and Genevieve, for their unshakeable love
- 24 and support.
- I am humbled by the prospect of returning to public

- 1 service. I served at the Pentagon as Deputy Assistant
- 2 Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia from
- 3 2009 to 2012, and then on the National Security Council
- 4 staff as the Senior Director for Russia and Central Asia
- 5 from 2013 to 2017. These roles equipped me with the skills
- 6 to manage critical defense relationships, navigate the
- 7 interagency policy formation process, and develop national
- 8 security policy in response to complex geopolitical
- 9 contexts.
- I have dedicated my career to both, studying and
- 11 working policy on European and Eurasian security, with a
- 12 focus on Russian foreign, military, and security affairs.
- If confirmed, I would work to utilize my scholarly and
- 14 government experiences in the service of U.S. national
- 15 security.
- 16 The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International
- 17 Security Affairs covers a broad portfolio that includes well
- 18 over 100 countries. ISA develops security policy and
- 19 manages defense and military relations. It stewards
- 20 Department resources to develop military capabilities,
- 21 support security cooperation programs, conduct foreign
- 22 military sales, and perform other key activities in those
- 23 regions. I would be honored to lead the talented
- 24 professionals supporting this vast portfolio should I be
- 25 confirmed.

- 1 The regional portfolio presents some of the most
- 2 difficult defense challenges facing the United States. I
- 3 appreciate that members of this committee are closely
- 4 tracking Russian threats against Ukraine. As a private
- 5 citizen, I have been deeply concerned about Russian military
- 6 concentrations.
- 7 If confirmed, I would develop policy and strategic
- 8 options for the Secretary to deter Russia, ensure
- 9 appropriate response to Russian aggression, and safeguard
- 10 U.S. and Transatlantic security.
- I support the Biden administration's work to unite NATO
- on deterrence and diplomacy, as well as provide continued
- defensive, lethal assistance to Ukraine. I also support the
- 14 administration's close consultations with European allies
- 15 and partners on options for deterrence, as well as serious
- 16 consequences for Russia in the event of escalation.
- If confirmed, I will be ready and able to advance the
- 18 Department's preparations for all contingencies. This will
- 19 be my top priority, if confirmed, and, I would immediately
- 20 focus on being briefed in detail about the current state of
- 21 play.
- I share the goals and commitments advanced in the
- 23 Global Posture Review, including an effective
- 24 counterterrorism posture in the Middle East and robust
- 25 deterrence against Iran. Our force protection mission is

- 1 also essential, particularly, in the face of attacks by
- 2 Iranian proxies in Iraq.
- If confirmed, I will also advance our strategy in
- 4 Africa to build partner capacity, strengthen African
- 5 security institutions, and counter violent extremist
- 6 organizations.
- 7 I share Secretary Austin's view that China is the
- 8 pacing challenge for the Department. I also share his view
- 9 that the strength of our alliances and partnerships is one
- 10 of our greatest assets in that challenge, and all others.
- If confirmed, I will prioritize these critical defense
- 12 partnerships in order to strengthen our security and deter
- 13 our adversaries.
- 14 The responsibilities of International Security Affairs
- 15 require thoughtful and sustained military diplomacy with our
- 16 allies and partners across the globe. I know that members
- of this committee recognize the importance of this mission,
- 18 and I am personally invested in working with Congress to
- 19 address these shared challenges and opportunities. I
- 20 appreciate your longstanding bipartisan approach to national
- 21 security issues and would look forward to working in
- 22 partnership with this committee and consulting regularly
- with Congress, if confirmed.
- 24 Thank you for considering my nomination, and I look
- 25 forward to your questions.

Τ	[The	statement	Οİ	Ms.	Wallander	iollows:]
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- 1 STATEMENT OF MELISSA G. DALTON, NOMINEE TO BE
- 2 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR HOMELAND DEFENSE AND
- 3 HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS
- 4 Ms. Dalton: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, and
- 5 members of the Committee, it is an honor to be considered as
- 6 President Biden's nominee for Assistant Secretary of Defense
- 7 for Homeland Defense and Hemispheric Affairs.
- 8 I am grateful to President Biden, Secretary Austin,
- 9 Deputy Secretary Hicks, and Under Secretary Kahl for their
- 10 trust and confidence in me.
- I wish to thank my family, friends, and mentors for
- their encouragement, particularly, my husband and true
- 13 north, Jason, who is here today; my two amazing children,
- 14 Jacob and Isabelle; and my parents, Ann and Ravi.
- 15 My father chose to make this country his own as an
- 16 immigrant from India. He and my mother imbued within me a
- 17 deep respect for the foundational values of our great
- 18 nation. I come from a family committed to public service
- 19 and have been drawn to it since I was 22 years old. I am
- 20 honored by the prospect of serving in this new capacity.
- I began my career at the Defense Department as a civil
- 22 servant during the Bush administration and served for a
- 23 decade in several policy and intelligence roles. I then
- 24 spent 6 years at the bipartisan think tank, the Center for
- 25 Strategic and International Studies. I was honored to

- 1 return to OSD Policy last January as Principal Deputy
- 2 Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy, Plans, and
- 3 Capabilities as a member of the Biden-Harris administration.
- 4 If confirmed, I would bring my experience as a defense
- 5 leader, thinker, and practitioner to the position.
- As Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense
- 7 and Hemispheric Affairs, I would look forward to advancing
- 8 enduring Department priorities and new focus areas, such as
- 9 Arctic security and climate policy, if confirmed. My office
- 10 would prioritize issues that impact our homeland defense as
- 11 the Department's number one priority.
- 12 If confirmed, my priority would be defeating the COVID-
- 13 19 pandemic, which remains the most immediate threat to U.S.
- 14 national security and to the health, safety, and readiness
- of our servicemembers; in addition, if confirmed, I would
- 16 ensure DOD maintains resilience to execute our most critical
- 17 national security functions, and to provide continuity to
- 18 other parts of Government, in the face of all hazard
- 19 threats. The resilience of our critical infrastructure and
- 20 capabilities at home strengthens deterrence of potential
- 21 adversary aggression and enables a robust foreign policy
- abroad.
- If confirmed, I would ensure DOD's unparalleled and
- 24 flexible capacity is leveraged effectively and appropriately
- in support of Federal, State, and local leadership, law

- 1 enforcement, public health, and emergency management.
- 2 Under the updated OSD-Policy organization, Homeland
- 3 Defense and Hemispheric Affairs will also focus on Arctic
- 4 security and global resilience. The Arctic is a complex
- 5 theater of growing strategic importance. I appreciate this
- 6 committee's leadership in prioritizing this region.
- 7 In addition, as Secretary Austin has stated, to keep
- 8 the nation secure, we must tackle the existential threat of
- 9 climate change. Climate change already touches most of what
- 10 the Department does, and this threat will continue to have
- 11 implications for U.S. national security.
- 12 Homeland Defense and Hemispheric Affairs is also the
- office from which DOD supports civil authorities responding
- 14 to extreme weather events, including wildfires and
- 15 hurricanes.
- 16 If confirmed, I would provide oversight of these
- 17 distinct, but also interrelated issues, as part of a whole-
- 18 of-government approach.
- 19 If confirmed, my office would unite policymaking on
- 20 both sides of the Southwest Border, bringing our defense
- 21 relationships with Central and South American neighbors
- 22 under the same policy oversight umbrella as our support to
- the Department of Homeland Security and local partners on
- 24 the border. This organization will help us make better and
- 25 more holistic policy across these issues to address the

- 1 drivers of migration and effects in the homeland as part of
- 2 a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach.
- More broadly, if confirmed, I would seek to forge even
- 4 deeper bonds with our Western Hemisphere neighbors, based on
- 5 principles of mutual respect and equality and a commitment
- 6 to economic prosperity, security, human rights, and dignity.
- 7 On the many issues in this portfolio, DOD plays a
- 8 critical supporting role to other departments and agencies.
- 9 If confirmed, I am committed to making sure that DOD
- 10 supports civil authorities to the best of our ability,
- 11 without compromising DOD's core missions and warfighting
- 12 readiness. I would also focus on building relationships and
- 13 trust across Government and reinforcing the strong tradition
- of healthy civil-military relations in the Department and in
- our democracy, to do this job as effectively as possible, if
- 16 confirmed.
- I have deep appreciation for this Committee and its
- 18 role in the formation and oversight of our national security
- 19 policy.
- If confirmed, I commit to consulting with you regularly
- 21 to advance our nation's priorities in an active, bipartisan,
- 22 and cooperative spirit together.
- 23 Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to
- 24 your questions.
- 25 [The statement of Ms. Dalton follows:]

- 1 STATEMENT OF DR. JOHN F. PLUMB, NOMINEE TO BE
- 2 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPACE POLICY
- 3 Mr. Plumb: Thank you, Senator.
- 4 Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, members of the
- 5 committee, thank you. I am both, proud and humbled, to be
- 6 testifying before you today. I have always admired and
- 7 respected the thoughtful, bipartisan work of this committee.
- 8 I would like to thank President Biden, Secretary
- 9 Austin, and Deputy Secretary Hicks for their trust in me and
- in my ability to continue to serve the nation, if confirmed
- 11 as the first Assistant Secretary of Defense for Space
- 12 Policy.
- I would like to thank, also, my parents, who are here
- 14 today, and my brother and sisters, and my wife and kids for
- their love and support, that allows me to be here before you
- 16 today, and being here is, indeed, an honor.
- I grew up in rural, Western New York, in a family for
- 18 whom service to country is a proud tradition. Both my
- 19 grandfathers were in the Army Air Corps during World War 2.
- 20 My father was in the Army for the first 4 years of my
- 21 life, at Fort Richardson in Alaska. I have a brother and a
- 22 sister who serve in the Air Force, and as for me, I joined
- 23 the Navy and became a submarine officer.
- 24 Since leaving active duty, I have remained active in
- 25 the Navy Reserves for two decades. As a civilian, I have

- 1 served in these very halls as the military advisor to
- 2 Senator Ken Salazar. I have served in the Pentagon, and I
- 3 have served on the National Security Council staff.
- 4 If confirmed, I believe my lifetime of service has
- 5 prepared me to better advance and defend U.S. national
- 6 security interests, and to work with this committee while
- 7 doing so.
- 8 The ASD for Space Policy position appropriately
- 9 elevates the space portfolio within the Policy organization.
- 10 If confirmed, I look forward to working with this
- 11 committee to ensure space receives the attention, the
- 12 prioritization, and the resources this critical domain
- 13 demands. Space, nuclear weapons, missile defenses, cyber,
- 14 and the ability to detect and stop the proliferation of
- weapons of mass destruction are all key to U.S. national
- 16 security, and the integration of these capabilities is
- 17 essential for the era of strategic competition the U.S. must
- 18 now rise to meet.
- 19 As members of this committee are well aware, the
- 20 security environment facing the United States at this moment
- 21 in history is a challenging one. Secretary Austin has
- 22 articulated that China is the pacing challenge for the
- 23 Department, and China's behavior with its own strategic
- 24 capabilities is a matter of grave concern. From its kinetic
- 25 anti-satellite weapon test in 2007 that created a persistent

- debris cloud, to the uncontrolled reentry of a rocket stage
- 2 last May, China has yet to demonstrate that it is a
- 3 responsible spacefaring nation.
- 4 In the cyber domain, the growing pace and scale of
- 5 cyberattacks from China far exceeds the bounds of
- 6 traditional statecraft. The Commander of U.S. Strategic
- 7 Command has expressed concern that China's nuclear forces
- 8 are in the midst of a strategic breakout. Reports of a
- 9 hypersonic glide vehicle test in August, via a fractional
- orbit bombardment system, if true, are deeply troubling, and
- 11 maybe most troublesome of all is China's near, total lack of
- 12 transparency regarding its strategic capabilities, and its
- demonstrated unwillingness to discuss them.
- Russia also continues to present a challenge on
- 15 multiple fronts. Russian activities in space, including its
- 16 destructive ASAT test just this November, are an ongoing
- 17 concern. And Russia's reliance on, and integration of,
- 18 nuclear weapons throughout its forces, from the tactical to
- 19 strategic, is troubling. Russian cyber activity includes
- 20 State tolerance of cyber criminals and State-sponsored
- 21 weaponization of social media.
- 22 And amid all these problems, North Korea continues to
- 23 expand its nuclear arsenal and delivery systems, while
- 24 Iran's uranium enrichment presents both, a nuclear
- 25 proliferation and a security challenge.

