

Stenographic Transcript  
Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE POSTURE OF  
UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND AND  
UNITED STATES CYBER COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE  
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2023  
AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Tuesday, April 5, 2022

Washington, D.C.

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1 HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE POSTURE OF  
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5 FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

6  
7 Tuesday, April 5, 2022

8  
9 U.S. Senate

10 Committee on Armed Services

11 Washington, D.C.  
12

13 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in  
14 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack Reed,  
15 chairman of the committee, presiding.

16 Committee Members Present: Senators Reed [presiding],  
17 Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, King, Manchin,  
18 Rosen, Inhofe, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Sullivan,  
19 Scott, Blackburn, Hawley, and Tuberville.  
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1           OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM  
2 RHODE ISLAND

3           Chairman Reed: Let me call the hearing to order, and  
4 for the benefit of my colleagues there is a vote at 10:30,  
5 and conferring with the Ranking Member we will recess at  
6 10:30, reconvene at 10:45, so we can promptly get that vote  
7 done. And then there will be a second vote later.

8           Welcome to our witnesses. Good morning. The committee  
9 meets today to receive an update on the readiness and  
10 posture of U.S. Special Operations Command and U.S. Cyber  
11 Command. Our witnesses are Assistant Secretary of Defense  
12 for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict  
13 Christopher Maier; Commander of U.S. Special Operations  
14 Command General Richard Clarke; and Commander of U.S. Cyber  
15 Command, National Security Agency Director, and Chief of the  
16 Central Security Service, General Paul Nakasone.

17           I would note that this is likely General Clarke's last  
18 appearance before the committee, and I would like to express  
19 my appreciation for your 38 years of service to the nation,  
20 including as the Commandant at West Point and Commanding  
21 General of the 82nd Airborne Division, but most importantly  
22 3rd Battalion, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment. Thank you  
23 very much, sir.

24           On behalf of the committee, I hope our witnesses will  
25 convey our appreciation to the men and women you represent,

1 and their families, for their dedication and  
2 professionalism.

3 For the first time since Congress reformed the  
4 responsibilities of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for  
5 Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict, or ASD  
6 SO/LIC, more than 5 years ago, the office has, again, for  
7 the first time, a Senate-confirmed Assistant Secretary and a  
8 full-time Director of the Secretariat for Special  
9 Operations, focused on the advocacy and oversight of special  
10 operations forces. These positions are critical to ensuring  
11 our special operations forces are trained, equipped, and  
12 organized to adequately support our National Defense  
13 Strategy. I appreciate the Department's efforts over the  
14 past year to institutionalize the role of the ASD SO/LIC,  
15 but I remain concerned that the number and expertise of the  
16 personnel assigned to supporting the office's "service  
17 secretary-like" responsibilities continues to fall short of  
18 what is required. I hope the Department will prioritize and  
19 accelerate these hiring efforts in the coming months.

20 The threat from violent extremist groups like ISIS and  
21 al Qaeda, while diminished, remains real and will continue  
22 to require the sustained application of special operations  
23 capabilities that have been honed over the last 20 years.  
24 Additionally, long-term strategic competition with China and  
25 Russia as well as the challenges posed by Iran and North

1 Korea increasingly require the tailored and often  
2 clandestine capabilities that only our special operations  
3 forces can provide.

4       Following our withdrawal from Afghanistan, the special  
5 operations community is at an inflection point. Assistant  
6 Secretary Maier, General Clarke, I look forward to an update  
7 regarding your efforts to focus and prepare our special  
8 operations forces for the challenges ahead. In particular,  
9 I would ask that you discuss the capabilities we need to  
10 build an enduring advantage over our strategic competitors,  
11 how you are shaping the force of the future through  
12 recruiting, retention, and building a culture of  
13 accountability, and how you are addressing the unique  
14 challenges faced by special operations families.

15       Turning to Cyber Command. General Nakasone, the  
16 Commander of U.S. European Command recently testified to the  
17 committee about his appreciation for the performance of your  
18 command and the National Security Agency prior to and during  
19 the Russian assault on Ukraine. Please convey our gratitude  
20 to the personnel under your command for their exceptional  
21 work.

22       I also want to commend General Nakasone, the President  
23 and his staff, and the leaders of the intelligence community  
24 for the unprecedented and skillful release of intelligence  
25 over the last several months that exposed Russia's

1 aggressive intentions and deceitful activities.  
2 Intelligence officials are understandably cautious about  
3 revealing hard-won insights on adversaries, but this current  
4 strategy has proven highly effective in strengthening the  
5 international community's response and creating dilemmas for  
6 Vladimir Putin. This is a great example of competing  
7 effectively in the information domain, and I hope we will  
8 continue to make this kind of creative use of intelligence  
9 information.

10 General Nakasone, you have been working to mature the  
11 cyber force and advance its capabilities to conduct  
12 defensive, offensive, and supporting intelligence operations  
13 to counter our adversaries. I know that improving the  
14 readiness of our Cyber Mission Forces is your highest  
15 priority. For you to succeed, however, the military  
16 services must increase their numbers of qualified and  
17 trained personnel for this mission set. Compounding this  
18 challenge, the private sector has realized the immense value  
19 of our highly skilled military cyber operators and is  
20 offering them very high compensation to leave the military.  
21 The services must adjust accordingly by providing a  
22 combination of incentives to retain these personnel. And I  
23 would note that Senators Manchin and Rounds are holding a  
24 Cyber Subcommittee hearing focused on this critical topic  
25 this afternoon, and I would welcome your thoughts on the

1 issue, and again, I commend both Senators Manchin and Rounds  
2 for their forward-looking and insightful approach to the  
3 problem.

4 Over the past several years, Cyber Command and the NSA,  
5 working jointly, have taken vigorous and sustained actions  
6 to defend our elections from foreign interference and malign  
7 influence operations. General Nakasone, with the 2022  
8 midterm elections approaching, I would ask for your  
9 assessment of our election defense efforts, which you have  
10 described as an "enduring, no-fail mission."

11 Finally, I would note that, in accordance with changes  
12 in the global security environment and President Biden's  
13 heightened focus on the Indo-Pacific region, Cyber Command  
14 has shifted a task force to focus on competition with China  
15 and has created the China Outcomes Group under senior-level  
16 leadership. The work of these organizations will be of keen  
17 interest to the committee.

18 I again want to thank the witnesses for their service  
19 and appearance before us today. I look forward to your  
20 testimony.

21 Let me now turn to the ranking member, Senator Inhofe,  
22 please.

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM  
2 OKLAHOMA

3 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for welcoming  
4 our great witnesses.

5 As I have said many times, we face a more dangerous and  
6 complex set of threats than any time in my life. Just last  
7 week, Army Secretary Christine Wormuth said, quote, "this is  
8 probably the most dangerous security environment" in her 25  
9 years of service. Well, it is the same with me, except it  
10 is more than 25 years.

11 The Chinese Communist Party announced a 7.1 percent  
12 defense budget increase this year, continuing two decades of  
13 historic military modernization. Every day, they give us  
14 more evidence that their goals and interests are  
15 fundamentally opposed to ours.

16 Russia's invasion of Ukraine has upended European  
17 security, North Korea is developing more capable ICBMs, Iran  
18 has accelerated its aggression, and terrorist groups are  
19 reconstituting in Africa and Afghanistan.

20 For our witnesses today, you face challenges across  
21 each of these threats. In addition to growing their  
22 conventional military capabilities, our adversaries are  
23 expanding their use of irregular warfare and cyber to  
24 threaten the United States and our partners.

25 I am still working through the recently released 2022

1 National Defense Strategy, but I have seen an extensive  
2 description of the gray-zone expansion and cyber threats  
3 posed by each of our adversaries. But I have not seen much  
4 in this budget so far about responding to those threats.

5 General Clarke, you have the daunting challenge of  
6 reorienting SOCOM for a high-end fight, even as you will be  
7 stretched thin in shouldering the burden of the fight  
8 against terrorism. Like with our Afghanistan withdrawal, I  
9 am concerned we are taking too much risk there. Mitigating  
10 that risk will largely fall on you and your troops.

11 General Nakasone, the pace of Chinese advances in cyber  
12 is pretty breathtaking, and our other adversaries are also  
13 moving fast. We want to make sure you have the resources  
14 and authorities you need to maintain or regain your  
15 advantage. I definitely want us to do more in cyber  
16 cooperation with our allies and partners, so we will have to  
17 look at funding for that this year also.

18 I look to our witnesses to describe how the men and  
19 women they lead are postured to deal with this array of  
20 threats and what this committee can do to ensure they have  
21 the tools necessary to be successful.