- 1 I understand the Department is diligently working to
- 2 strengthen our deterrence posture: modernizing our nuclear
- deterrent, modernizing our infrastructure, improving our
- 4 cyber defenses and capabilities, and working to protect and
- 5 defend our interests, not just on Earth, but in space.
- If confirmed, I will work to continue these efforts,
- 7 while seeking to incorporate our allies as fully as
- 8 possible.
- 9 I firmly believe our allies provide a mutual, strategic
- 10 advantage that neither China, nor Russia could ever hope to
- 11 match.
- I believe the U.S. is at its strongest and best when
- 13 national security is a bipartisan effort, and that is, the
- 14 old adage goes: Politics really should stop at the water's
- 15 edge.
- If confirmed, that is how I intend to approach the
- 17 position and its attendant responsibilities, and if
- 18 confirmed, I commit to working closely with this committee
- 19 to ensure U.S. national security interests are advanced and
- 20 defended.
- 21 Thank you once more for inviting me to testify. I look
- 22 forward to your questions.
- [The statement of Mr. Plumb follows:]

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- 1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.
- I have a series of standard questions, which survey
- 3 nominees must respond to. You may answer together.
- 4 Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulations
- 5 governing conflicts of interest?
- 6 [All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]
- 7 Chairman Levin: Have you assumed any duties or
- 8 undertaken any actions which would appear to presume the
- 9 outcome of the confirmation process?
- 10 [All three witnesses answered in the negative.]
- 11 Chairman Reed: Exercising our legislative and
- 12 oversight responsibilities makes it important that this
- 13 Committee, its Subcommittees and other appropriate
- 14 Committees of Congress receive testimony, briefings,
- 15 reports, records, and other information from the Executive
- 16 Branch on a timely basis.
- Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear and testify
- 18 before this Committee when requested?
- 19 [All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]
- 20 Chairman Reed: Do you agree to provide records,
- 21 documents, and electronic communications in a timely manner
- 22 when requested by this Committee, its Subcommittees, or
- other appropriate Committees of Congress, and to consult
- 24 with the requestor regarding a basis for any good faith
- 25 delay or denial in providing such records?

- 1 [All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]
- 2 Chairman Reed: Will you ensure that your staff
- 3 complies with deadlines established by this Committee for
- 4 the production of reports, records, and other information,
- 5 including timely responding to hearing questions for the
- 6 record?
- 7 [All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]
- 8 Chairman Reed: Will you cooperate and provide any
- 9 witnesses and briefers in response to a congressional
- 10 request?
- 11 [All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]
- 12 Chairman Reed: Will those witnesses and briefers be
- 13 protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings?
- [All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]
- 15 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.
- Ms. Dalton, it was just announced this morning that the
- 17 President and Secretary Austin have directed the deployment
- of approximately 1,000 military medical personnel to several
- 19 states, including the state of Rhode Island, to provide
- 20 support with the Omicron variant proliferation.
- One of your responsibilities, as you have indicated, is
- 22 to cooperate the support, such as this, to states, to
- localities, to the Northern Command, et cetera.
- Are you concerned about the strain that the Defense
- 25 Support of Civil Authorities is placing on our active forces

- 1 and also our National Guard?
- Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for the question.
- 3 This terrible pandemic, unfortunately, has taken
- 4 countless lives over the last 2 years and it is the most
- 5 immediate threat to the United States and Americans. And
- 6 so, I believe that the National Guard has played a really
- 7 important role in supporting local medical authorities and
- 8 in the development and production of vaccines.
- 9 If confirmed, I would look forward to building upon
- 10 these efforts to support civil authorities, as appropriate,
- 11 but as you indicated, Senator, an important element of
- 12 determining the appropriate use of the DSCA authority is
- 13 looking towards warfighting readiness. And the Secretary
- 14 has made clear that the number one pacing challenge for the
- 15 Department is China.
- So, I would look forward to applying that framework, if
- 17 confirmed.
- 18 Chairman Reed: Well, thank you very much.
- Dr. Wallander, you are being nominated for a very
- 20 critical position at the moment because of the situation on
- 21 the Ukrainian border. But you were, I believe, in the White
- 22 House on the National Security Council in 2014 when Russia
- 23 moved into the Crimea and Donbas.
- 24 Can you reflect about how those experiences will shape
- or help your response in your analysis of these issues?

- 1 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for your focus on
- 2 this critical issue for American and allied national
- 3 security at this time.
- 4 Russia has proven itself to be willing and able to use
- 5 multiple instruments in pursuit of its national security
- 6 goals, including preventing Ukraine from continuing the path
- 7 of its Euro-Atlantic aspirations. I believe that the
- 8 lessons of 2014 were that the United States needs to be,
- 9 first and foremost, unified with our allies and partners,
- 10 not only in Europe, but globally, in order to provoke a
- 11 unified front to the Kremlin and make them understand that
- 12 they cannot divide us. And the second lesson would be to
- 13 rapidly develop ways to impose costs on the Russian
- 14 leadership and to support Ukraine in defense of its
- 15 territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- 16 Chairman Reed: Thank you.
- Dr. Plumb, the office you are nominated to lead is
- 18 nearly identical to the Office of Global Strategic Affairs,
- 19 which was abolished in 2014, except that the Office of
- 20 Nuclear and Missile Defense Policy has now been abolished
- 21 with the nuclear policy mission being merged into an Office
- 22 of Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction, now renamed:
- 23 Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Policy.
- 24 If confirmed, and given our circumstances with Russia
- 25 and China, can you use this new arrangement to maintain our

- 1 critical strategic deterrence policy, and in that response,
- why did we need such a reorganization?
- Mr. Plumb: Thank you very much, Senator.
- Just from the top, let me just say our nuclear
- 5 deterrence mission is absolutely critical. Secretary Austin
- 6 has called it the Department of Defense's number one
- 7 priority. I fully agree with that assessment.
- 8 And if confirmed, I will work to ensure that our
- 9 nuclear deterrent is safe, strong, effective, and credible.
- 10 As for the ability to maintain the offices, so inside this
- office, the Secretary transferred policy, in my experience,
- 12 there are individual offices. The offices move as a unit.
- So, the Nuclear Weapons Policy Office remains intact;
- 14 it is now merged with the Countering Weapons of Mass
- 15 Destruction Office. I think there is actually some
- 16 advantage to having those two offices in the same,
- 17 underneath the same DESI-ship because it requires them to
- 18 coordinate with each other and be aware of each other at a
- 19 level that, perhaps, they weren't in previous organizations.
- The logic to the reorg, I guess, I would say I think
- 21 there is a good logic to it. I think the functional aspects
- of Department of Defense need to be integrated as we
- 23 approach the adversaries. And, you know, our near-peer
- 24 adversaries are the same in all domains: China and Russia.
- 25 And so, for that, I think there is good logic in making

- 1 sure that those plans and approaches are integrated. The
- 2 adversary clearly sees us as a whole and not stovepiped.
- 3 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.
- 4 Senator Inhofe, please?
- 5 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I do have a question for each one of the witnesses, and
- 7 so I am going to ask for real fast responses and try to get
- 8 to all three of them, in fact, we will get to all three of
- 9 them.
- 10 Dr. Plumb, five of my colleagues and I recently sent a
- 11 letter to senior administration officials expressing concern
- 12 that President Biden might pursue changes to a longstanding
- 13 U.S. nuclear declaratory policy, despite increasingly give
- 14 moves by China and Russia and the clear objectives,
- objections that we have had from our allies.
- Deputy Secretary Hicks agreed with our conclusion at
- 17 her confirmation hearing, stating, I don't believe that a
- 18 no-first-use policy is in the best interests of the United
- 19 States.
- 20 Do you agree?
- 21 Mr. Plumb: Senator, thank you.
- I agree with Deputy Secretary Hicks. I personally, do
- 23 not believe no-first-use is a good idea at this time, and I
- 24 would say taking the allies into consideration is absolutely
- 25 essential. My caveat here, of course, is declaratory policy

- 1 is the purview of the President.
- 2 Senator Inhofe: Well, and, yeah, because I think it
- 3 was pretty specific when she said, I don't believe no-first-
- 4 use policy is in the best interests of the United States.
- 5 Thank you very much.
- 6 Dr. Wallander, China is aggressively modernizing its
- 7 military and expanding its presence around the world and
- 8 particularly true in Africa. I can remember it wasn't too
- 9 long ago we didn't even have an AFRICOM and the continent
- 10 was divided into three different commands. That was not
- 11 workable; we didn't correct that, and so we have gotten a
- 12 lot more attention.
- However, China is becoming a lot more aggressive in
- 14 Djibouti and other areas in there. General Townsend called
- it the number one global power competition concern.
- 16 This has been a concern of mine for a long period of
- 17 time. Even at the time that we started its own dedicated
- 18 command, but nonetheless, the problem is still there. And
- 19 know that AFRICOM does not have the capabilities and
- 20 resources to actually address this, and I think that is a
- 21 problem.
- Do you agree that it is a problem that we lack
- 23 resources in taking care of the needs that we have in our
- 24 allies in that continent?
- Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for your focus on

- 1 the issue of Chinese and Russian strategic competition,
- 2 active in Africa. I share your concern.
- I, if confirmed, look forward to building on the
- 4 existing defense and security partnerships we have with our,
- 5 with countries in Africa, and I believe and agree with you
- 6 that we need to look at the resources, especially as China
- 7 has pivoted towards seeking military access and presence.
- 8 Senator Inhofe: All the way down through, and that is true.
- I may come back if I have a minute, but, regardless, I
- 10 look forward to visiting with you with regularity on this
- 11 subject.
- Ms. Dalton, the year 2021 witnessed the surge in
- illegal Southwest Border crossings and the Border Patrol
- 14 recorded 174,000 encounters with illegal immigrants in
- 15 November. That is a record for that month.
- President Biden and his spokesperson have both referred
- 17 to this as a crisis and I believe. I agree that it is a
- 18 crisis.
- I would like to ask if you agree that it is a crisis
- 20 that we are facing right now on our Southwest Border?
- Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting this
- 22 challenge. And I agree with you that it is a serious
- 23 situation on the Southwest Border.
- And if confirmed, I would look forward to working as
- 25 part of an interagency effort both, in the homeland context,

- 1 working closely with the Department of Homeland Security and
- 2 the Department of Justice to address the challenge, and then
- 3 also working very closely with our Central and South
- 4 American partners upstream to address some of the drivers of
- 5 migration, I think.
- 6 Senator Inhofe: That is fine.
- 7 So, you agree that it is a crisis?
- 8 Ms. Dalton: Yes, Senator.
- 9 Senator Inhofe: Thank you very much.
- 10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 11 Senator Shaheen: Presiding.] Thank you, Senator
- 12 Inhofe.
- 13 Let me begin by congratulating each of our nominees and
- 14 thanking for your willingness to serve.
- I would like to begin with you, Dr. Plumb. I chair the
- 16 Commerce, Justice, and Science Appropriations Subcommittee
- 17 and I have supported the effort to transition the civil
- 18 space situation of awareness from the Space Force's 30th
- 19 Space Wing to the Department of Commerce. Unfortunately, I
- 20 have to say that the transition has been challenged by a
- 21 lack of clarity on the cost of that mission. There has not
- been a willingness on the part of the agency to be
- 23 forthcoming on the cost and that puts us in a really
- 24 difficult position, with respect to how much money we need
- 25 to try and appropriate for the Department of Commerce.

- So, if confirmed, will you commit to working with me to
- 2 improve the Department of Defense's transparency on this
- 3 issue so that we can better make that transition and ensure
- 4 that the funding is there that is going to be needed?
- 5 Mr. Plumb: Senator, thank you for that question.
- I think space-traffic management is absolutely
- 7 essential and I do agree that it should be conducted by a
- 8 civil agency and not the Department of Defense. And I will
- 9 commit to you to help discover the right amount of resources
- 10 and training and opportunities needed to make that shift.
- It is a difficult shift, but I think it is needed.
- 12 Senator Shaheen: Thank you very much.
- Dr. Wallander, in your article "NATO's Enemies Within,"
- 14 you stated that NATO actually faces new vulnerabilities as
- we see some of its recent members that are drifting towards
- 16 authoritarianism; Hungary the one that comes most to mind.
- But that gives Russia more insights into what is
- 18 happening at NATO at a very critical time.
- 19 So, can you talk about what your role might be and what
- 20 the appropriate role of the Department of Defense ought to
- 21 be as we look at what is happening with some of those
- 22 countries in NATO.
- Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you. Thank you for
- 24 reading my article and thank you for highlighting the
- 25 importance of NATO as a military alliance, but a military

- 1 alliance of democratic countries. The strength of NATO lies
- 2 in the defense and military capabilities of its members, but
- 3 also the quality of its democratic governance of its
- 4 members.
- 5 And it is in that regard, if confirmed, I would focus
- 6 on, as the Defense Department does in its security and
- 7 defense partnerships with allies and partners, issues of
- 8 democratic governance, civilian control of the military.
- 9 And the strong bond of NATO allies, that is part of
- 10 what keeps it strong, and as you note, limits the influence
- 11 of Russian corrupt political and business relationships.
- 12 Senator Shaheen: And would you agree that right now,
- 13 given Russia's threat to Ukraine, that that is particularly
- 14 critical. It was disappointing to hear the readout from the
- 15 meeting yesterday that Russia was suggesting that because we
- 16 are not willing to give them a veto threat over who joins
- 17 NATO that it is going to, it sounded like it encourages them
- 18 to think about invading Ukraine.
- 19 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I very much share your concern
- 20 at Russian threats and statements. And I think we see the
- 21 efforts of Russia to prevent another aspirant country,
- 22 Ukraine, which seeks that democratic, Euro-Atlantic future
- 23 and Russia leverages, not just military capabilities, but
- 24 political and economic influence, to try to prevent that
- 25 from happening.

- 1 And, if confirmed, I will focus on, again, not just
- 2 defense relationships and capabilities, but the quality of
- 3 the democratic transitions and governance.
- 4 Senator Shaheen: Thank you very much.
- 5 This question is really both for you and Ms. Dalton.
- 6 As you know, the Syrian democratic forces have stated that
- 7 they are not able to take long-term responsibility for ISIS
- 8 detainees and for the camps that currently house so many of
- 9 the families of those ISIS detainees. And the one in Syria,
- 10 Al-Hol, comes most to mind with 60,000 women and children,
- 11 who are family members of ISIS fighters. And most
- 12 assessments of what is happening there suggests that that
- camp is a hotbed for radicalization of the family members
- 14 who are there.
- So, do you believe that addressing the plight of those
- 16 detainees in Syria should be included in strategic planning
- 17 processes as we are looking at how we continue to address
- 18 potential threats from terrorism?
- Ms. Dalton, I will ask you to respond first.
- Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting this
- 21 concern. It is an issue that I focused on in my prior
- 22 affiliation with the Center for Strategic and International
- 23 Studies.
- 24 Certainly, in my present position, I do believe that we
- 25 need to be looking at both, the security and the

- 1 humanitarian facets of this challenge set, and I am sure
- 2 that that is the approach that my colleagues working
- 3 counterterrorism and humanitarian affairs in the Department
- 4 in the interagency are taking. Thank you.
- 5 Senator Shaheen: And do you agree with that, Dr.
- 6 Wallander?
- 7 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I fully agree with what Ms.
- 8 Dalton said. I agree it is a combined security challenge
- 9 and humanitarian problem that we have to take seriously and
- 10 work through a whole-of-government approach to resolve.
- 11 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. Hopefully, we will see an
- 12 ISIS detainee coordinator appointed as this Committee and
- 13 the NDAA in 2020 requested.
- 14 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 15 Chairman Reed: [Presiding.] Thank you, Senator
- 16 Shaheen.
- 17 Senator Wicker, please?
- 18 Senator Wicker: Thank you very much.
- To our first witness, Doctor, how should we pronounce
- 20 your last name?
- Ms. Wallander: Senator, however you like, but
- 22 Wallander.
- 23 Senator Wicker: All right. Okay.
- Well, Dr. Wallander, you were, you served in the
- 25 administration as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia,

- 1 Ukraine, and Eurasia Policy from 2009 to 2012; a very hot
- 2 issue. And then you moved over as Senior Director for
- 3 Russia and Central Asia from 2013 to 2017, which means you
- 4 were right there when Russia invaded the sovereign nation of
- 5 Ukraine.
- 6 Do you think our policy, in response to that invasion,
- 7 at the time, was correct?
- 8 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for highlighting
- 9 this extremely important question. And I share your concern
- 10 about this long track record of Russian aggression against
- 11 its neighbors, including Ukraine.
- I believe that our response in 2014 was too slow and
- 13 too incremental.
- And, if confirmed, I would apply the lessons that I
- learned, and I believe others in the U.S. national security
- 16 community, learned to better address Russia's ongoing and
- 17 heightened aggression against its neighbors.
- 18 Senator Wicker: I would go farther than you. You said
- 19 it was too slow and too incremental.
- We really didn't provide them with any lethal weapons
- 21 for quite a period of time; is that correct?
- Ms. Wallander: That is correct, Senator.
- 23 Senator Wicker: And I noticed in answer to an earlier
- 24 question, you talk about a unified approach with Europe and
- 25 imposing costs. I do think I understand you to say that

- 1 providing lethal weapons to Ukraine would also be part of
- 2 your approach, your recommended approach to the President;
- 3 is that correct?
- 4 Ms. Wallander: Yes, Senator; that is correct.
- 5 Senator Wicker: And let me ask you, I appreciate the
- 6 question that the distinguished senator from Oklahoma asked
- 7 about no-first-use.
- 8 Do you think Russia would have invaded Ukraine in 2014
- 9 if they had retained their nuclear capability, rather than
- 10 giving it up after the breakdown of the Soviet, the breakup
- 11 of the Soviet Union?
- 12 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I think a full answer to your
- 13 question would depend on the trajectory of how Ukrainian
- 14 security and defense forces maintain control and
- 15 modernization of those forces. And I think we have to count
- 16 concerns about proliferation in our assessment of that
- 17 trajectory.
- But I believe that, that was the correct course of
- 19 action to support non-proliferation at the time. And the
- 20 focus, if confirmed, of our security and defense cooperation
- 21 that I would support would be Ukraine's conventional defense
- 22 capabilities and the enablers it needs to be able to counter
- 23 the enormous Russian threat.
- Senator Wicker: You know, Dr. Wallander, I think we
- 25 all thought that at the time.

- 1 President Zelensky, the overwhelmingly elected
- 2 President of the sovereign nation of Ukraine, is in support
- of a cruise initiative that the Senate may vote on today,
- 4 which would impose sanctions on Russian entities associated
- 5 with the Nord Stream 2 Pipeline.
- 6 It is a fact that Vladimir Putin has amassed some
- 7 100,000, plus or minus, Russian troops on the border of the
- 8 sovereign Ukrainian nation; is that correct?
- 9 Ms. Wallander: Senator, that is correct. And I would
- 10 add --
- 11 Senator Wicker: So, they have taken a very aggressive
- 12 action.
- And does it seem to you, advisable, to take the advice
- of the person who is in the hottest of hot seats, and that
- is the President of the sovereign nation, and say, let's go
- 16 ahead and respond to this very aggressive action?
- 17 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I am not fully aware of the
- 18 proposal that you are referring to, but I agree that the
- 19 United States needs multiple elements in its toolkit to
- 20 include sanctions, to include continued and probably
- 21 enhanced defensive, legal assistance to Ukraine, and to look
- 22 at NATO posture in Eastern Europe in order to defend and
- 23 deter against Russian aggression.
- Senator Wicker: Well, we could do that.
- 25 Briefly, do you think adding two destroyers based in

- 1 Rota, to the four that we already have, would also be an
- 2 effective deterrent to Russia's aggressive ambitions?
- 3 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I am not briefed on
- 4 intelligence assessments, but I will say from my
- 5 understanding of publicly available information, that the
- 6 Russian presence and activities in the Black Sea, in
- 7 particular, are of significant concern.
- 8 And if confirmed, I would want to look at the U.S.
- 9 naval presence and posture, along the lines of what you
- 10 suggest.
- 11 Senator Wicker: If you could supplement that answer on
- 12 the record, I would appreciate it.
- 13 Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 14 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Wicker.
- 15 Senator Blumenthal, please?
- 16 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman.
- I join in thanking all of you for your service, your
- 18 previous service, and your willingness to serve in the
- 19 future.
- Ms. Wallander, I would like to continue the
- 21 conversation that you were having with Senator Wicker. Have
- there been indications, so far as you are aware in, let's
- 23 say the last week, of increasing mobilization at various
- 24 points, by the Russian military in possible preparation for
- an engagement?

- 1 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I will repeat. As a private
- 2 citizen, I don't have access to classified assessments;
- 3 however, I have been tracking the public information
- 4 available on the matters that you raise and it is my
- 5 understanding that there are some signs of continuing
- 6 Russian redeployment of forces from east in the country,
- 7 further west, and that is a matter of considerable concern.
- 8 Not just forces, but heavy, armored forces.
- 9 Senator Blumenthal: So, there are some indications
- 10 that this situation may be coming to a head?
- 11 Ms. Wallander: There is plenty of reason to assess,
- 12 Senator, that it is certainly not de-escalating and it may
- 13 be escalating.
- 14 Senator Blumenthal: Do you think that the United
- 15 States has sent sufficient arms, particularly, Javelin anti-
- 16 armor weaponry, Stinger anti-aircraft weaponry? Do you
- 17 think that we can make clearer, not only our strong support
- 18 for Ukraine, but also provide the very specific weaponry
- 19 needed by Ukraine to defend itself?
- 20 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I thank you for focusing on
- 21 Ukraine's defense needs to counter the Russian aggression.
- 22 And I would like to thank this Committee and the
- 23 Senate, actually, in a bipartisan manner over many years, to
- 24 support Ukraine's defensive capabilities, because Ukraine is
- in a much stronger position to be able to resist and fight

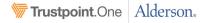
- 1 against a Russian invasion, should it happen.
- 2 To answer your question specifically, I think those are
- 3 the kinds of capabilities in it heightened threat
- 4 environment that, if confirmed, I would want to look at in
- 5 order to enable Ukraine to deal with this escalation of
- 6 Russian capability that we have discussed.
- 7 Senator Blumenthal: I assume that you want to do more
- 8 than look at it, because time is not on our side here. I
- 9 would hope that you would urge, as imminently as possible,
- in fact, even before your confirmation, perhaps, that the
- 11 United States take more aggressive and strong action to
- 12 bolster Ukrainian systems with radar systems, with the
- 13 Javelin anti-armor missiles, with Stinger and other anti-
- 14 aircraft missiles, and other capability that will show
- 15 Vladimir Putin that we mean business, because in my view,
- 16 that is the only sign that he will respect, other than
- 17 strong economic sanctions.
- 18 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I agree with you; those are
- 19 core requirements that Ukraine needs in the face of the
- 20 force that Russia has amassed.
- 21 Senator Blumenthal: Let me ask you on a different
- 22 topic, Ms. Wallander. The United States, in its withdrawal
- from Afghanistan promised, in fact, the President, himself,
- 24 promised that we would not leave behind our at-risk, Afghan
- 25 allies, who have stood by us over the 20 years of war and

- 1 now have targets on their back. Many of them are in hiding.
- 2 They are in desperate and dire straits, particularly,
- 3 during the approaching winter.
- 4 Has the United States done enough to enable those at-
- 5 risk, Afghan allies to evacuate? Shouldn't we be doing
- 6 more?
- 7 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I share your concern deeply
- 8 with what we have seen, and the fact that the United States
- 9 was not able, along with our partners who stepped up and
- 10 really supported the effort to evacuate and provide safe
- 11 haven for those individuals.
- 12 If confirmed, I commit to you that I will participate
- with my interagency colleagues and with colleagues at the
- 14 Defense Department to ensure that we are doing everything
- 15 possible to assist those individuals and to find them safe
- 16 haven and exit from Afghanistan, if they desire.
- 17 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you for that answer.
- I will look forward to submitting some additional
- 19 questions for the record on this topic.
- 20 My time has expired. But I welcome your commitment to
- 21 do everything possible. Right now, our country is doing far
- less than everything possible and I hope that we will step
- 23 up our efforts.
- 24 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 25 Chairman Reed: Thanks, Senator Blumenthal.