22 So, Mr. Chairman, I thank you.

23 Chairman Reed: Well thank you very much, Senator  
24 Inhofe.

25 Since a quorum is now present I ask the committee to

1 consider the following civilian nominees: The Honorable  
2 William A. LaPlante, Jr., to be Under Secretary of Defense  
3 for Acquisition and Sustainment; Mr. Erik K. Raven, to be  
4 Under Secretary of the Navy; Ms. M. Tia Johnson to be a  
5 Judge in the United States Court of Appeals for the Armed  
6 Forces; and Dr. Marvin L. Adams to be Deputy Administrator  
7 for Defense Programs, National Nuclear Security  
8 Administration.

9 Is there a motion to favorably report these four  
10 nominations to the Senate?

11 Voice: So moved.

12 Chairman Reed: Is there a second?

13 Voice: Second.

14 Chairman Reed: All in favor, please say aye.

15 [Chorus of ayes.]

16 Chairman Reed: The motion carries. Thank you very  
17 much.

18 Now let me recognize Secretary Maier and then I will  
19 recognize General Clarke and then General Nakasone.

20 Mr. Secretary, please.

21 You might want to pull that as close as you can get to  
22 you. Some of us cannot hear.

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1           STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER MAIER,  
2 ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR SPECIAL OPERATIONS AND  
3 LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT

4           Mr. Maier: Thank you, Chairman. Chairman Reed,  
5 Ranking Member Inhofe, and distinguished members of the  
6 committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify on the  
7 global posture of our nation's special operations  
8 enterprise, or SOF. I am honored to testify alongside  
9 General Clarke and General Nakasone, two of our nation's  
10 most dedicated military professionals.

11           On a personal note, and reinforcing, Chairman, what you  
12 said, I would like to thank General Clarke for his  
13 leadership and partnership during his tenure as SOCOM  
14 commander during a time of major transformation and  
15 strategic importance. I also appreciate the leadership of  
16 Command Chief Master Sergeant Greg Smith, who is here today.

17           The dedication, service, and sacrifice of our SOF  
18 leaders and the SOF community motivates me each and every  
19 day to ensure we are doing all we can to provide them the  
20 ways and means to win, regardless of the challenge. I would  
21 also like to thank Congress, and particularly this  
22 committee, for its steadfast support for our SOF warriors  
23 and their families. Since the establishment of SOCOM, our  
24 strong partnership with Congress has been instrumental to  
25 fielding the world's most capable and elite special

1 operations force.

2 We continue to make progress in advancing Congress'  
3 intent to institutionalize the role of the office I lead,  
4 the Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict, within  
5 the Department, or SO/LIC. Sustaining and enhancing the  
6 competitive advantage of the U.S. military, and even more  
7 broadly the nation's capabilities and future fights, depends  
8 on our effectiveness to provide the civilian oversight and  
9 backing of the SOF enterprise. This group of extraordinary  
10 military, civilian, and contractors has proven itself over  
11 so many decades to be essential to the U.S. military and  
12 strategic success.

13 In today's increasingly complex security environment,  
14 the SOF enterprise provides our nation's leaders with agile,  
15 scalable, and discrete options to address challenges across  
16 the spectrum of competition, crisis, and conflict. SOF play  
17 an essential role in the National Defense Strategy by  
18 holding adversary systems at risk and by enhancing our  
19 allies' and partners' ability to resist aggression and  
20 malign influence.

21 Even as we transform the SOF enterprise to meet the  
22 challenges of achieving enduring advantage through  
23 integrated deterrence and active campaigning, we continue to  
24 enhance our capabilities to conduct high-priority  
25 counterterrorism crisis response operations. The

1 President's fiscal year 2023 budget request for SOF reflects  
2 these priorities in modernizing our maritime capabilities  
3 and investing in artificial intelligence and other key  
4 technologies. The budget also supports the Armed Overwatch  
5 Program to ensure our SOF had the required support in remote  
6 and austere environments where they operate.

7 As reflected in the fiscal year 2023 budget, we  
8 continue to invest in the health and well-being of our SOF  
9 warriors and their families. Our flagship Preservation of  
10 the Force and Families program, or POTFF, complements  
11 service-administered programs to address the unique  
12 physical, cognitive, psychological, and spiritual health  
13 needs of our SOF community.

14 We continue to prioritize enhancing diversity and  
15 inclusion within SOF. Drawing on a diverse set of talents  
16 and perspectives is essential to our success in a changing  
17 operational environment and to SOF's unique ability to  
18 engage and collaborate with allies and partners around the  
19 world.

20 The number of women in our ranks continues to grow, and  
21 in the past 2 years the first three women have successfully  
22 completed special forces qualification, and last year the  
23 first woman qualified as a naval Special Warfare Combatant  
24 Crew member, or SWCC. We are proud of these warriors'  
25 individual achievements and continue to actively promote a

1 career in SOF for all who meet our rigorous standards.

2           Lastly, I would like to briefly mention the war in  
3 Ukraine. Among many observations, it serves as a daily  
4 reminder of the importance of building the capabilities and  
5 resilience of our allies and partners. As we watch the  
6 Ukrainians employ a number of elements of irregular warfare  
7 against a larger force to great effect, we should  
8 internalize the need to continue to grow our own irregular  
9 warfare skills and continue to develop and refine irregular  
10 warfare options for our nation's leaders.

11           Mr. Chairman, thank you again for the opportunity to  
12 testify today. I look forward to your questions.

13           [The prepared statement of Mr. Maier follows:]

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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Secretary Maier.

2 General Clarke, please.

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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL RICHARD CLARKE, COMMANDER, UNITED  
2 STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND

3           General Clarke: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe,  
4 and distinguished members of this committee, thank you for  
5 this opportunity. I am honored to testify alongside the  
6 Honorable Chris Maier and my good friend, General Paul  
7 Nakasone. Joining behind me is Chief Greg Smith, SOCOM's  
8 senior enlisted leader. This is Greg's final time appearing  
9 before this committee before he retires after 33 years in  
10 uniform. He is representative of the extraordinary women  
11 and men of USSOCOM, and I am consistently grateful for his  
12 counsel.

13           This April 16th, next week, marks 35 years since  
14 USSOCOM was activated. We are thankful for the foresight  
15 and support of Congress and particularly this committee and  
16 Senators Nunn and Cohen, who had the foresight to stand up  
17 USSOCOM. Thank you for your decades of continued support  
18 ever since.

19           Your special operations forces create strategic,  
20 asymmetric advantages for the nation across the spectrum of  
21 conflict. USSOCOM bolsters deterrence globally through our  
22 campaign activities, all providing critical options for the  
23 Joint Force. We are also innovating and modernizing to  
24 build enduring advantage while strengthening our force and  
25 family and make continual challenges to the rule-based

1 international order. Maintaining a range of credible  
2 options unpins our nation's strategic advantage.

3 We have witnessed Russia's unprovoked and unjustified  
4 invasion of Ukraine, China's coercive and malign activity in  
5 the Indo-Pacific, and efforts by other state and non-state  
6 actors, including violent extremist organizations to sow  
7 instability. In this dynamic environment, USSOCOM's  
8 enduring value resides in our ability to combat asymmetric  
9 threats, particularly in the gray zone and below the  
10 threshold of armed conflict. We employ precision and  
11 surprise to both prevail and respond in crisis, and our  
12 formations support the resilience and resistance efforts of  
13 our allies and partners, often through sustained, long-term  
14 partnership with their special operations forces.

15 Regardless of the threats we face, SOF represent a  
16 critical strategic edge to respond in crisis. Exquisite,  
17 tailored capabilities enable us to undertake sensitive and  
18 high-risk missions, crucial to safeguarding our citizens and  
19 protecting our vital national interests.

20 A cornerstone of all these efforts remain our  
21 longstanding partnership with ASD SO/LIC. The oversight,  
22 policy guidance, and advocacy within the Department of  
23 Defense provided by ASD SO/LIC are essential for the  
24 modernization, readiness, and well-being of our SOF and  
25 their families. Together we are committed to sustaining

1 trust by strengthening our culture of accountability. We  
2 are preparing for future threats by unlocking our nation's  
3 diverse talent, and we are leading with our values through  
4 our continual efforts to mitigate civilian harm.

5 As we speak here today, more than 5,000 men and women  
6 from SOCOM are defending our nation and standing shoulder-  
7 to-shoulder with partners in over 80 countries worldwide.  
8 The courage and commitment of over 75,000 members of our  
9 special operations community are inspiring. As this may be  
10 my final opportunity before this committee I would emphasize  
11 that it has been the honor of my lifetime to serve with them  
12 every day.

13 I look forward to your questions.

14 [The prepared statement of General Clarke follows:]

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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General Clarke.  
2 General Nakasone, please.