- 1 Senator Fischer, please?
- 2 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- Before turning to my questions, I would like to speak
- 4 to some of my colleague's concerns about changes to our
- 5 declaratory policy that this administration is reportedly
- 6 considering.
- 7 I think it is important to remember that the Obama
- 8 administration rejected these changes in a far more benign
- 9 security environment than what we are currently seeing
- 10 today. With China's nuclear breakout and Russia amassing
- 11 forces on Ukraine's border, adopting a no-first-use, or
- 12 sole-purpose policy, would be irresponsible and it would
- 13 strain relations with our allies at the worst possible
- 14 moment. As Senator Blumenthal just said, we must show that
- we mean business; that is what President Putin respects, and
- 16 that applies in this area, as well.
- Dr. Plumb, in your response to the Committee's advanced
- 18 policy questions about establishing norms of behavior in
- 19 space, you acknowledge that Russian and Chinese behavior
- 20 clearly demonstrates that the prospect of establishing an
- 21 effective agreement is not realistic at this time.
- Do you support a dual-track approach that involves
- 23 deploying the capabilities necessary to send credible,
- 24 deterrent messages to our adversaries, while continuing to
- 25 work with allies and partners to lay the foundation for

- 1 future discussion about responsible behavior in space?
- 2 Mr. Plumb: Thank you, Senator, for that question.
- I think, just as the first ASD for Space Policy
- 4 nominee, it is a really essential piece of the work I hope
- 5 to be able to do, if confirmed.
- 6 There are two totally different facets there and I
- 7 would just say I agree with you on both. One is, I do think
- 8 there is a need for rules and for norms in space behavior.
- 9 And I hold some deep kernel of hope that we could come to an
- 10 agreement with Russia and China on that in some not-too-
- 11 distant future.
- 12 At the same time, nothing there would, in my mind,
- 13 prevent us, or preclude us, from pursuing both, offensive
- 14 and defensive capabilities to ensure that we can defend our
- own assets and prevail in a conflict.
- 16 Senator Fischer: Thank you. Also, can you talk about
- 17 how you view the relationship between nuclear modernization
- 18 and arms control? Sometimes you see these as competing
- 19 priorities and I view them, instead, as complementary,
- 20 because without modernization, our forces will become
- 21 obsolete and our adversaries will have no incentive to
- 22 negotiate for any kind of reductions.
- So, what is your view on that?
- Mr. Plumb: Thanks, again, Senator.
- 25 As we discussed on our phone call, I am fully onboard

- 1 with modernizing the nuclear triad. I think it is
- 2 absolutely essential, that our nuclear deterrent, which is
- 3 the bedrock of our deterrence, is safe, effective, and I
- 4 want to say credible, and I think modernization is part of
- 5 that credibility.
- 6 As far as the relationship with arms control, arms
- 7 control is important. It is not, you don't do arms control
- 8 to its own end; arms control is to advance the national
- 9 security of both, or as many parties are involved in the
- 10 talks, and I agree with your assessment that if you have
- 11 nothing to trade, there is no incentive to be at the table.
- 12 Senator Fischer: Thank you.
- Dr. Wallander, over the weekend, several reports
- 14 suggested the administration was considering cutting U.S.
- 15 presence in Europe as a bargaining chip in the upcoming
- 16 negotiations with Russia, and in response, the White House
- issued a statement, explicitly rejecting this, stating,
- 18 quote, the administration is not weighing cuts to troops in
- 19 Europe, end quote.
- I assume you agree with this and would recommend
- 21 against cutting U.S. presence in Europe; is that accurate?
- Ms. Wallander: Yes, Senator; I do agree and would so
- 23 recommend, if confirmed.
- 24 Senator Fischer: Okay. Thank you.
- Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



- 1 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Fischer.
- 2 Senator Hirono, please?
- 3 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- I welcome the nominees. I ask the following two
- 5 initial questions of all nominees before any of the
- 6 committees on which I sit. So, I would like to ask you
- 7 these questions en masse.
- 8 Since you became a legal adult, have you ever made
- 9 unwanted requests for sexual behaviors or committed any
- 10 verbal or physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature?
- 11 [All three witnesses answered in the negative.]
- 12 Senator Hirono: No.
- 13 Have you ever faced discipline or entered into a
- 14 settlement related to this kind of conduct?
- 15 [All three witnesses answered in the negative.]
- 16 Senator Hirono: I have a question for Dr. Wallander.
- 17 Last year, the U.S., Australia, and the U.K. entered into an
- 18 historic security alliance, the AUUKUS, which includes plans
- 19 to provide Australia with technology and support to build
- 20 nuclear-powered submarines, within the next few decades.
- 21 Additionally, this alliance will facilitate the sharing
- of many more technologies, including artificial
- intelligence, underwater systems, long-range strikes, cyber,
- 24 and many others. These types of agreements lead to enhance
- 25 interoperability and deepen cooperation among allies within

- 1 the region.
- 2 From your perspective, how important are security
- 3 alliances like AUUKUS to U.S. national defense and how will
- 4 this alliance benefit U.S. security interests in the
- 5 INDOPACOM AOR?
- 6 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I admire and fully support the
- 7 development of AUUKUS as a multilateral alliance for coping
- 8 with the challenge of China in the Indo-Pacific,
- 9 specifically. I would note that because the U.K. is one of
- 10 the members of that alliance, it is a great example of how
- 11 Europe can join with the United States and a regional
- 12 country, Australia, to cope with Indo-Pacific challenges,
- including China. And I hope it is the first, only the first
- 14 instance of Europe taking seriously and contributing to
- 15 coping with the China challenge.
- 16 Senator Hirono: I agree with you that the cooperation
- or the inclusion of U.K. in this kind of alliance that is
- 18 much more focused, I suppose, on China as a near-peer
- 19 competitor to us is very significant, because we are all in
- 20 this together. And it is not just what is going on in
- 21 Europe and what Russia is doing with regard to Ukraine and
- 22 whatever intentions Russia has. These two countries are
- 23 definitely our near-peer competitors.
- Now, you will oversee security-cooperation programs and
- 25 defense strategies impacting many regions across the globe.

- 1 Can you tell me how you would approach these tasks?
- Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for focusing on this
- 3 important question.
- 4 If confirmed, I would focus first on building on
- 5 already existing, strong alliances and allied partnerships,
- 6 allied relations and partnerships, which I want to
- 7 highlight, we enjoy not only in Europe, but in Eurasia with
- 8 countries, such as Georgia and in Africa and in the Middle
- 9 East. So, there is plenty of opportunity to build upon and
- 10 expand as we cope with multiple challenges, not just Russia
- 11 and China, but ongoing needs in the region, such as Iran,
- 12 and countering violent extremism in many regions.
- 13 Senator Hirono: And not to mention, North Korea.
- So, I do have a question for Ms. Dalton. In the last
- week, North Korea has tested two ballistic missiles off
- 16 their east coast. If confirmed, a key part of your
- 17 responsibilities will include developing policy and planning
- 18 for Homeland Defense.
- In 2019, Missile Defense Review identified the Homeland
- 20 Defense Radar Hawaii as a requirement for detecting and
- 21 discriminating against inbound missile threats from an
- 22 increasingly capable North Korea. In successive budget
- 23 requests, funding was zeroed out for HDRH-H Hawaii without
- 24 any capability to replace it.
- 25 If confirmed, how will you support policy to ensure

- 1 Hawaii is protected from missile threats from North Korea
- 2 and elsewhere going forward?
- Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting this
- 4 concern. Insofar as Missile Defense of the homeland, it is
- 5 a central area of focus for the ongoing Missile Defense
- 6 Review that Secretary Austin and senior defense officials
- 7 are currently conducting.
- If confirmed, I would look forward to implementing the
- 9 findings of the MDR to ensure that the entirety of the U.S.
- 10 homeland and its territories are protected from threats,
- 11 such as from North Korea.
- 12 Senator Hirono: Mr. Chairman, if I may?
- 13 It is a continuing concern that the administration
- 14 zeroes out Homeland Defense Hawaii without any alternative.
- I am totally open to any other ways that Hawaii can be
- 16 protected, and until then, you will know that I will
- 17 continue to push for HDR-H.
- 18 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 19 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hirono.
- 20 Senator Cotton, please?
- 21 Senator Cotton: Ms. Wallander, you testified that you
- 22 think President Obama's administration made mistakes in 2014
- 23 with the invasion of Crimea and its annexation. You also
- 24 say in both, your opening statement and in question 97 of
- 25 the advanced questions for the record, that you support the

- 1 continued provision of defensive weapons systems to Ukraine.
- 2 But that, do you mean to rule out the possibility of
- 3 providing Ukraine with offensive weapons systems?
- 4 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you.
- 5 That is a very good question because defense assistance
- 6 needs to be properly focused on the requirements of the
- 7 partner or ally. I am not read into classified assessments
- 8 about the balance of offensive and defensive capabilities
- 9 that would be appropriate for Ukrainian defense needs.
- But I will say that I would not rule them out. I would
- 11 want to, if confirmed, be fully briefed on Russia's
- 12 capabilities and the threat it poses and Ukraine's
- 13 requirements and take a comprehensive look at what is
- 14 necessary for Ukraine to be able to defend its territory and
- 15 its sovereignty.
- 16 Senator Cotton: Okay. So, you don't want to rule out
- 17 the potential forever providing Ukraine offensive weapons.
- 18 You just don't want to make a definitive statement on it,
- 19 until confirmed and read into the intelligence and the
- 20 situation on the ground?
- Ms. Wallander: I think it would be, Senator,
- 22 irresponsible, to speculate without having full access to
- 23 the classified information and assessments.
- 24 Senator Cotton: I understand and appreciate that.
- Would you consider Air Defense Artillery systems the

- 1 kind of systems that could protect Ukraine against all of
- 2 those Russian helicopters that are on its border, to be
- 3 offensive or a defensive weapon?
- 4 Ms. Wallander: I believe Air Defense systems to be
- 5 fundamentally defensive in nature, Senator.
- 6 Senator Cotton: Okay. If Russia decides to go for the
- 7 jugular and you have got Russian tanks and armed personnel
- 8 carriers rolling across Ukraine's borders, it would be nice
- 9 for Ukraine to have artillery systems to strike those forces
- 10 while they are still on Russian soil, wouldn't it?
- 11 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I agree with you.
- 12 Senator Cotton: Okay. Artillery, that kind of
- 13 artillery, you would characterize as an offensive weapon,
- 14 correct?
- 15 Ms. Wallander: I, Senator, I would --
- 16 Senator Cotton: I would.
- 17 Ms. Wallander: No, I am not disagreeing with you.
- I think that what becomes important is how such
- 19 capabilities are deployed. They can be deployed in a more
- 20 defensive posture and a more offensive posture, which is
- 21 always one of the challenges.
- I need not offer this to you, given your public service
- 23 and experience, so it could go either way, depending on the
- 24 posture and the operational utilization.
- Senator Cotton: So, in 2014, we did not provide any

- 1 kind of lethal aid to Ukraine. It was reported at the time,
- 2 and since then, that President Obama thought it would be too
- 3 provocative, that he even said that we are not going to risk
- 4 a nuclear war, or World War III, over Ukraine.
- In retrospect, do you think one of the specific
- 6 mistakes made in 2014 was not providing systems like Javelin
- 7 anti-tank weapons to Ukraine?
- 8 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I believe that one of the
- 9 lessons I have learned is that it would have been
- 10 appropriate and necessary to provide Ukraine with what it
- 11 needed to defend its territory, including the weapons you
- 12 suggest.
- 13 Senator Cotton: Because the last administration
- 14 provided Ukraine with Javelins and we didn't have World War
- 15 III, or nuclear war, yet.
- 16 Ms. Wallander: Senator, you are correct.
- 17 Senator Cotton: Okay. Mr. Plumb, I have a question
- 18 for you about potential negotiations with Russia.
- 19 There have been some reports about the prospect of
- 20 trading away the Aegis Ashore system in Romania; either
- 21 removing it or reducing its presence as a bargaining chip
- 22 with Russia. Some arguments that those systems could
- 23 destabilize more than stabilize.
- Would you support removing or reducing the Aegis Ashore
- 25 system in Romania?

- 1 Mr. Plumb: Thanks for that question, Senator.
- I am unaware of that particular line of concern. I was
- 3 actually instrumental in the Obama administration in
- 4 establishing Aegis Ashore in Romania, and I guess I would
- 5 say I would be very hesitant to try to use it as a
- 6 bargaining chip, without understanding the full security
- 7 context.
- 8 Senator Cotton: I understand. Not exactly in the
- 9 Space Policy domain, but it is complementary to a lot of
- 10 those efforts. Thank you.
- 11 Ms. Dalton, you will have responsibility, in part, for
- 12 our Southwest Border. Do you think it is a greater danger
- to the American people's prosperity and security that there
- 14 are a hundred thousand Russians on Ukraine's border or two
- 15 million illegal migrants having crossed our Southwestern
- 16 Border in the last year?
- 17 Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting both
- 18 of these challenges and the scope of the security
- 19 environment that we find ourselves in at present.
- If confirmed, I would look forward to alleging the
- 21 challenges specifically on the Southwest Border, working
- very closely with the Department of Homeland Security and
- 23 other interagency counterparts and local authorities. And
- 24 as in discussing with Senator Inhofe earlier, I do believe
- 25 it is a serious challenge.

- 1 Senator Cotton: Okay. Thank you.
- Well, I hope you get some bright ideas for how to solve
- 3 that problem, since it seems like most other parts of the
- 4 administration so far have failed in that challenge.
- 5 Thank you all.
- 6 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Cotton.
- Now, via Webex, let me recognize Senator Gillibrand.
- 8 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 9 Ms. Dalton, the recent Log4J, SolarWinds, and Treasury
- 10 Department hacks show how challenging cyber intrusions can
- 11 be on our national security and we will continue to see
- 12 these threats continue and elevate into 2022.
- The office you are nominated for has, in the past,
- 14 overseen the Defense Critical Infrastructure Program, DCIP.
- Do you think DCIP is up to date in its ability to
- 16 provide solutions in the event of cyber or technological
- 17 harm done to our critical infrastructure; further, do you
- 18 see ways where DCIP can improve its work with the private
- 19 sector and civilian institutions?
- 20 Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting this
- 21 challenge, and this would be among the top priorities that I
- 22 would plan to tackle, if confirmed, in this portfolio,
- 23 because I do believe that we need to look at the appropriate
- 24 frameworks, policies, approaches, and tool sets to be able
- 25 to address state-based threats to our critical

- 1 infrastructure that, unfortunately, have been manifesting
- 2 over the last number of years.
- 3 So, if confirmed, I would certainly look forward to
- 4 working with the Department of Homeland Security, CYBERCOM,
- 5 with, if confirmed, Dr. Plumb's office, overseeing the DESI
- 6 cyber policy to ensure that we have the right approaches, to
- 7 understand the threat, and to be able to provide the
- 8 appropriate level of protection and resilience necessary to
- 9 address that challenge. Thank you.
- 10 Senator Gillibrand: As a follow-up, can you speak to
- 11 how you view the staffing and personnel challenges that the
- 12 Government faces when it comes to cybersecurity and tech
- 13 expertise. I repeatedly heard about cybersecurity and tech
- 14 staffing deficiencies across Government agencies, including
- 15 at the DOD.
- What plans do you have for improving the recruitment,
- training, and retention of high-quality cyber and tech
- 18 expertise at the Department and will you work with my office
- on issues regarding cyber and tech personnel?
- Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting this.
- I know there have been a number of external studies
- looking at this challenge, as well, the last number of
- 23 years. And I do agree that we need to remain focused on
- 24 bringing in talent from academia, from the tech sector, more
- 25 broadly, from the private sector, to really build within our

- 1 ranks. I think there is also considerable capacity within
- 2 the National Guard, given their career day jobs, as well,
- 3 that we could be better harnessing. And so, absolutely, if
- 4 confirmed, I would look forward to working with you and your
- 5 team to advance those goals.
- 6 Senator Gillibrand: Mr. Plumb, as ASD for Space
- 7 Policy, part of your duties will include coordinating our
- 8 Space Policy and other agencies. What is your strategy for
- 9 coordinating with our other agencies, like the State
- 10 Department's Office of Space Affairs, to ensure that we are
- 11 maintaining our leadership and promoting our values in
- 12 space?
- 13 Mr. Plumb: Thank you for that question, Senator.
- I absolutely think that promoting values in space,
- including norms and rules of behavior, and helping lead the
- 16 international community towards that is important.
- 17 The State Department, in my view, they should be the
- 18 lead on these issues at the U.N., DOD, in support, and I
- 19 have worked closely with my State counterparts and across
- 20 the interagency to coordinate that type of messaging
- 21 efforts.
- 22 Senator Gillibrand: I am concerned that our lack of
- 23 international agreements barring conventional weapons in
- 24 space has led to a space arms race that threaten our civil
- 25 and commercial space systems in space.

- Will you play a role in developing international norms
- 2 about the use of weapons in space and add here to them while
- 3 developing this policy?
- 4 Mr. Plumb: Senator, thank you.
- I do agree that the need for norms and rules of
- 6 behavior in space is absolutely essential. I think one of
- 7 the issues that make space unique is that destructive tests,
- 8 like the Russians have recently conducted, challenges access
- 9 to all spacefaring nations and we need to find ways to
- 10 prevent that type of problem.
- 11 Senator Gillibrand: And how will your organization
- 12 work across the Department to effectively manage the threat
- of anti-satellite capabilities demonstrated by our
- 14 adversaries, as you mentioned?
- Mr. Plumb: Senator, I think that anti-satellite
- 16 capabilities, obviously, are on the tip of our minds right
- 17 now, based on the Russian tests recently. It is absolutely
- 18 essential to find a way through that.
- I think one of the best ways the Department can pursue
- 20 to nullify that type of behavior is an architecture that is
- 21 resilient enough to withstand a blow to one or several
- 22 satellites. And so, I think being able to reconstitute
- 23 quickly and having a resilient architecture makes the
- 24 attractiveness of a target much less, and I think that is a
- 25 really important place and I don't think we are moving fast

- 1 enough, and we need to get going.
- Senator Gillibrand: Dr. Wallander, my last few
- 3 moments. We have heard reports of Russia conducting
- 4 numerous cyberattacks against Ukrainian citizens to include
- 5 directly threatening Ukrainian soldiers and their families
- 6 through text messages.
- 7 What role can your office play in supporting the
- 8 Ukrainian Government in countering those malicious
- 9 activities?
- 10 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for highlighting
- 11 that Russian activities are not merely the apparent ones of
- 12 conventional military-force concentrations, but actually,
- 13 cover a spectrum of attacks and efforts to disable Ukrainian
- 14 resistance and resilience, itself.
- If confirmed, I would look forward to working with Dr.
- 16 Plumb's team, if confirmed, and focusing on countering
- 17 Russian cyber operations, in which public reporting is, we
- 18 have had some success in the last few years, and we need to
- 19 build on the capabilities and the experience that DOD has
- 20 already implemented, in order to effectively help Ukraine
- 21 resist those kinds of attacks.
- 22 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.
- Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Gillibrand.
- Now, let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Blackburn.

- 1 Senator Blackburn: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2 Ms. Wallander, I want to come to you. You were the
- 3 Russian Director at NSC at the time when things were
- 4 happening in Eastern Europe, much like they are right now,
- 5 including Russia's invasion of Crimea and the separatists
- 6 that were there, the formatting of the separatists in the
- 7 Donbas.
- 8 So, what parallels, very quickly, do you see between
- 9 that time and currently what we are seeing with the Russian
- 10 buildup on the Ukrainian border?
- 11 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for that question.
- 12 I think it is an extremely important question.
- And very briefly, in 2014, the Russians tried to
- 14 pretend it wasn't Russian forces invading Crimea or
- infiltrating or operating in the Donbas. They sought a form
- of implausible deniability in order to invade Ukraine.
- 17 The difference is, right now, that facade of covert and
- 18 covert operation has been pulled away and what we are seeing
- 19 is direct threats and a direct amassing of Russian forces.
- 20 Senator Blackburn: Now, let me ask you this, following
- 21 on with that, when you look at Russian leadership and
- 22 Russian society, what parallels are you seeing between then
- and now?
- Because, to us, it looks as if they are following much
- of the same pattern.



- 1 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I agree with you, and it is
- 2 very concerning, because the Kremlin used its operations and
- 3 its falsehoods about Ukraine to ramp up Russian domestic
- 4 anger at Ukraine, at the United States, and NATO. And we
- 5 are exactly seeing the same kind of efforts and operations
- 6 to create that kind of false narrative that Russia is
- 7 defending itself against American and NATO influence in
- 8 Ukraine, when what Russia is doing is assaulting Ukrainian
- 9 sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- 10 Senator Blackburn: Well, I agree with you that what
- 11 Putin is trying to do is to test that resolve with NATO and
- 12 with the U.S.
- So, do you support a continued, robust EUCOM exercise
- 14 schedule to really support our allies and deter this
- 15 aggression?
- 16 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I do. A robust exercise
- 17 calendar not only enhances interoperability and
- 18 capabilities, and that is important for deterrence and
- 19 defense, but it signals that --
- 20 Senator Blackburn: But what about increasing our
- 21 lethal assistance, our cyber, our intel support, where are
- 22 you there?
- Ms. Wallander: Senator, I believe that the heightened
- 24 Russian threat and its willingness to deploy those forces
- 25 and to saber-rattle requires a re-evaluation of Ukraine's

- 1 defense and military needs. And if confirmed, I would focus
- on that and take appropriate lessons.
- 3 Senator Blackburn: All right. And the EFPs, I had the
- 4 opportunity to visit some of our Tennessee troops that were
- 5 there on an EFP mission in Poland.
- And so, where, as the NSC Director for Russia at the
- 7 time, did you support the EFPs? Do you believe they should
- 8 be supported today? Should we continue this participation?
- 9 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I do support that framework
- 10 for enhancing American presence and contributions to the
- 11 security and operations of our partners and allies,
- 12 especially our allies in the instance that you cite in
- 13 Poland.
- 14 Senator Blackburn: Well, if Russia invades Ukraine,
- should we establish more of the EFP battle groups and push
- 16 further south?
- 17 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I agree with you that if
- 18 Russia further invades Ukraine, we need to reevaluate NATO
- 19 posture, including U.S. contributions to NATO posture, and I
- 20 would look at exactly the issues that you highlighted in
- 21 your question, because I think they are key.
- 22 And in principle, I would support an increased
- 23 American, at least rotational presence in the region.
- Senator Blackburn: Okay. I am going to run out of
- 25 time, but I did want to ask you about the parallels that you

- 1 see between Russian and Chinese interests in Ukraine, if you
- 2 could speak to that.
- Ms. Wallander: Well, I believe, Senator, that Russia
- 4 and China share a priority goal of undermining the U.S.-led
- 5 network of norms and rules that govern global security and
- 6 ensure the security of so many countries.
- 7 And so, while China may not have a direct stake in
- 8 Russia's aggression against Ukraine, I believe China watches
- 9 carefully when the United States and the international
- 10 community do not stand up to the principles of the U.N.
- 11 charter and do not defend the rights of countries to choose
- 12 their own futures, including their alliances.
- 13 Senator Blackburn: I will submit some questions to you
- 14 and Dr. Plumb, dealing with nuclear presence and Nuclear
- 15 Posture Review.
- And thank you so much for your time today.
- 17 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 18 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blackburn.
- 19 Senator Kaine, please?
- Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member
- 21 Inhofe.
- 22 And congratulations to the nominees for your
- 23 nominations; you are all highly qualified for these
- 24 positions.
- A couple of items, Ms. Dalton; first, congrats on being

- 1 a UVA grad. There have been reports in the last day or so
- 2 about more instances of Havana Syndrome regarding American
- 3 diplomats who are currently in Geneva and Paris. The
- 4 syndrome was first reported in Havana. It has been reported
- 5 as affecting diplomats and other U.S. governmental personnel
- 6 around the globe and in the DMV in Virginia.
- 7 The Secretary of State has spoken about this. Their
- 8 law enforcement agencies are involved, but I also know the
- 9 DOD is involved in trying, (A), to determine causes and
- 10 solutions and consequences. I think the, I would summarize
- 11 the feelings of the committee members on both, the Armed
- 12 Services Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, I
- 13 sit on both, not being happy with the degree of information
- 14 we have received about this or progress we have made on it
- in the couple of years that we have been talking about it.
- And I would hope that should you be confirmed with the
- 17 responsibility over both, Homeland Defense and Hemispheric
- 18 Affairs that you would be diligent in working with the
- interagency process to determine what is going on and
- 20 provide options, certainly, within your line of command, but
- 21 including to Congress about what appropriate responses
- 22 should be.
- Do I have your commitment on that?
- Ms. Dalton: Senator, yes, you do.
- 25 Senator Kaine: Thank you for that.