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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL PAUL NAKASONE, COMMANDER, UNITED  
2 STATES CYBER COMMAND/DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY/  
3 CHIEF, CENTRAL SECURITY SERVICE

4           General Nakasone: Chairman Reed, Ranking Member  
5 Inhofe, and distinguished members of the committee, I am  
6 honored to testify beside Assistant Secretary Maier and  
7 General Rich Clarke. I am joined today by Command Sergeant  
8 Major Sheryl Lyon, the U.S. Cyber Command and NSA senior  
9 enlisted leader. We are honored to represent the military  
10 and civilian members of U.S. Cyber Command.

11           Command Sergeant Major Lyon and I want to recognize  
12 Rich Clark and Greg Smith and their families for 36 and 30  
13 years of dedicated service to our nation. Well done,  
14 gentlemen.

15           Defending the nation is the heart of U.S. Cyber  
16 Command's mission. The command has been integral to the  
17 nation's response to the current Russia-Ukraine crisis. We  
18 have provided intelligence on the growing threat, helped to  
19 warn government and industry to tighten security within  
20 critical infrastructure sectors, enhanced resilience of the  
21 DoD information network, accelerated efforts against  
22 criminal cyber enterprises, and together with interagency  
23 and allied partners, plan for a range of contingencies.

24           Coordinating with the Ukrainians in an effort to help  
25 them harden their networks, U.S. Cyber Command deployed a

1 hunt forward team, who sat side-by-side our partners to gain  
2 critical insights that have increased homeland defense for  
3 both the United States and Ukraine.

4 U.S. Cyber Command views 2022 as a year of significant  
5 opportunity for building our capabilities as we pursue five  
6 priorities: readiness; operations in defense of the nation;  
7 integrated deterrence; recruitment, retention, and training;  
8 and the Joint Cyber Warfighting Architecture and Enhanced  
9 Budget Control. My goal as the commander remains world-  
10 class, ready and capable at providing options and conducting  
11 operations in defense of the nation with wider partnerships  
12 and exceptional talent.

13 These elements will be essential to national security  
14 as our nation faces an array of adversaries who are  
15 expanding, in scope, scale, and sophistication.  
16 Cybersecurity is national security. Speed, agility, and  
17 unity of effort, brought about by the connected relationship  
18 between U.S. Cyber Command and the National Security Agency  
19 is the ingredient that protects the United States against  
20 our enemies.

21 The men and women of the United States Cyber Command  
22 are grateful for the support of this committee and Congress  
23 that you have given to our command. I look forward to  
24 answering your questions.

25 [The prepared statement of General Nakasone follows:]

1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General Nakasone.  
2 Before I begin let me too commend Sergeant Major Greg Smith  
3 for his service. We all understand that the great advantage  
4 that the United States military has are the NCOs and  
5 enlisted men, and thank you for your service.

6 Secretary Maier, we, over the past many years, have  
7 been trying to create this "service secretary-like" posture  
8 with SO/LIC, and as I indicated in my opening testimony, it  
9 seems to me you need additional resources and additional  
10 facilities. Can you give us an idea of what you need to be  
11 that service-like, Secretary?

12 Mr. Maier: Chairman, thanks for the question, and this  
13 committee, more than any other I think, has been a huge  
14 supporter of reinforcing the institutionalization of ASD  
15 SO/LIC, so we very much appreciate that.

16 Where I think we have made progress over the last year,  
17 from the time I was last here, testifying in front of you on  
18 institutionalizing the role of ASD SO/LIC in the Department  
19 with, frankly, a lot of advocacy personally from Secretary  
20 Austin, I think elements of the dual reporting structure  
21 that I am a big proponent of, where we report up one chain  
22 for policy and another chain for the service sec  
23 responsibilities does not translate always well into the  
24 Department. It just does not graft well in the blueprint.  
25 So that puts us, at times, at a disadvantage for competing

1 for resources and some of the other aspects that we would  
2 need in a start-up organization.

3 I think your continued advocacy, your continued support  
4 for funding for staff, and as I think was highlighted in  
5 your opening remarks, the right mix of expertise, and  
6 frankly senior expertise, where we are a small proportion as  
7 a ratio of senior executives who are having the  
8 responsibility to oversee many of the key aspects of the SOF  
9 enterprise, and we are doing it with people who  
10 traditionally are at a lower rank, as just some of the key  
11 aspects that we continue to work with the Department to  
12 reinforce, sir.

13 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.

14 General Clarke, from your perspective as the commander,  
15 can you indicate how valuable the role is of the SO/LIC, and  
16 what improvements you might suggest from the standpoint of a  
17 commanding officer?

18 General Clarke: Thanks for the question. Senator,  
19 first, it is great to have a confirmed nominee that has been  
20 consistent in the position. Mr. Maier testified last year.  
21 Mr. Maier is the seventh ASD SO/LIC, either confirmed or  
22 acting, that I have had. So the consistency for SOCOM is  
23 very important, but it is also important for those deputy  
24 assistant secretaries and the structure within.

25 The other aspect that I would highlight, Senator, is

1 that Mr. Maier now has a seat at the table with the other  
2 service secretaries that allow him to, one, provide advocacy  
3 for SOCOM structure and what we need to do in the future for  
4 the Department but also to provide that advocacy and  
5 insights as to what the Secretary is thinking. And that is  
6 everything from human resources to the Secretary's  
7 priorities, and that has been extremely valuable for this  
8 command, where sometimes we could be working more in the  
9 dark without Mr. Maier at the table. So thank you.

10 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General Clarke. I  
11 was going to ask questions, General Nakasone, about the need  
12 for talented personnel, but I think I will cede that to  
13 Senator Rounds and Senator Manchin today, in anticipation of  
14 the hearing.

15 But I do have a question about the social media data  
16 threat analysis center. We authorized that in the NDAA's of  
17 2020 and 2021. Do you agree that it would be helpful to  
18 have such a center to provide ongoing analysis and trends  
19 and also provide some deterrence perhaps? Could you comment  
20 on?

21 General Clarke: Chairman, I can. Based upon my  
22 experience watching two different election cycles and the  
23 work of our adversaries to attempt to garner greater  
24 influence, I think such a center would be helpful. Here is  
25 what the center really needs to do, though. It needs to be

1 able to look at all of the full spectrum operations of what  
2 our adversaries are doing. What are the tactics? What are  
3 the tradecraft? What are the procedures they are doing?

4 And I think the second piece is that what would  
5 probably be most helpful is this center being outside the  
6 government, a federally funded research center or perhaps  
7 another center that is obviously in support that is able to  
8 attract the talent and remains very, very vibrant and  
9 dynamic in its approach.

10 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much. Again, gentlemen,  
11 thank you for your service. General Clarke, please give my  
12 regards to your father, who was my physical education  
13 instructor at West Point, and passed me despite my  
14 inadequacies. Thank you very much.

15 Senator Inhofe, please.

16 Senator Inhofe: I enjoyed that.

17 General Nakasone, it is clear that threats posed by our  
18 adversaries in cyberspace is growing. China is using cyber  
19 to steal our cutting-edge technologies and Russia is using  
20 destructive cyberattacks in Ukraine and elsewhere to deter  
21 the United States and our partners.

22 General Nakasone, in the face of these serious  
23 cyberthreats your stance has been consistent and it has been  
24 clear on the benefits of the dual-hat arrangement. And you  
25 know, the dual-hat arrangement, for some reason, has become

1 controversial, and I think you and I both agree on this.  
2 But why is it that that arrangement is in the national  
3 security interests of the United States? Explain that to  
4 us.

5 General Nakasone: Senator, thank you for the question.  
6 I begin with just 2018, when I came into the job, both as  
7 Commander of U.S. Cyber Command and the Director of the  
8 National Security Agency, and I look at the change in terms  
9 of our national security today, in terms of what our  
10 adversaries in cyberspace are trying to do.

11 We were not thinking about ransomware in 2018. We were  
12 not necessarily thinking about near-peers in terms of their  
13 capabilities in 2018. Very, very focused on coming out of  
14 the 2016 elections, obviously the midterm elections of 2018,  
15 and then also being able to address a series of threats with  
16 counterterrorism.

17 But over this past 4 years, as you have indicated,  
18 Senator, the world has changed considerably, and what we see  
19 is a speed of sophistication and a willingness for our  
20 adversaries to operate tremendously impactful within  
21 cyberspace.

22 And so what we have done is to continue to mature the  
23 relationship between U.S. Cyber Command and NSA. How do we  
24 bring the best of what is being done in foreign intelligence  
25 and cybersecurity to the work that is being done on the

1 command, to be able to get after our adversaries? This is  
2 what changed.

3 And so 1 plus 1, we do not want it to equal 2. We  
4 wanted a force multiplier of 5 or 10 that can get after our  
5 adversaries. And we are not alone at this, Senator. Our  
6 adversaries are doing the same thing.

7 Senator Inhofe: Thank you. That is a great response.

8 China views Africa as key to its global ambitions,  
9 which is why they built their first overseas military base  
10 in Djibouti. People do not realize that it is not just that  
11 military base in Djibouti. That was the first military  
12 base, period, in their history. So they want to build  
13 another one on the West Coast of Africa.