- 1 Dr. Plumb, I want to ask you a question about, just
- 2 growing pangs with the Space Force and how we can manage
- 3 those growing pangs effectively.
- 4 In 2006, this Committee did a significant overhaul of
- 5 much of the Department's acquisition policies and we
- 6 structured new entities. There had been an Under Secretary
- of Defense for Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics, ATL,
- 8 and we, instead, created new Under Secretaries for Research
- 9 and Engineering and then Acquisition and Sustainment. And
- 10 that split of the responsibilities has led to some
- 11 challenges, so lessons learned, some growing pangs.
- I think the Pentagon and others have tried to work
- through those, but when you are making a structural change
- of that kind, growing pangs are not unusual. The speed with
- which the Department established Space Force could likely
- 16 lead to similar challenges.
- 17 Should you be confirmed, how will you try to ensure
- 18 that this important new component of our defense, especially
- 19 as we see peers engaging in activity that is threatening
- 20 like the Russian anti-satellite test, how can you work to
- 21 try to minimize growing pangs and maximize the quick
- 22 effectiveness of this new component of our military?
- Mr. Plumb: So, thank you, Senator, for that question.
- 24 And I will just commend the Committee on its creation
- of the Space Force. I think the time is appropriate for a

- 1 separate service for space. Really, in the past several
- 2 years, the importance and value of space has increased
- 3 substantially and the threat to our assets in space has also
- 4 increased exponentially.
- 5 I think this issue of growing pangs, you can never get
- 6 rid of them, Senator, but I think helping ensure from a
- 7 civilian oversight piece that the laser focuses are on both,
- 8 speed of acquisition and making sure that we can counter
- 9 threats as they emerge and get past this problem of -- this
- 10 is a non-trivial thing to say -- the speed of the Pentagon
- and the speed of the Pentagon processes does not match the
- 12 speed of the threat right now, and we need to work to fix
- 13 that and that is a hard problem.
- 14 As far as warfighting, it is a new domain and there are
- 15 going to be some growing pangs there. It has some
- 16 similarities to cyber operations, as well. It is new and it
- 17 needs to mature, and my goal is to help usher that along.
- 18 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Dr. Plumb.
- 19 And then, Dr. Wallander, Senator Hirono asked you a
- 20 question about AUUKUS and I share her enthusiasm for closer
- 21 cooperation between the U.S., Australia, and the U.K. in the
- 22 Indo-Pacific. Great allies and I think there are great
- 23 things we can do together.
- But I will say, I was very disappointed in the rollout
- of AUUKUS and the bizarre exclusion and, really, almost

- 1 humiliation of the French, who are a great security partner
- 2 in the United States and are also a significant Indo-Pacific
- 3 nation with a lot of equities in the Indo-Pacific.
- 4 And you are not yet confirmed and not yet, sort of, in
- 5 the family on this, but I will say, I have made efforts to
- 6 get to the bottom of why AUUKUS was done in such a way that
- 7 alienated an ally and why couldn't it have been conceived in
- 8 such a way that would have included an ally and, thereby,
- 9 made it more effective. And I have yet to get a good answer
- 10 from the administration about the breakdown that led to, in
- 11 my view, taking a great achievement and sort of souring it
- 12 right out of the gate.
- So, I hope, should you be confirmed, you will, you
- 14 know, be mindful of the challenges that are created and look
- 15 for opportunities to work together, not just with Australia
- 16 and the U.K., but to include France in efforts in the Indo-
- 17 Pacific, because I think they have a lot of equity there and
- 18 a lot of value to add.
- 19 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I share your concern and you
- 20 have my commitment that, if confirmed, I will focus on all
- of our important allied relationships, especially that of
- 22 France, because I agree with you about the value of that
- 23 extraordinary alliance.
- 24 Senator Kaine: Thank you very much.
- Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

- 1 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kaine.
- Senator Hawley, please?
- 3 Senator Hawley: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
- 4 And thanks to all the nominees for being here.
- 5 Congratulations on your nominations.
- 6 Dr. Wallander, I enjoyed our conversation yesterday.
- 7 Thanks for your time.
- 8 And let me start with you and let me start with the
- 9 situation in Ukraine. You said when we spoke yesterday that
- 10 you could imagine advocating sending more United States
- 11 forces to Europe to reinforce NATO's eastern flank. I think
- 12 you said the same today in the hearing.
- My question is, wouldn't this perpetuate a sense among
- 14 Europeans that they don't have to invest in their own
- 15 militaries, but can rely on us in a time of exigency, as
- 16 this may well soon be, in order to bail them out, for lack
- of a better word, in their security commitments?
- 18 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for that question.
- With all of our focus on what the United States would
- 20 do, sometimes we don't elevate enough what we expect and
- 21 need our allies to do. And as part of a package of looking
- 22 at American force posture and possible reinforcements to
- 23 Europe, it would absolutely have to come totally integrated
- 24 with European NATO member contributions in order to ensure
- 25 we have the proper and deterrence capabilities.

- 1 Senator Hawley: You can tell, I am sure, from what we
- 2 talked about yesterday and from my questions this morning
- 3 that I am skeptical of sending additional United States
- 4 troops to Europe for these reasons, but I appreciate your
- 5 answer.
- 6 Let me ask you about NATO a little bit more broadly.
- 7 Given the challenges that we are facing globally, and most
- 8 notably, China's efforts to dominate Asia, do you think that
- 9 this is the time when it is prudent or advisable for the
- 10 U.S. to allow Ukraine to join NATO?
- 11 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I share your larger concern
- 12 about the Chinese challenge and agree with you that we can't
- lose focus on that. And any NSTA decisions we have to make
- 14 about European security has to be mindful to that.
- I fully support NATO's open-door policy. NATO is
- 16 stronger if it is the alliance of strong, democratic
- 17 countries with capabilities and the democratic governance;
- 18 that is the hallmark of NATO.
- And if confirmed, I would support NATO's future
- 20 membership, Ukraine's future membership in NATO if it meets
- 21 the conditions and I would look forward to working with
- 22 Ukrainian partners in order to make sure they meet those
- 23 standards.
- 24 Senator Hawley: Let me ask you about the NATO allies
- 25 and their spending commitments. We talked about this

- 1 yesterday on the phone.
- 2 A U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Julie Smith, sent me a
- 3 letter prior to her confirmation in which she agreed that
- 4 our NATO allies should spend more, I emphasize "more" than 2
- 5 percent of GDP on defense. The current Vice Chairman of the
- 6 Joint Chiefs, Admiral Grady, did the same. He agreed, for
- 7 the record, in response to my questions, that our NATO
- 8 allies need to spend more than 2 percent on defense.
- 9 When you and I spoke yesterday, we talked about this.
- 10 I asked you this question and you said that in your opinion,
- 11 that our allies should be spending more than 2 percent on
- 12 defense. I would just like to get you on the record on
- 13 that, if I could.
- In your view, can you confirm for us that you think, in
- 15 your opinion, it is time for our NATO allies to move beyond
- 16 the Wales Pledge and commit to increase defense spending
- 17 above 2 percent.
- 18 Ms. Wallander: Yes, Senator, I do.
- 19 Senator Hawley: Thank you for that.
- Let me ask you about the situation with burden-sharing,
- 21 again, back with in Europe. As I mentioned just a second
- 22 ago, I think one of the reasons our European allies,
- 23 especially Germany, have been slow to increase their
- 24 spending is that they think the United States will bail them
- 25 out in difficult situations.

- 1 Would you agree that our European allies are more
- 2 likely to increase their spending if the United States
- 3 reduces its overall force levels in the European theater?
- 4 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I believe that our European
- 5 allies do key their contributions to an assessment of
- 6 American contributions. I think it is an interesting idea
- 7 that a reduction in American contributions would lead to an
- 8 increase in European contributions. I would want to ask the
- 9 intelligence community for past, sort of, evidence about the
- 10 rise and fall of contributions to give you a better answer.
- 11 My instinct is that persuasion and high expectations
- 12 and clear requirements are the motivator for European
- 13 contributions in common defense in NATO.
- 14 Senator Hawley: Just as thinking about it as a matter
- of incentives, Dr. Wallander, do you think that we should at
- 16 least consider putting on the table, reducing our overall
- 17 force posture in Europe so that our allies feel incentivized
- 18 to defend themselves?
- And you and I talked about this on the phone, I mean,
- 20 where I am coming from on this is, that we can't, the United
- 21 States of America simply can't do it all at the same time.
- We are facing a very acute challenge in the Indo-
- 23 Pacific theater from China. We can't maintain, in my own
- 24 view, we can't do what we need to do in that theater and
- 25 maintain our current posture in Europe. We are going to

- 1 have to make some hard choices somewhere, and they are hard
- 2 choices, unless we are going to spend \$2 trillion a year on
- defense, which we are not going to do and we shouldn't do.
- 4 So, with that backdrop, I mean, what is your view on
- 5 putting on the table with our European allies and say,
- 6 listen, we may need to consider an overall force-posture
- 7 reduction in Europe in order to meet our pressing security
- 8 commitments elsewhere, I mean, what do you think about that?
- 9 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I believe that as they face
- 10 the heightened threat from Russia, this would not be the
- 11 moment to put a reduction in American commitment to NATO on
- 12 the table.
- But what I would favor, if confirmed, is looking at how
- 14 the United States can provide some of its advantages in
- enablers, in weapons system, in security cooperation with
- 16 allies to ensure that we are properly resourcing the
- 17 requirements in the Indo-Pacific, as you rightly point to,
- 18 and yet sustaining defense and deterrence against Russia.
- 19 Senator Hawley: Thank you very much.
- I will have some questions for the record for the rest
- 21 of you. Thanks again.
- Thank you, Dr. Wallander.
- Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hawley.
- Let me now recognize, via Webex, Senator King.

- 1 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 2 Dr. Wallander, you heard earlier in this hearing, Dr.
- 3 Plumb testified that he thought that the adoption of a no-
- 4 first-use policy in the current Nuclear Posture Review would
- 5 not be in the national security interest of the United
- 6 States.
- 7 Do you agree with that conclusion?
- 8 Ms. Wallander: Yes, I do, Senator.
- 9 Senator King: Second question. How would the allies
- 10 react to the adoption of a no-first-use policy,
- 11 particularly, Japan, and some of the Asia-Pacific allies?
- 12 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for the important
- 13 question. That is a fundamental reason why I do not support
- 14 a no-first-use declaratory policy because I believe it would
- 15 create concerns about the credibility of American defense
- 16 commitments to our allies, in addition to possibly
- 17 undermining the credibility in the eyes of our adversaries.
- 18 Senator King: And it could provoke some of those
- 19 countries to develop their own nuclear weapons, which is
- 20 going in exactly the opposite direction that we want in
- 21 terms of nonproliferation; isn't that correct?
- Ms. Wallander: Senator, yes, I agree; that is another
- 23 reason.
- 24 Senator King: Second question on Ukraine. It seems to
- 25 me that everybody is trying to guess what is in Vladimir

- 1 Putin's mind, but by making these very public high-level
- demands about membership in NATO and all the other things,
- 3 he is setting up these negotiations to fail and leaving
- 4 himself very little option, other than, either a humiliating
- 5 retreat or invasion.
- 6 What do you make of this unusual negotiating strategy,
- 7 where you make demands that you know aren't going to be met,
- 8 and this is just a pretext for an invasion?
- 9 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I share your analytical
- 10 assessment of the possible courses of action and the reasons
- 11 for the demands that Russia has made publicly, and it
- 12 concerns me greatly for Ukraine's security and, indeed, for
- 13 European and Euro-Atlantic security.
- 14 Senator King: Let me turn to Ms. Dalton for a
- 15 question. Ms. Dalton, this question is under attack and two
- 16 people a day in my home state of Maine are dying. The
- 17 attack is transnational drug shipments coming into this
- 18 country that are literally killing Americans at a record
- 19 rate over the last couple of years. It is an absolute
- 20 tragedy.
- 21 Every year we have testimony [Audio malfunction.] We
- 22 know of shipments coming by sea to North America from Latin
- 23 America, but because of limitations on our capacity to
- 24 react, we can only interdict 25 percent of the shipments we
- 25 know about. And it strikes me that this is one these things

- 1 where it is falling in the cracks between the Coast Guard
- 2 and the Navy.
- Would you commit to me to really take a serious look at
- 4 the allocation of resources so that we can do something
- 5 about this, what I consider an outrageous failure of the
- 6 United States Government, to interdict shipments of drugs
- 7 into this country that we know about?
- 8 Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting this
- 9 challenge. And it is why I think it was really important
- 10 that President Biden's Interim National Security Strategic
- 11 Guidance highlighted the threat of transnational criminal
- organizations both, to U.S. national security interests, as
- well as to allies and partners in our greater hemispheric
- 14 region, which is why, if confirmed, I would look forward to
- 15 working closely with the Department of Homeland Security,
- 16 Department of Justice, and other interagency counterparts to
- 17 address this challenge.
- I do believe that it is primarily a law enforcement
- 19 function to address this challenge, but I do believe that
- 20 there is an important role for the Department of Defense to
- 21 play in support of those operations.
- 22 Senator King: Well, if these were invaders headed for
- our borders to kill people, we wouldn't view it as a law
- 24 enforcement function; we would view it as an invasion, as an
- 25 attack. And people are dying as a result of this.

- So, I hope you rethink -- you mentioned law
- 2 enforcement. Somewhere, we have got to find the ships to
- 3 stop these shipments. And to say it is law enforcement and,
- 4 you know, the Coast Guard doesn't have enough ships, that is
- 5 not a satisfactory answer. As long as I keep having this
- 6 testimony that we are only able to interdict 25 percent of
- 7 the shipments that we know about, I am not going to be
- 8 satisfied, and I hope you will rethink your answer and there
- 9 will be an interagency discussion about an adequate response
- 10 to this.
- Dr. Plumb, just in a few seconds left, I am very
- 12 worried that we are behind the curve on hypersonics. We are
- way behind the curve on hypersonics.
- Do you agree that this should be an urgent matter both,
- in terms of the development of an offensive deterrent
- 16 capacity, but also a defensive capacity, because I don't
- 17 think any of our Missile Defense systems can cope with a
- 7,000-mile-an-hour maneuverable missile.
- 19 Mr. Plumb: Senator, thanks for that question.
- I agree, we are challenged by hypersonics defensively
- 21 and from an offensive standpoint, at least from public
- 22 reporting, it certainly appears that we are behind and need
- 23 to focus on this challenge.
- Senator King: Well, I hope this is a "hair on fire"
- 25 challenge about quarding our space.

- 1 Dr. Plumb, I really appreciate your answer.
- Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
- 3 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator King.
- 4 Now, let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Manchin,
- 5 please.
- 6 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman; I appreciate
- 7 it very much.
- 8 Dr. Wallander, do you foresee any positive or negative
- 9 impacts to our relations with the new German Government in
- 10 the event of sanctions imposed on companies involved with
- 11 the planning and construction of the Nord Stream 2 Pipeline?
- 12 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for the question.
- 13 My understanding of the composition of the new German
- 14 Government is that there is a renewed skepticism of Russia
- and its role in Europe and of, in particular, Russia's use
- of energy as a coercive tool against Europe and Russia's
- 17 other neighbors.
- And if confirmed, I intend to fully explore the
- 19 possibility, the opportunity for a closer alignment of U.S.
- 20 assessment of Russia's use of energy and, in particular, as
- 21 a tool of coercion for our national security policy.
- 22 Senator Manchin: Do you believe or have any knowledge
- 23 that the German, the new German Government would honor its
- 24 pledge to halt the Nord Stream 2 certification in event of a
- 25 Russian invasion of Ukraine?

- 1 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I think we should take the
- 2 German Government at its word and hold it to its
- 3 commitments.
- 4 And if confirmed, that would be, I believe, one of my
- 5 supporting roles in a whole-of-Government, diplomatic
- 6 approach to our allies in coping with this crisis that
- 7 Russia has created.
- 8 Senator Manchin: Thank you.
- 9 Dr. Plumb, since the institution of the Space Force, I
- 10 have been concerned that we are going to leave our Space
- 11 National Guard forces behind as we are standing up this new
- 12 force and West Virginia has a very active National Guard
- 13 that we are very proud of.
- 14 Are you supportive of a Space National Guard?
- Mr. Plumb: Senator, thanks for that we.
- I, myself, have been in the Reserves for 20 years and I
- 17 am both, proud of and fully aware of the capabilities that
- 18 Reserve and Guard functions can bring. I know that the
- 19 Guard issue is before the Congress. My own personal view is
- 20 there is value in Guard and Reserve support for the Space
- 21 Policy.
- 22 Senator Manchin: How do you believe, sir that we could
- 23 keep that, the continuing to expand capabilities in space
- 24 and also keep equity between the active and the Reserve
- 25 component resources, and we are not seeing much movement on

- 1 that, and that is what we are concerned about.
- 2 Mr. Plumb: Senator, I would need to, if confirmed, I
- 3 would like to look into this issue.
- 4 I do have friends that are in the Air National Guard
- 5 that do Space Force missions, so I do know that those units
- 6 exist. As far as the resource and balance, I would be happy
- 7 to work with the Committee and you to look into that for
- 8 you.
- 9 Senator Manchin: Dr. Wallander, back to you, again.
- I have long had concerns, I oppose the JCPOA, known as
- 11 the Iran Deal. And I opposed that because I thought that
- 12 any country that we are submitting back in should earn the
- 13 rewards, other than, basically, and making them demonstrate
- 14 their goodwill before we give it to them on the front end.
- So, my question would be, do you believe that,
- 16 generally, we should relax sanctions on Iran in the future
- 17 before they demonstrate if we are back in negotiations
- 18 again?
- 19 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I am not fully briefed on the
- 20 details of the negotiations, but to answer your question, I
- 21 believe that the importance of those kinds of negotiations
- 22 and agreements or if the parties meet the letter, strictly
- 23 speaking, of the agreement, so I would not be in favor of
- 24 relief on sanctions without full compliance of the terms of
- 25 the agreement.

- 1 Senator Manchin: Okay. And Dr. Plumb, I think you
- 2 might have talked about this earlier, but the Russians and
- 3 Chinese have a need in demonstrating their capability of
- 4 their anti-satellite weapons. And given our military
- 5 reliance upon satellites for navigation, communication, this
- 6 capability can severely weaken, I believe, very, very much
- 7 so, our military's ability to respond effectively in the
- 8 opening hours of a conflict.
- 9 So, how prepared do you assess that we are to protect
- 10 against these threats so that we won't be immobile?
- 11 Mr. Plumb: Thanks, Senator.
- The anti-satellite, kinetic, debris-cloud-causing tests
- both, to China and Russia, are deeply disturbing and a
- 14 concern to me. I don't have the advantage of the classified
- 15 briefings on our ability to fight through a threat today.
- What I will commit to you is that, if confirmed, I will
- 17 work to make sure that our architecture is more resilient so
- 18 that this type of attack is less attractive to an adversary.
- 19 Senator Manchin: Do you have any opinions on,
- 20 basically, what the Department of Defense could do to defend
- 21 against China, if they demonstrate their anti-satellite
- 22 capabilities?
- Mr. Plumb: Senator, there are a number of
- 24 possibilities; obviously, one possibility that I fully agree
- 25 with, Deputy Secretary of Defense Hicks said at the first

- 1 National Space Council meeting for the Biden administration,
- 2 that the Department of Defense is in favor of banning
- 3 kinetic, anti-satellite tests by all nations, so I think
- 4 that would help.
- I also think that making sure that we have
- 6 constellations that are resilient so that we are not
- 7 entirely dependent on one particular asset, would also be
- 8 helpful. And I imagine there are any number of other
- 9 operations at classified levels that I would be happy to
- 10 discuss with you, if confirmed.
- 11 Senator Manchin: Thank you.
- 12 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate it.
- And thanks to all of you, I appreciate your service to
- 14 our country.
- 15 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Manchin.
- Now, let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Peters.
- 17 Senator Peters: Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is
- 18 good to be here at the Committee, and congratulations to
- 19 each of the folks that are here testifying.
- Dr. Wallander, you are assuming this position in the
- 21 midst of an incredibly tense situation in Eastern Europe and
- 22 I would kind of like to get your sense on how you believe
- our European allies will respond to any kinetic actions by
- 24 Russia. You know, certainly, Europe is in the midst of a
- 25 cold winter and reliance on Russian Energy Resources make

- 1 some European nations vulnerable to Putin's aggression.
- 2 So, my question for you is, what role will access to
- 3 Russian energy play in determinations by key European
- 4 allies, such as Germany, France, and Italy, and others on
- 5 whether or not to directly or vigorously defend Ukrainian
- 6 sovereignty?
- 7 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for that question.
- I think it is a very important one and it points to the
- 9 vulnerability created by depending on Russian energy
- 10 supplies, because Russia has proven itself to be very
- 11 willing to use cutoffs of supplies or cutbacks in supplies,
- 12 which it is currently doing, in order to send coercive
- messages.
- 14 That said, I have great confidence that our European
- 15 allies are confronting the scope and seriousness of Russian
- 16 aspirations, aggressive aspirations against Ukraine and
- 17 Ukraine and European and, therefore, global security.
- And, if confirmed, I will press hard with them to face
- 19 the reality that dependence on Russian energy is a
- 20 vulnerability that needs to be mitigated so that all NATO
- 21 members are able to stand up effectively for our common
- 22 defense and deterrence.
- 23 Senator Peters: Very good.
- Ms. Dalton, over the last few years, I have had the
- opportunity to learn more about how the Department of

- 1 Defense plans to performing counter, unmanned aircraft
- 2 system operations, including a visit that I had to the
- 3 Proving Ground in Yuma, Arizona, to witness some
- 4 demonstrations of new technology that is coming onboard.
- 5 This is an area of great concern to me, as Chairman of
- 6 Homeland Security Committee, and working with the Department
- 7 of Homeland Security and other assets, such as the Border
- 8 Patrol, the Coast Guard, and other parts of Homeland
- 9 Security that is facing this threat, and would need to work,
- in my mind, in a cooperative way with the Department of
- 11 Defense to fully utilize such technologies and protect us
- 12 here at home.
- 13 My question to you is, how can the Department of
- 14 Defense best position itself to assist the federal partners,
- 15 such as the Department of Homeland Security, to combat this
- 16 very real UAS threat?
- 17 Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for your leadership on
- 18 this important issue. I do believe that it is a growing
- 19 challenge, here in the homelands.
- 20 And if confirmed, I do believe that there is an
- 21 opportunity for some best practices and information-sharing,
- 22 because the Department is, frankly, facing some of these
- 23 similar challenges abroad from counter UAS threats from
- both, state and non-state actors. So, I think it is an
- 25 important opportunity to share lessons and best practices

- 1 and tool sets; obviously, a different context here at home,
- 2 but I would look forward to working on that together.
- 3 Senator Peters: Thank you.
- 4 And Dr. Plumb, last year, a study commissioned by the
- 5 U.S. Space Force, the Defense Innovation Unit, and the Air
- 6 Force Research Laboratory found that the U.S. is, and I am
- 7 going to quote them, is, quote, woefully inadequate to
- 8 compete for global market share because China has cornered
- 9 and dominated the global space market, end of quote.
- Now, that report goes on to say and, quote, again, the
- 11 United States must develop new market enhancing tools to
- 12 increase U.S. commercial space activities, grow viable U.S.
- 13 space companies, and finance their growth, end of quote.
- 14 The Department of Defense would obviously play a vital
- 15 role in developing these tools. And my question for you is,
- if confirmed, what tools would you advise the Secretary of
- 17 Defense to create to promote a much more dynamic, domestic
- 18 space marketplace?
- 19 Mr. Plumb: Thank you, Senator, for that question.
- I think that the growth of the commercial sector for
- 21 space in the United States is actually a driving economic
- 22 engine for the U.S. and the Department of Defense should be
- 23 part of ensuring that that continues. I do think the
- 24 Department has a problem when it comes to recognizing and
- 25 then adopting into their programs, innovative new technology

- 1 from small businesses, in particular. I am aware of a few
- 2 efforts underway inside the Space Force to fix that and I
- 3 look forward to the opportunity to try to enhance that and
- 4 bring it along, if confirmed.
- 5 Senator Peters: Well, we would hope then we would look
- 6 forward to working with you on that very important mission.
- 7 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 8 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Peters.
- 9 Senator Tillis, please?
- 10 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 11 Congratulations to all of you on your nominations. And
- 12 I hope, time provided, I get to ask you all questions, but I
- 13 have to start where we left off yesterday.
- Dr. Wallander, thank you so much for your time. I
- 15 thought it was a very productive discussion. I intend to
- 16 support all of your nominations, unless you mess up here,
- 17 but I don't think that is going to happen.
- Dr. Wallander, I want to go back to Russia and the
- 19 discussion that we had yesterday. With their current
- 20 posture and their focus on Ukraine. I am particularly
- 21 interested with the negotiations, which, to me, seem that
- they have drawn up an untenable position for us to move
- 23 towards. But there is some discussion right now that maybe
- 24 we should think about our activities, maybe our operations'
- 25 tempo, in terms of work we are doing with some of our NATO

- 1 partners and allies in that area.
- 2 Do you think that that is productive to say that we
- 3 would actually, potentially reduce the current levels of
- 4 activity or why should that be on the table as a discussion
- 5 for negotiation?
- 6 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I share your concern about the
- 7 messaging surrounding that reporting. I would highlight
- 8 that were Russia to cease its dangerous, destabilizing, and
- 9 problematic activities and exercises that, you know, right
- 10 now we are looking at the headlines, but this is a constant
- 11 problem of Russian activities in the Black Sea, the Baltic
- 12 region, and now the focus on Ukraine's borders. That would
- 13 be a desirable end state. If a negotiation were focused on
- 14 Russia coming back into compliance with its already existing
- 15 commitments under the conventional forces in Europe
- 16 agreement, that could be a positive for European security
- 17 and Ukraine.
- But I share your concern that starting from now, kind
- of seeds what Russia, the dangerous activities that Russia
- 20 has already been engaged with, and I wouldn't support
- 21 starting from that base.
- 22 Senator Tillis: We also talked a little bit about Nord
- 23 Stream. We are going to have a vote later on sanctions. We
- 24 have a couple of proposals here. One is that sanctions
- 25 would be imposed once, if Russia invades Ukraine. The other

- one is to go ahead and put them in place now.
- What are the merits of either of those two proposals or
- 3 concerns that you would have where them?
- 4 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I first want to make clear
- 5 that I fully support the availability of really serious
- 6 sanctions in a toolkit for dealing with Russia --
- 7 Senator Tillis: Do you think they work?
- 8 Ms. Wallander: -- in the course of abilities.
- 9 Senator Tillis: There are some people here who think
- 10 that they don't work.
- 11 So, I mean, go ahead and continue with your answer with
- 12 that --
- 13 Ms. Wallander: So, it is a complicated question: what
- 14 do they work to achieve?
- And they don't, always. I think skepticism is well-
- 16 merited and behave to be modest in our understanding. And
- 17 that is why I would emphasize sanctions as part of a
- 18 toolkit. Sanctions, also, can be used to reduce Russian
- 19 capabilities to be able to coerce and deploy coercive and
- 20 aggressive threats against neighbors and allies.
- So, I am not fully read into the various proposals in
- 22 which the sequencing of them, but as a matter of policy, I
- 23 support the judiciousness of sanctions both, for ongoing
- 24 erosion of Russian capabilities and leverage, and as a
- 25 deterrent, an element of an effective deterrent.