14 Now we witnessed this in Djibouti, and the bulk of the  
15 U.S. forces in Africa are special operations troops who work  
16 with our partners to build capabilities, collect  
17 intelligence, and push back on China, Russia, and terrorist  
18 groups. We should deploy more of these troops to Africa,  
19 given the growing threats that we have pointed out several  
20 times in Africa.

21 General Clarke, what is your assessment of what the  
22 Chinese military seeks to accomplish in Africa, and what can  
23 our special operations forces do to confront these growing  
24 threats?

25 General Clarke: Senator, I have been to Djibouti many

1 times and also see it as a strategic location not just for  
2 Africa but what it gives for a platform for us to conduct  
3 counterterrorism missions into the Middle East, with its  
4 proximity to Yemen. And as a key strategic hub there, the  
5 Chinese clearly see the same thing.

6 For U.S. Special Operations Command in support of  
7 AFRICOM, it is to ensure that the violent extremist elements  
8 there are disrupted so they cannot cause a threat back to  
9 the United States. As far as our ability, by being there  
10 really allows us to see and sense what the Chinese  
11 pernicious behavior is inside of Africa, with a great  
12 interest specifically in collecting resources and minerals  
13 for the future. And by being there it helps us to highlight  
14 those for the partners with whom we work.

15 Senator Inhofe: Well, and I am glad that we have that  
16 opportunity. Mr. Chairman.

17 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much.

18 Senator Gillibrand, please.

19 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General  
20 Nakasone, it is great to see you, and I just want to give my  
21 gratitude to all three witnesses today for their  
22 extraordinary service, especially General Clarke on your  
23 retirement. You have really been a bright light for many,  
24 many years, and we are grateful for everything you have  
25 done.

1           General Nakasone, I have advocated for the need for a  
2 national cyber and digital services academy, which was  
3 consistent with the recommendations of the AI Commission, to  
4 train the next generation of the civilian cyber workforce.  
5 This would serve as a complement to existing fellowship and  
6 scholarship programs.

7           Looking forward, what are the key competencies that  
8 these pipelines should be developing? And second and  
9 related, DHS is still in the pilot phase of their new DHS  
10 community talent management system, where they seek to more  
11 quickly onboard 150 new cyber personnel outside of the  
12 traditional OPM process. Are there any early lessons that  
13 can be learned from this and helpful to the DoD in  
14 increasing civilian hiring?

15           General Nakasone: So Senator, I think the first  
16 lessons that we have is we need the largest pool that is  
17 possible. This is a critical piece of what our nation is  
18 going to do in the future. Cyberspace is where our nation  
19 stores its wealth and its treasure. And so as we take a  
20 look at that, being able to attract from, you know, a broad  
21 range of our society, that traditionally perhaps have not  
22 touched science, technology, engineering, and mathematics is  
23 an important first step.

24           Secondly is focusing on some of the key competitive  
25 advantages our nation is going to need for the future --

1 data science, coding, artificial intelligence, machine  
2 learning. All of these are capacities that our nation is  
3 going to need well into the future.

4 And the third piece, I think, is just the ability to  
5 attract and to focus on the mission of what really gets done  
6 here. This is what we have learned at the National Security  
7 Agency and Cyber Command, is it is the mission that attracts  
8 people to work in this field. Thank you.

9 Senator Gillibrand: Do you have any particular views  
10 on the development of the national cyber and digital  
11 services academy?

12 General Nakasone: Senator, if I might let me take that  
13 for the record, just so I give a more fulsome answer.

14 Senator Gillibrand: I appreciate that. How many  
15 personnel are detailed to domestic agencies, such as DHS, to  
16 help protect domestic critical infrastructure? The 2018 MOU  
17 authorized 50 detailees. In 2020, DoD scaled it down to  
18 about 20, and as of last year, OIG report had only 10  
19 filled. Obviously, we are trying to position ourselves to  
20 defend against any oncoming Russian cyberattacks, especially  
21 to the civilian sector, and as you know, about 80 percent of  
22 our cyber networks are civilian owned and operated.

23 So I would like to know what your perspective is on  
24 this and how we can create better collaboration so that not  
25 only can DoD resources, through the National Guard, but

1 certainly NSA and other cybersecurity forces can be  
2 supportive of what we do to create cyber defense  
3 domestically.

4 General Nakasone: Senator, what we have done, we began  
5 not only with the ability, as this committee has allowed us  
6 to generate up to 50 personnel, but I think the first thing  
7 that we want to do is make sure that we exchange liaison  
8 officers, which has been done now, between ourselves and  
9 CISA.

10 The second piece is focusing a part of my force on  
11 direct support to CISA. This is a discussion that Director  
12 Easterly and I have had. It is also the ability for us to  
13 look at and say, what are the areas that perhaps are unique  
14 for our force that might be available to CISA and the nation  
15 in the future.

16 And the third piece is working very closely to better  
17 understand what are the competitive advantages that we might  
18 bring from U.S. Cyber Command to what is necessary for  
19 defense of the critical infrastructure. Thank you.

20 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you very much, General. And  
21 I would like to work with you on creating a more formalized  
22 relationship between you and CISA for the future, because I  
23 know that the jointness efforts in New York City are among  
24 the best in the country. Currently in our cyber protection  
25 with both assets from National Guard, NSA, NYPD, and FBI, we

1 are collaborating now with over 50 entities that are deemed  
2 critical infrastructure -- major banks, major supply chain,  
3 major energy, major water -- and that is working extremely  
4 well.

5 So also for the record I would be grateful for any  
6 thoughts you have on that collaboration, making sure it  
7 could become more robust and more formalized. I would like  
8 your thoughts if you have any today but also for the record.

9 General Nakasone: Let me take that for the record,  
10 Senator. I did have the opportunity yesterday to speak with  
11 Director Easterly. We were actually in the same location  
12 and had an opportunity to just go over some of these topics.  
13 So that will be an apropos time.

14 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you. Thank you, General.  
15 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Gillibrand.

17 Senator Fischer, please.

18 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 General Clarke, special operations forces have an  
20 indispensable and outsized role in counterterrorism  
21 operations. Would you agree that without sustained CT  
22 pressure terrorist groups are more able to focus on planning  
23 and preparing for external attacks?

24 General Clarke: I would fundamentally agree. That,  
25 but I would also add that it is key to do that with allies

1 and partners, because then you actually are able to expand  
2 and get a bigger bang for your buck.

3 Senator Fischer: As commander you must be extensively  
4 familiar with the challenges associated with conducting  
5 over-the-horizon CT operations. Correct?

6 General Clarke: I am, Senator.

7 Senator Fischer: Can you describe the challenges of  
8 conducting over-the-horizon CT operations without reliable  
9 partners on the ground, without basing access in neighboring  
10 countries, and without reliable access to airspace?

11 General Clarke: Senator, it is more difficult, and I  
12 am not going to sit in front of this committee and say that  
13 it is not. I would also, on the same hand, though, say that  
14 in the last 20 years we have developed exquisite  
15 capabilities, and we can conduct counterterrorism missions  
16 over-the-horizon, and we have exhibited that in the past.

17 The most important aspect, from my purview -- and I  
18 have witnessed this multiple times, and you are referencing  
19 it -- is the intel collection that is associated to ensure  
20 that you have that intelligence to conduct those operations.

21 Senator Fischer: And we have been successful in the  
22 past, but have we been successful in the recent past,  
23 specifically in Afghanistan after we left?

24 General Clarke: Senator, I can point to a recent raid  
25 in Syria to show that we have had success, and we continue

1 to observe and monitor in Afghanistan, along with Central  
2 Command and other intel agencies.

3 Senator Fischer: In this setting can you say if we  
4 have had success in Afghanistan?

5 General Clarke: Senator, I think some of those  
6 questions best be served in a closed hearing.

7 Senator Fischer: Thank you. Secretary Meier, has  
8 there been progress made towards securing any basing  
9 agreements or arrangements with any country bordering  
10 Afghanistan?

11 Mr. Maier: Senator Fischer, there has been but I would  
12 prefer to talk about that in closed session, due to the  
13 sensitivities.

14 Senator Fischer: Okay. Mr. Secretary, our current  
15 strategy for countering terrorist groups in Afghanistan  
16 assumes an immense amount of risk. I am also deeply  
17 concerned by the lack of intelligence collection  
18 capabilities that we have for Afghanistan.

19 In December, CENTCOM Commander General McKenzie stated  
20 that, quote, "we are probably at about 1 or 2 percent of the  
21 capabilities we once had to look into Afghanistan," end  
22 quote. Does the Department plan to develop any additional  
23 resources to ISR in Afghanistan or is the Department  
24 comfortable with the current level of risk associated with  
25 the current ISR levels?

1           Mr. Maier:    Senator, the Department is looking actively  
2 right now at other forms of intelligence. I would not limit  
3 it only to ISR. There are other capabilities that I think  
4 can be surged, and that is an ongoing effort to look at  
5 those opportunities.

6           Senator Fischer: Will you be able to discuss those in  
7 a closed setting with us?

8           Mr. Maier:    Senator, yes, I will be able to.

9           Senator Fischer: Thank you.

10          General Clarke, for the better part of two decades the  
11 counterterrorism fight has been your main effort in your  
12 command. The unclassified summary of the new National  
13 Defense Strategy clearly states that China is the pacing  
14 threat, and de-emphasizes other persistent threats,  
15 including the threat from violent extremist organizations.  
16 How do you envision the demand signal from geographic  
17 combatant commanders changing given the shifting priorities  
18 under the new National Defense Strategy?

19          General Clarke:   Senator, the demand for special  
20 operations forces will always exceed the capabilities that  
21 we can provide. But what we are doing is to ensure that we  
22 are developing and modernizing to provide unique  
23 capabilities such as undersea modernization, maritime  
24 mobility that could work very well inside the Indo-Pacific,  
25 and to do things that only SOF can do. We have recently

1 stood up a special reconnaissance enabling command to look  
2 at our sense of activities that can be applied globally.

3 Senator Fischer: In your written testimony you talk  
4 about rebalancing the activities, and for the record if you  
5 could explain how special operation forces are realigning to  
6 support the priorities that are identified in that National  
7 Defense Strategy, please.

8 General Clarke: I will. I will take that for the  
9 record, Senator.

10 Senator Fischer: Thank you, and thank you so much for  
11 your service to this country.

12 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Fischer.

13 Senator Hirono, please.

14 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you  
15 all for testifying, and a special aloha and mahalo to  
16 General Clarke, as this may be the last time that you are  
17 appearing before this committee.

18 A question for General Nakasone. In your prepared  
19 remarks you note that one of your priorities is maintaining  
20 a skilled cyber workforce through recruitment, training, and  
21 retention. And we all know that recruitment and retention  
22 in this area is particularly important.

23 We have a number of cyber education programs in Hawaii  
24 that work collaboratively with NSA and DHS, such as the  
25 National Center of Academic Excellence in Cyber Defense and

1 Center of Academic Excellence in Research. However, we also  
2 struggle to retain these trained cybersecurity experts in  
3 Hawaii, where opportunities do exist. Yet, you know, we are  
4 competing with the private sector, among other entities.

5 Are you able to meet the demands of an ever-changing  
6 cyber landscape with the talent that you currently have,  
7 General Nakasone?

8 General Nakasone: Senator, thank you. Very  
9 specifically, yes right now, but we need to be postured for  
10 the future. To give you an example, we stood up, at U.S.  
11 Cyber Command this year, the Academic Engagement Network,  
12 over 92 universities across 40 different states, to include  
13 the University of Hawaii at Manoa, which I have had the  
14 ability to go and actually talk there, and talk with the  
15 students there. This is an incredibly important piece of  
16 what we do because my sense is that as good as our  
17 technology is, it always come back to people.

18 And so our talent initiatives right now are focusing on  
19 being able to develop the next generation. So while we have  
20 enough for today, our nation needs more for tomorrow.

21 Senator Hirono: I think it is a constant need. And so  
22 we have a situation where we need to recruit or encourage a  
23 lot more people into the STEM areas, wouldn't you say?

24 General Nakasone: That is correct, Senator. In fact,  
25 we have a program with the National Science Foundation, Next

1 Generation Cyber that is being run by NSA and the National  
2 Science Foundation, of which we have camps every summer for  
3 K-12, generating interest in science, technology,  
4 engineering, and mathematics.

5 Senator Hirono: And are you finding that you are able  
6 to recruit women or girls and minorities into these  
7 programs?

8 General Nakasone: Senator, we are. However, again, I  
9 point to the fact that it is not enough, and we need to do  
10 better in the future. Right now our forces, 35 percent  
11 female in terms of our overall strength on the civilian side  
12 and about 20 percent on the military side. Overall, in the  
13 cybersecurity industry, it is at 20 percent. That is a  
14 very, very low number for our nation.

15 And so I am concerned about our command, our agency,  
16 and certainly our nation in this area.

17 Senator Hirono: So I think that whatever programs,  
18 educational programs that we have that would encourage more  
19 women and minorities into the STEM fields are important,  
20 wouldn't you say?

21 General Nakasone: I agree, Senator. I think the other  
22 piece that I would add, being the son of two educators, is  
23 ensuring that the teachers, that we are able to bring this  
24 curriculum to the teachers that are so instrumental in being  
25 able to sow the foundation for the future.

1           Senator Hirono: I agree. I know that we have to do a  
2 heck of a lot more to encourage particularly women and  
3 minorities, because that is a vast, untapped group of  
4 individuals.

5           Again for you, it is likely that many of our military  
6 installations in the Pacific would be targeted in the event  
7 of conflict with China, and it is clear we need a flexible  
8 and resilient approach to logistics in the Pacific. In her  
9 testimony last week, General Van Ovost, commander of  
10 USTRANSCOM, highlighted cybersecurity as a chief threat to  
11 her mission as it pertains to contested logistics, and  
12 highlighted partnerships with CYBERCOM.

13           In what ways has CYBERCOM integrated with STRATCOM and  
14 INDOPACOM regarding the vulnerability of our assets spread  
15 across the Pacific?

16           General Nakasone: Two ways, Senator. First of all,  
17 being able to ensure that the network that U.S.  
18 Transportation Command utilizes, along with a series of  
19 private sector companies. This is an unclassified network,  
20 it is resilient, and assured in terms of being able to do  
21 that. We have special focus on USTRANSCOM.

22           The second piece is working with USTRANSCOM,  
23 USINDOPACOM, and other combatant commands to ensure that the  
24 partnership that we have built in the Pacific and Europe are  
25 foundational to being able to ensure the cybersecurity of

1 these nations as we continue to partner with them.

2 Senator Hirono: I do have a few more questions that I  
3 will submit for the record. But I would also like to join  
4 the Chairman in expressing our congratulations to you,  
5 General Nakasone, for exposing Russia's aggressive  
6 intentions regarding Ukraine. That was very helpful to  
7 enable all of us to be much better prepared for this  
8 terrible war that is happening in the Ukraine.

9 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 General Nakasone: Thank you, Senator. I will pass  
11 that on to my people.

12 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hirono.

13 Senator Rounds, please.

14 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 First of all, let me begin by just saying, gentlemen,  
16 thank you for your service to our country, and General  
17 Clarke, to you and your team, what you have done over your  
18 years of service will make a difference in the safety and  
19 security for our country for years to come, and thank you.

20 General Nakasone, my understanding is that the  
21 Administration has launched an interagency review which  
22 could lead to revisions to the National Security Policy  
23 Memorandum Number 13, or NSPM-13. For my colleagues who may  
24 be unfamiliar with this document, the NSPM-13, along with  
25 NSPM-21, allows the delegation of well-defined authorities

1 to the Secretary of Defense to conduct time-sensitive  
2 military operations in cyberspace. It is based on the idea  
3 of persistent engagement, which means continuously engaging  
4 in contesting adversaries in cyberspace.

5 Recognizing that you have just talked about dual-  
6 hattedness and the fact that that has worked successfully, I  
7 think you are absolutely correct with regard to the dual hat  
8 that you wear. Would you share with us, with regard to the  
9 cyber effects that you have been able to conduct? We have  
10 made a difference with NSPM-13 as well. Could you just  
11 share with us, before NSPM-13 was in effect, which came into  
12 effect after the first year or so of the Trump  
13 administration, but prior to that how many cyber operations  
14 or cyber-effect operations were conducted prior to that time  
15 in the previous 4 or 5 years?

16 General Nakasone: Senator, I know of no effects  
17 operations ever conducted prior to 2018, but I would like to  
18 take that question just for the record to make sure that I  
19 look back, since it is before my time.

20 Senator Rounds: Thank you. I think recognizing that  
21 we are in an unclassified setting, would it be fair to say  
22 that the number of these operations greatly increased after  
23 NSPM-13 went into effect?

24 General Nakasone: Senator, two critical events took  
25 place in 2018. One was this committee allowing cyber to be

1 a traditional military activity in the fiscal year 2019  
2 NDAA. The second piece, as you highlighted, was National  
3 Security Policy Memorandum 13.

4 Senator Rounds: So would it be fair to say that the  
5 NSPM-13 would have been considered as playing an important  
6 role in enabling you to protect the 2018 and 2020 elections,  
7 along with recognizing that it is now part of a traditional  
8 military activity?