- 1 Senator Tillis: And I am not sure if you can answer
- 2 this, but just based on public reports from experts, do you
- 3 believe that if Ukraine decided to, or if Russia decided to
- 4 invade Ukraine, that their objectives would be swift and
- 5 decisive?
- 6 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I have a long career of
- 7 studying the Soviet and then the Russian military and it is
- 8 my assessment that the Ukrainians would fight admirably and
- 9 well and be quite effective in imposing enormous costs on
- 10 Russian military forces. But the signals we are hearing
- 11 from the Kremlin suggest exactly what you point to, which is
- 12 a potential for a decisive and swift military strike, and it
- is very concerning.
- 14 Senator Tillis: Thank you.
- Dr. Plumb, I am going to submit some questions for the
- 16 record, but in my capacity as Ranking Member on Personnel
- 17 Subcommittee, I look forward to working on things that we
- 18 can do to fill the gap.
- You are going to have a, we have a resource problem in
- 20 terms of being able to compete with the private sector on
- 21 the best and brightest for cyberthreats. So, I look forward
- 22 to working with everyone in DOD that is focused on the
- 23 issue.
- And, Ms. Dalton, I am just going to submit a couple of
- 25 questions for the record on, particularly, China and Latin

- 1 America. I just got off of a conference call with a
- 2 business here that is trying to focus on rare earth mineral
- 3 extractions and a number of other things. There is a
- 4 disturbing trend in South America and Latin America with
- 5 Chinese investment threatening, actually even making what
- 6 were already fragile supply chains more fragile, but I will
- 7 submit those for the record.
- I look forward to supporting all of your nominations.
- 9 Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 10 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Tillis.
- 11 Let me recognize Senator Rosen, please.
- 12 Senator Rosen: There we go. Thank you.
- 13 Thank you, Chairman Reed. Thank you for holding this
- 14 important hearing.
- And I want to thank the nominees for being here today,
- 16 your willingness to serve.
- So, we will just get right into it about cybersecurity,
- of course, our utmost, top of everybody's mind, and I would
- 19 like to focus particularly on NATO and cybersecurity, an
- 20 issue I raised with Admiral graded during his confirmation
- 21 hearing, and one that came up consistently when I had a
- 22 chance to visit NATO headquarters on a congressional
- 23 delegation in November.
- So, Dr. Wallander, as you know, cybersecurity is part
- of NATO's core task of collective defense. Given rising

- 1 threats of cyberattacks, of course, we know from Russia and
- 2 China, NATO's efforts to protect allied networks and enhance
- 3 resilience across the alliance through information-sharing
- 4 and joint exercises, of course, has become more critical
- 5 than ever.
- So, again, Dr. Wallander, if confirmed, how would the
- 7 Department of Defense collaborate with our NATO allies to
- 8 prevent, mitigate, and recover from cyberattacks targeting
- 9 our critical infrastructure, our energy grids, our water
- 10 grids, our pipelines?
- 11 We know that we have seen cyberattacks in the past.
- 12 What would you be doing to collaborate with NATO, please?
- 13 Ms. Wallander: Senator, thank you for your question
- 14 highlighting this important aspect of NATO common defense
- 15 and the challenge to NATO security.
- Many of our NATO allies were in the forefront and
- 17 recognizing Russia's use of a cyber domain for assault, and
- 18 so the partnership with those allies has proven very helpful
- in the last couple of years as Russia has upped its
- 20 activities in this domain.
- If confirmed, I would work with Dr. Plumb's office, if
- 22 confirmed, to make sure that we have both, the functional
- 23 and regional expertise to effectively engage with NATO
- 24 allies in order to make sure that we coordinate, not just
- 25 government resources, but one of the challenges that you

- 1 know is that much of the cyber infrastructure is private, is
- 2 commercial.
- And Europe faces that challenge, just as the United
- 4 States does, so I think our best common practices are not
- 5 just from the Defense Department, but also it would require
- 6 a whole-of-government approach and coordination with the
- 7 Department of Homeland Security.
- 8 Senator Rosen: Yeah, I couldn't agree more. I sit on
- 9 the Homeland Security Committee. We just had a hearing just
- 10 recently with CISSA talking about how we would, how they are
- 11 planning to try to take care of some of these issues. So, I
- 12 hope you continue to work with them.
- But I would like to move on, Dr. Wallander, to issues
- 14 about Iranian aggression, because they are still out there.
- And I have noted in previous hearings, Iranian-backed
- 16 militias, while they are increasingly targeting U.S.
- installations and servicemembers in both, Iraq and Syria,
- 18 via rocket and drone attacks.
- Iran, we don't have to, I can't say this enough, it is
- 20 the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism. It
- 21 continues to be a threat to the United States and allied
- 22 interests, via its ballistic missile program and support for
- 23 Hezbollah and other terrorist proxies.
- So, can you discuss the threat of Iranian-backed
- 25 militias in the Middle East, the threat they pose to our

- 1 U.S. troops and allies, and if confirmed, how would you use
- 2 your existing DOD authorities to target these malign groups
- 3 and proactively protect our personnel?
- 4 Ms. Wallander: Senator, I very much share your
- 5 concern, and a lot of our focus in public tends to be on
- 6 Iran's nuclear weapons program and that is, you know,
- 7 concerning, but we can't lose sight of the fact that Iran is
- 8 actively supporting groups that strike at American personnel
- 9 installations and capabilities in the region and undermine
- 10 our ability to responsibly implement counterterrorism
- 11 missions in the region.
- If confirmed, I will focus on the partner relations in
- the region to work with them, to make sure that we are doing
- 14 everything necessary to counter Iran's activities, and to
- undermine them, but also to do an evaluation within DOD to
- 16 make sure that we are properly resourced and postured. And
- 17 I would cooperate with some of the other offices, in
- 18 particular, those involving Special Operations, the
- 19 functional offices, and the Department of Defense.
- 20 Senator Rosen: Thank you.
- I would like to move on to you, Ms. Dalton, about the
- 22 DOD cyber strategy. I understand, if confirmed, you will
- 23 serve as the Chief Civilian Supervisor to the Secretary of
- 24 Defense on cybersecurity.
- 25 And so, given the large number of federal agencies

- 1 responsible for protecting the homeland from cyberthreats,
- 2 what would you define is the Department of Defense's
- 3 appropriate role in addressing our nation's cybersecurity,
- 4 and, separately, if confirmed, how would you strengthen that
- 5 interagency collaboration to ensure coordinated approach is
- 6 going forward?
- 7 Ms. Dalton: Senator, thank you for highlighting the
- 8 critical challenge of cybersecurity and the Department's
- 9 role. The Department is the sector risk and management
- 10 agency for the Defense Industrial Base.
- And so, if confirmed, I would look forward to
- 12 stewarding those authorities, those responsibilities in
- 13 close coordination with the Department of Homeland Security,
- 14 the intelligence community, U.S. Cyber Command, and other
- 15 components to protect our critical infrastructure.
- Our relationships with the private sector, critical
- 17 supply chains, all of these are, unfortunately, experiencing
- 18 threats and so ensuring we have the requisite protections
- 19 and resilience going forward will be a priority of mine.
- 20 Senator Rosen: Thank you.
- 21 Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 22 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rosen.
- 23 Senator Kelly, please?
- Senator Kelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 25 And thank you, everybody, for participating here today.

- 1 Dr. Plumb, I want to talk to you a little bit more
- 2 about the anti-satellite missile tests that have been
- 3 conducted by the Chinese and the Russians. The test in
- 4 2007, you were asked about it earlier. That kinetic kill
- 5 vehicle put a debris field from about a hundred miles, you
- 6 know, probably all the way up to a couple thousand miles.
- 7 On one of my space shuttle flights, I had to maneuver
- 8 out of the way of some of that debris and that was well over
- 9 a decade ago. And just this past November, the space
- 10 station had to move out of the way of that debris field.
- 11 And this is going to become a continuing, you know, problem;
- 12 thousands, I think, 2,000 pieces of debris.
- The Russians launched a test themselves, but I want to
- 14 focus a little bit on the Chinese capability. So, DOD had a
- 15 report that detailed China's emerging counter-space
- 16 capabilities, including satellite jammers, directed-energy
- weapons, and these ground-based anti-satellite missiles,
- 18 like we saw in 2007 with the test.
- So, what is your current assessment of China's emerging
- 20 counter-space capabilities, and, if confirmed, how is your
- office going to address this emerging threat?
- Mr. Plumb: Thank you for that question, Senator.
- 23 And I will just say, I think you are spot-on; the
- 24 Chinese threat to our space assets is growing and it is
- 25 troubling, and it is in many different vectors. And I think

- 1 being able to counter that, there is no one solution.
- I think one of the advantages of integrating the
- 3 different policy offices that are functional under this ASD-
- 4 ship, if confirmed, would be the ability to more tightly
- 5 interweave cyber operations and counter-space operations,
- 6 for example.
- 7 I would say the Chinese threat is possibly, in order to
- 8 successfully prevail in a campaign in a warfare campaign, we
- 9 need to have a resilient architecture that can handle some
- 10 of those attacks, because some of those attacks are sure to
- 11 come. I think calling out kinetic, destructive tests, in
- 12 particular, because those impose a long-term, enduring
- 13 problem to all spacefaring nations, including astronauts,
- 14 would be helpful, as well.
- And I think that there are, in the spectrum of warfare,
- we need to be ready for kinetic attacks against these
- 17 assets, as well. We can't, it is a cross-domain problem, I
- 18 guess, is what I am trying to say. If we just think about
- 19 space versus space, it doesn't deal with the ground problem
- in a way that is sufficient in my opinion.
- 21 Senator Kelly: Yeah, it is, in any conflict with a
- 22 near-peer adversary, it is clearly the high ground. And we
- 23 know the importance of being able to maintain the high
- 24 ground and this is a place that we need to be present and
- 25 capable and continue to innovate.

- 1 So, thank you, I look forward to working with you after
- 2 your confirmation.
- I want to just transition on a totally different
- 4 subject to Ms. Dalton for a second. As you may know, being
- 5 from Arizona, I represent over 370 miles of U.S.-Mexico
- 6 border and, in fact, I think I am the only member of this
- 7 Committee that is in a Southwest Border state. I have
- 8 repeatedly called on the administration to better resource
- 9 DHS and the National Guard's border mission to address the
- 10 crisis at the border, and it is a crisis.
- We currently have over 2,400 National Guard troops
- 12 deployed to the U.S.-Mexico border by the Department of
- 13 Defense and another 1,300 by governors, including the
- 14 Arizona governor. But this isn't enough; clearly, it is
- 15 not.
- I mean, I have spent time at the border. I continue to
- 17 hear from law enforcement, especially sheriffs, but also
- 18 mayors in border communities, and my constituents on this
- 19 issue. And the challenges should not fall on local
- 20 communities; it is a crisis and it is hard for them to
- 21 manage.
- The National Guard play a critical security role here,
- 23 well, in a lot of ways, right: responding to national
- 24 disasters, helping communities tackle COVID, supporting
- 25 security at our border. It is imperative that we give them

- 1 the tools that they need to do this work. The National
- 2 Guard needs to have those tools.
- 3 So, Ms. Dalton, do I have your commitment, and I think
- 4 this is an easy question, do I have your commitment to work
- 5 with us to ensure that those troops are well-resourced as
- 6 they conduct these missions at the U.S.-Mexico border?
- 7 Ms. Dalton: Yes, Senator, you do.
- 8 And if confirmed, I would look forward to visiting
- 9 Arizona and the Southwest Border to better understand the
- 10 challenge. Thank you.
- 11 Senator Kelly: Thank you.
- 12 And Ms. Wallander, I have, I am going to submit the
- 13 question for the record. Thank you.
- 14 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 15 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kelly.
- And I want to thank the witnesses for their very
- 17 thoughtful testimony today and also for their willingness to
- 18 serve, as they served before.
- With that, let me adjourn this hearing. Thank you.
- [Whereupon, at 11:36 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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