9 General Nakasone: That is correct, Senator.

10 Senator Rounds: If they were to change the NSPM-13 and  
11 the authorities that you have, is there a possibility that  
12 your capability to conduct cyber effects operations may be  
13 affected?

14 General Nakasone: So certainly, Senator, we would take  
15 a look at any changes, obviously, and we will adjust to  
16 those changes. But significant changes to that NSPM, it  
17 could affect what we need to do.

18 Senator Rounds: Thank you. General Nakasone, the  
19 members under your command are highly trained technical  
20 experts. There is a high demand in the global market for  
21 their skill sets. I understand that the service components  
22 are responsible for recruiting and retaining these  
23 individuals, but their retention directly affects your  
24 ability to conduct operations. Senator Manchin, as chair of  
25 the Cyber Subcommittee, and myself, as ranking member, I

1 know we are having a specific subcommittee discussion on  
2 that this afternoon. But in this open setting I think it is  
3 critical to discuss the need about, number one, either the  
4 volume of individuals coming in, the ability to retain them  
5 for a longer period of time, but also when they come to you  
6 from the services, because they are theoretically supposed  
7 to be trained at the service level and then delivered to you  
8 for the operations, are they in a position today to be used  
9 directly in operations or do you have to go through an  
10 extensive retraining or additional training of these  
11 individuals?

12 General Nakasone: Senator, first of all thanks to you  
13 and Senator Manchin for the hearing you are going to hold  
14 this afternoon. When I look at readiness, really three  
15 parts to the readiness with our cyber forces. First of all,  
16 what the services are responsible for, the man, train, and  
17 equip piece of that, for 6,187 cyber warriors.

18 Secondly, it is what we at U.S. Cyber Command and the  
19 National Security Agency must do to provide additional  
20 training. This is above and beyond what someone would come  
21 into the service and need to be able to be effective on our  
22 teams.

23 And the third piece is I think the critical piece that  
24 you have highlighted, which is retention and the ability for  
25 our cyber warriors to continue to stay within our force.

1 That is a shared mission between the service and U.S. Cyber  
2 Command. I take that very seriously. I have worked very  
3 closely with the service chiefs to make sure that all three  
4 of those areas are going to be balanced in the future. We  
5 have work to do.

6 Senator Rounds: So in other words, if you get them and  
7 they are not ready to go on the job day one, and you are  
8 training them, that takes time away from the time that they  
9 are then available for your use by a significant amount of  
10 time.

11 General Nakasone: It does, but I would say, Senator,  
12 that there is a basic level that the services have to meet,  
13 and for the most part they meet that all the time. It is us  
14 being able to do the advanced training that is so necessary  
15 for them to be effective as part of our teams.

16 Senator Rounds: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rounds.

18 Senator Shaheen, please.

19 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and General  
20 Clarke, thank you so much for your service. Thank you all  
21 for testifying this morning.

22 General Clarke, I know that The New York Times has  
23 pointed out that you all had been very involved in Ukraine,  
24 and we discussed this yesterday, in terms of providing  
25 training to them that began in 2014. Can you talk about how

1 important that has been in providing the expertise that we  
2 are now seeing on the battlefield in Ukraine?

3 General Clarke: Senator, I hit a few highlights. One  
4 is the competency towards the security force assistance and  
5 specifically the high-end training that we did for the  
6 Ukrainian special operations forces. But I would also  
7 highlight for the committee the military information support  
8 ops, or information warfare, that we had a dedicated team  
9 that was in the Ukraine for 8 years, providing that, and  
10 that was everything from billboard to print to using  
11 internet-based capabilities, along with civil affairs teams  
12 that were working with them. And it really, as we see  
13 today, the resistance that the Ukrainian forces have held  
14 and the training that they were given I think directly  
15 contributed to the success on the battlefield.

16 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. And you mentioned the  
17 importance of the information warfare that has occurred  
18 there, and clearly Ukraine has been masterful at what they  
19 have been doing. Of course, Putin also has good a good job  
20 in preventing his citizens in Russia from knowing what is  
21 actually going on on the battlefield.

22 So can you talk a little bit about whether we should  
23 develop, or maybe we already have, a gray zone strategy to  
24 encompass that kind of information warfare as we are looking  
25 at particular conflict areas around the world.

1           General Clarke:  Senator, you are pointing at a really  
2 key factor, and yes, we have already begun this, in  
3 coordination with ASD SO/LIC and particularly with CYBERCOM,  
4 where much of the delivery of information resides.  It is  
5 critical, and I would say we already have the authorities,  
6 in many cases, to conduct information operations.  We just  
7 have to make sure that they are, in fact, directed at the  
8 right audiences and that we work very closely with our  
9 Department of State colleagues and the interagency so that  
10 we are delivering proper effects at the right point in time.

11           Senator Shaheen:  Thank you.  And General Nakasone,  
12 what is CYBERCOM's role in defending the homeland from  
13 foreign cyber threats beyond just the critical  
14 infrastructure protection, and how are you working with  
15 public and private partners to protect the country, as we  
16 have looked at the potential for the Russian government to  
17 attack our critical infrastructure and we still are  
18 concerned that that might happen?  What are you doing?

19           General Nakasone:  Senator, it begins outside the  
20 United States, where my authorities rest, and that is  
21 through a series of persistent engagement campaigns against  
22 malicious cyber actors that intend to do our nation harm,  
23 with the National Security Agency being able to release that  
24 information, so when we do a hunt forward operation in a  
25 specific country, being able to understand the tradecraft

1 and the malware. And then releasing it publicly provides an  
2 antidote to what they might do.

3 And then within the United States, working closely in  
4 support of Department of Homeland Security and CISA,  
5 providing them any assistance that they need in terms of  
6 capacity or capabilities.

7 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. Mr. Maier, one of the  
8 things that we have seen, and you mentioned this in your  
9 opening statement, you talked about the effort to encourage  
10 more women to join SOF. And we have seen, in Afghanistan,  
11 with the Female Tactical Platoon, and Syria, with the  
12 Women's Protection Units, we are now seeing in Ukraine the  
13 important role that women are playing in conflict, and they  
14 are actually getting more attention today than they were in  
15 years past.

16 So can you talk about what we are doing to work with  
17 our international partners to highlight the role of women  
18 and make sure that they have the attention and support they  
19 need when we are working in an area?

20 Mr. Maier: Senator, I think we concretely say that  
21 women in SOF are an operational imperative because of the  
22 ability to do some of the things you described in your  
23 question. It is critically, and especially some of the  
24 areas we have traditionally worked, to be able to have women  
25 that are operators or have exquisite skills go to areas to

1 be able to gather information that, frankly, men cannot go,  
2 or have a different outreach capability to different parts  
3 of communities. And as we look toward the future fight,  
4 whether it is against, you know, gray zone competitors and  
5 non-state actors or state actors, we are going to need that  
6 capability. It is a force multiplier, ma'am.

7 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

9 Senator Ernst, please.

10 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair, and gentlemen,  
11 thank you very much for your service to our country.

12 General Clarke, to you and Suzanne, and Chief Smith, to you  
13 and Tina. Thank you very much for your collaborative  
14 efforts in supporting our SOF warriors and their teams.

15 There is no doubt that our special operations forces  
16 are the most capable of military elements on the globe, and  
17 of course our cyber forces, General Nakasone, are essential  
18 to the defense of this nation. And we have to ensure that  
19 both of these elements are fully resourced and modernized to  
20 defeat the current threats to our national security.

21 So General Clarke, the health of the force is the fifth  
22 pillar in your command, and it ties into directly the first  
23 SOF truth, which is humans are more important than hardware.  
24 I think we all believe that. And I, like you, want to make  
25 sure that we are providing our servicemembers with the best

1 care possible.

2 So can you talk through SOCOM's efforts focused on  
3 brain and behavioral health for our servicemembers and, of  
4 course, for their loved ones as well?

5 General Clarke: Thank you, Senator. Our people are  
6 our most precious resource and we have got to put the  
7 resources behind that to ensure they are taken care of.  
8 Specifically, the Brain Health Initiative falling with the  
9 Preservation of the Force and Family is one of the critical  
10 things we do.

11 We focused initially on the physical domain because  
12 that is what you could see. But what we are finding is  
13 through the invisible wounds, you know, TBI, multiple  
14 explosions, multiple breaches in proximity to those  
15 explosions is having an impact.

16 And so we are working very closely. I recently went  
17 up, with Chief Greg Smith, up to Boston, where we are  
18 working with Mass General and a couple of academic  
19 departments and universities up there to look at how we can  
20 do imaging that previous we could not do except on a  
21 cadaver. And this may be groundbreaking for us to be able  
22 to determine beforehand what some of our operators may be  
23 going through.

24 And so as you are well aware, we stood up an additional  
25 pillar within our Preservation of the Force and Family

1 specifically towards the cognitive domain, because we  
2 realize that this is the most important part for our people  
3 is what is inside their brain housing group, that they can  
4 make the right decisions, and it affects everything they do.  
5 So we are going to continue working to improve our  
6 operators' and their families' lives.

7 Senator Ernst: I appreciate that, sir. It is so  
8 important. And you brought up Preservation of the Force and  
9 Family, as did ASD SO/LIC Maier. But how can we take this  
10 program and sustain improvements in how our military  
11 approach is sustaining those SOF operators? Again, just  
12 focused on POTFF, how do we sustain and improve?

13 General Clarke: Senator, the key for us is the  
14 sustained funding that we need in order to do that, and most  
15 of that funding attributes to the people that we have to  
16 support the Preservation of the Force and Family program.

17 Senator Ernst: Thank you. And just very briefly as  
18 well, I want to talk a little bit about your operational  
19 posture, General Clarke. So I am frustrated by a number of  
20 mobilizations within terror networks, whether it is Russia  
21 and China across Africa, what we see in South America,  
22 Eastern Europe, all these hot zone conflicts that are  
23 currently ongoing.

24 What does supporting your unfunded requirement list, or  
25 what I like to think of as risk assessment list, by us in

1 these particular theaters?

2 General Clarke: Senator, what it provides us, if we  
3 find support for the unfunded, it buys down risk, because we  
4 are able to modernize faster, and then we are also to ensure  
5 readiness, that we are placing the appropriate dollars  
6 towards those unfunded requirements. We will buy some of  
7 that back.

8 Senator Ernst: And for me, Mr. Chair, that is  
9 extremely important that we are able to focus on these  
10 unfunded requirements because they are so important within  
11 the area of SOCOM, and making sure that we are taking one of  
12 our smallest, most agile elements and being able to use them  
13 as a force multiplier.

14 So thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you, gentlemen, very  
15 much for being here today.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Ernst.

17 The vote has commenced, and as I indicated at the  
18 beginning of the hearing, and with the concurrence of  
19 Senator Inhofe, we will recess for approximately 10 minutes.  
20 We will rejoin the hearing at the call of the chair, but  
21 approximately 10 minutes, so we can accomplish this vote,  
22 and then get on with the hearing.

23 The committee stands in recess.

24 [Recess.]

25 Chairman Reed: Let me call the hearing to order again.

1 I thank the witnesses for their understanding as we voted,  
2 and let me recognize Senator Rosen.

3 Senator Rosen: Thank you, Chairman Reed. It pays to  
4 be the first one back from votes, does it not? So thank  
5 you. I want to thank you for testifying. Thank you for  
6 your years of service and continual service. I know you are  
7 going to continue to serve on, and for everyone else that is  
8 here.

9 But we have got a lot going on with Russia, so I want  
10 to talk about Russian cyber threats, General Nakasone,  
11 because last month President Biden warned that Russia is  
12 exploring options for cyberattacks targeting the U.S. The  
13 elevated threat level comes as we know Russia is launching  
14 cyberattacks against Ukraine, hitting the country's national  
15 telecommunications industry just last week, and causing  
16 great denial of service, service disruptions.

17 So last week Senator Rounds and I called on the  
18 Administration to brief Congress on how we are protecting  
19 critical infrastructure right here in the U.S., and I am  
20 happy to report that just last night Director Easterly was  
21 with us in a classified briefing to talk about what CISA is  
22 doing.

23 And so can you tell me how CYBERCOM has been  
24 coordinating with Ukraine to harden their networks, and as  
25 you conduct your hurt forward operations to identify network

1 vulnerabilities are you sharing that not just with Ukraine  
2 but all the NATO allies, particularly the border countries  
3 that are helping to provide that military and humanitarian  
4 relief?

5 General Nakasone: Yes, Senator. As I mentioned, we  
6 had a hunt forward team that deployed to Ukraine at the end  
7 of 2021, and spent well over 2 months working with our  
8 partners there to harden their networks, focused on a number  
9 of key critical assets.

10 The big piece about hunt forward, though, is not only  
11 the fact that we understand the networks of our allies and  
12 partners as they invite us in there but it also  
13 understanding what our adversaries are doing, and then to  
14 your point, sharing that broadly, not only with our partners  
15 and NATO but also with the private sector. Critical  
16 infrastructure is within the private sector, so as we expose  
17 these types of things they are broadly being able to shine a  
18 light on this type of activity.

19 Senator Rosen: Yeah, I think it is important, and I  
20 know this is not classified but can you speak broadly about  
21 some of the insights that we have gained? Are they using  
22 their state-sponsored networks? Are they using criminal  
23 networks?

24 General Nakasone: So broadly, Senator, what I would  
25 say is what we learned is obviously what we had a pretty

1 clear indication, which is the fact that there is a  
2 persistence that the Russians have towards this type of  
3 activity, and they have been in the Ukraine for a long time.  
4 So being able to identify the persistence, being able to  
5 identify the adversaries, being able to share that  
6 information, again, broadly with our partners, broadly with  
7 our allies and NATO, and then, most importantly, with the  
8 private sector again reinforces this idea of you cannot hide  
9 in terms of what you are doing.

10 Senator Rosen: Thank you. I look forward to some more  
11 classified briefings with everyone.

12 But I want to move on to you, General Clarke, because  
13 we know the world is watching. We know Iran is watching.  
14 We know this for sure. And so we have to combat Iranian  
15 aggression. And in several previous hearings we know Iran  
16 and Iran-aligned militia groups, they are increasingly  
17 targeting the United States installations and servicemembers  
18 in Iraq, in Syria, via rocket and, of course, drone attacks.  
19 On a regular basis, Iran is, of course, we know the world's  
20 leading state sponsor of terrorism. They threaten the  
21 United States and they threaten our allied interests in the  
22 Middle East and around the world, via both direct attacks  
23 and through its support for Hezbollah and the Islamic  
24 Republic's other terrorist proxies such as KH and AAH.

25 So can you discuss the threat Iranian-aligned militia

1 groups in the Middle East are posing to our U.S. troops and  
2 allies, and do you believe the United States, how do you  
3 think we should respond as you are currently addressing this  
4 threat? Do you have the necessary authorities, besides the  
5 ability to act in self-defense?

6 General Clarke: Senator, I have served a long amount  
7 of time in CENTCOM area, and specifically in Iraq, and I  
8 have watched the Shia militia groups, as you accurately  
9 described, their capabilities, which are only growing,  
10 particularly, as General McKenzie identified to this  
11 committee, in the missile and in their unmanned aerial  
12 systems, which threaten U.S. forces.

13 I would leave the policy side to what we do with the  
14 authorities to Mr. Maier, but at the same hand I would say  
15 that we continue with our special operations forces to  
16 provide options for those policymakers by seeing and  
17 understanding how they conduct these attacks and try to be  
18 in front of those attacks to provide those options.

19 Senator Rosen: Thank you. Oh, I see my time is up. I  
20 yield back. Thank you.

21 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rosen.

22 Senator Tuberville, please.

23 Senator Tuberville: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank  
24 you for being here today. General Clarke, thank you for  
25 your service.

1           General Clarke, in January 2021, the DoD awarded  
2   Teledyne Brown Engineering a contract to continue production  
3   on the Mark 11 Shallow Water Combat Submersible. These subs  
4   are used to deliver Navy SEALs and their equipment, special  
5   operations. When do you expect these Mark 11s to be  
6   delivered, all of them?

7           General Clarke: I will take that one for the record,  
8   because we do have a timeline over years, Senator. But what  
9   I am committed to, and take it broader, is that this  
10  capability for a maritime, undersea collection is critical  
11  for our nation, to be able to work in the littorals and team  
12  with the Navy, to be able to do those type of operations.

13          Senator Tuberville: Do we need more of them?

14          General Clarke: Senator, I think what we have  
15  requested has been sufficient, and if we believe we need  
16  more of that unique capability -- because it is not just  
17  that delivery system but it is other SEAL deliver systems  
18  that we are putting forward, to give variances of the type  
19  of capabilities we will need. But if we need more I will  
20  come back to this committee and to the Department.

21          Senator Tuberville: Good. Thank you.

22          Secretary Maier, to what do you attribute the cost and  
23  time overruns of Block 2 of the Dry Combat Submersible, an  
24  important asset for the Pacific?

25          Mr. Maier: Senator, I would also like to take that for

1 the record. That is a complicated answer that I do not have  
2 all the details on. But we will get you written responses.

3 Senator Tuberville: Take more than 5 minutes to  
4 explain that probably, would it not?

5 Mr. Maier: Yes, it would, sir.

6 Senator Tuberville: You know, in November, Acting  
7 Secretary of Defense Chris Miller enacted the fiscal year  
8 2017 NDAA requirement to elevated SO/LIC positions to be on  
9 par with the other service secretaries, but last May,  
10 Senator Austin reversed this decision, burying SO/LIC back  
11 under the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy. SO/LIC is  
12 still understaffed and is not getting the routine direct  
13 access to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary as should, as  
14 directed by the NDAA.

15 As a service Secretary, do you control acquisition and  
16 budget items in your purview?

17 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, by law I do not for  
18 acquisition, but I approve the special operations budget.  
19 So the answer is yes to one and no to the other.

20 Senator Tuberville: Okay. Thank you. You know, I  
21 would like to say this, that Secretary Austin changed this  
22 back but this body, we believe in civilian oversight, and  
23 hopefully we can get back to that somehow.

24 General Nakasone, in July 2021, General Hayden said  
25 that the joint warfighting concept had, quote, "failed in

1 many different ways," end quote, could not produce a victory  
2 against an aggressive red team, and needed a new emphasis on  
3 space and cyber.

4 Where, specifically, regarding Indo-Pacific, did the  
5 joint warfighting concept, JWC, fall short with cyber?

6 General Nakasone: Senator, this is one that I  
7 certainly will take for the record, just because I want to  
8 provide a classified response to that. There are some very  
9 unique things that we have addressed, but again, I think it  
10 is better to put that in a classified response.

11 Senator Tuberville: All right. What resources to  
12 ensure cyber protections across the joint force have you  
13 asked for and not received? Is there anything that you have  
14 not received that you have asked for?

15 General Nakasone: Senator, not right now. I think the  
16 broader question which the Department is working towards  
17 right now is how big a cyber force, and that is a study that  
18 is being undertaken right now. We will grow by 14 different  
19 teams over the FIDA, but I think that, you know, in our  
20 estimation that that is probably a down payment on a broader  
21 force that is going to be necessary for the nation.

22 Senator Tuberville: How can we help you in this coming  
23 budget?

24 General Nakasone: You know, I think the biggest piece  
25 is just the continued support of our talent initiatives. We

1 have talked about this. The importance of being able to  
2 grow a force begins well before they ever are recruited for  
3 any of the services or enter civilian service.

4 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. And I would love for  
5 you to come to Alabama and check our new Cyber Technology  
6 and Engineering School, grades 9 through 12, top in the  
7 state, started 2 years ago. It is unbelievable and going to  
8 be unbelievably successful. It will open the doors of its  
9 new building this year, coming up in September. And we have  
10 over 150 in it now, and it is an amazing place of education,  
11 and I think it is going to be very beneficial to what you  
12 are doing. I am talking about high school kids. I am not  
13 talking about college. And these kids will be ready to go  
14 to work as soon as they get out of high school. So  
15 hopefully one day you can visit in Huntsville.

16 General Nakasone: Senator, I would enjoy that. I  
17 would also, Senator, to solicit your assistance for our  
18 Academic Engagement Network for U.S. Cyber Command. We have  
19 four institutions within the state of Alabama. But given  
20 your long experience as an educator I think your proponency  
21 within the state of Alabama could double that number.

22 Senator Tuberville: Thank you. Thank you very much.  
23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Tuberville.

25 Senator King, please.

1           Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Before  
2 beginning my questions I want to associate myself with the  
3 questions of Senator Rounds about National Security  
4 Presidential Memorandum 13. My understanding is that the  
5 Administration is considering changes. Substantial changes,  
6 I believe, would be a grave mistake, would undermine  
7 deterrence at the worst possible moment, and I have  
8 communicated that to the White House, along with Congressman  
9 Mike Gallagher, my co-chair of the Cyberspace Solarium  
10 Commission.

11           General Nakasone, if you can answer this in an open  
12 session, why no Russian serious cyberattack in Ukraine? We  
13 all thought that was going to be the first thing they did,  
14 and it did not happen. I know there were some attacks but  
15 nothing of the scale that we were expecting. Do we have an  
16 answer to that?

17           General Nakasone: So Senator, I think I would begin by  
18 saying we are not out of Ukraine yet, so obviously our  
19 position right now is one of vigilance, in terms of anything  
20 that might still be done.

21           In terms of what the Russians decided to, I would  
22 anticipate that this was based upon a series of assumptions  
23 that they may have made, I think coupled with the defensive  
24 capabilities that we were able to work with a number of  
25 partners within Ukraine, and then thirdly, I think is just a

1 realization that a lot of times these are very, very  
2 difficult attacks to be able to conduct.

3 Senator King: I think their assumption was that the  
4 war would last a week so they did not really have to do  
5 that. That seems to be one of their gravest mistakes.

6 I am concerned about attribution. If we are going to  
7 respond to cyberattacks we have to have timely attribution.  
8 Are the U.S. government's attribution assets adequate? Do  
9 we coordinate adequately? Who is in charge of attribution  
10 if a cyberattack occurred tomorrow? Is it you? Is it NSA?  
11 Is it the FBI? Is it CISA? Where does that responsibility  
12 fall?

13 General Nakasone: So certainly, Senator, there is a  
14 combination of all of those that lead to attribution, to  
15 include our partners as we work very closely with them. I  
16 think the other one that I would add is the private sector.  
17 You know, when you consider some of our private sector  
18 entities that have over 300 million endpoints in the United  
19 States, being able to understand what is going on there is  
20 critical for what we are able to see.

21 But ultimately this is brought up to a policy-level  
22 decision based upon what we are able to provide from  
23 intelligence and our partnerships with industry and foreign  
24 nations.

25 Senator King: It makes me nervous when I hear the

1 first part of the answer being coordination. I like it when  
2 somebody is in charge and responsible, but I understand that  
3 the coordination is important.

4 One of the -- I do not know if I would call it a gap,  
5 but you mentioned, for example, outside of our borders, that  
6 is where NSA's responsibility is, CIA's responsibility is.  
7 We are no longer in a world of borders, and what concerns me  
8 is a cyberattack that originates in a foreign country but  
9 goes through a server in New Jersey or California, and  
10 therefore it is a gray question as to where that cyberattack  
11 is coming from. Do we have adequate authorities and lines  
12 of authority and definitions to deal with a foreign  
13 cyberattack that comes through U.S. infrastructure?

14 General Nakasone: I think that we are making much  
15 better progress in being able to address some of those  
16 authority gaps. You have identified one of the areas that  
17 we certainly were relevant during the SolarWinds most  
18 recently supply chain attack, when our adversaries had  
19 positioned themselves within the United States and we found  
20 that there was a blind spot there.

21 So again, the breach notification that has been done,  
22 the discussions in terms of upping the standards for both  
23 national security systems and government systems that the  
24 Administration has done I think have all contributed to  
25 this.

1           But you point out a key piece, Senator, which is this  
2 is much more difficult than one person being in charge.  
3 There is not one agency, one department, or even one entity  
4 that has all the information, and is so why this  
5 coordination is so important.

6           Senator King: We talked about recruiting talent, and I  
7 know that is an issue that has been discussed in other  
8 questions. One of my questions is, what about tenure? Is  
9 it an issue in CYBERCOM that you have soldiers and sailors  
10 and marines, people that come through, but they are only  
11 there for a limited period of time and then they move on, or  
12 do they move on within CYBERCOM? Do we have enough  
13 continuity, or is that an issue that we need to address?

14          General Nakasone: So that is an area that each of the  
15 services handles differently, and I think each of the  
16 services has to focus on this. Once we train an operator  
17 within our force we are very, very reluctant to have them go  
18 back and do anything else but cyber. And I would offer that  
19 most of the cyber operators that is all they want to do is  
20 cyber.

21          And so, again, the investment in this and the repeat  
22 tours is critical for us to maintain our readiness.

23          Senator King: So we do have repeat tours now. That is  
24 a standard part of the way you operate.

25          General Nakasone: We certainly do, but I think there

1 could be more.

2 Senator King: General Clarke, I am running out of  
3 time. Just a short question. Are you providing the kind of  
4 training that you did to the Ukrainians to other allies,  
5 particularly in Eastern Europe, in special operations?

6 General Clarke: Yes, sir, we are, and I can give you  
7 more detail or provide that for the record, and we have  
8 continued that through what is going on in the Ukraine  
9 today.

10 Senator King: Well I think what is going on in Ukraine  
11 in terms of success has been attributable to lots of  
12 factors, but one of them is the training that you have  
13 provided. Thank you.

14 General Clarke: I agree with that assessment. Thank  
15 you.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator King.

17 Senator Blackburn, please.

18 Senator Blackburn: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank  
19 you to each of you for the update.

20 General Clarke, I want to talk about the small unit  
21 dominance for just a moment and see where you are with that,  
22 to provide solutions for SOF small unit dominance. And what  
23 progress have you made to bolster the collaboration with  
24 external government and non-governmental organizations  
25 concerning advancement of adversary asymmetric advantages?

1 And then when you look at your resource shortfalls when it  
2 comes to information gathering, situational awareness, where  
3 are you with that? As you are very well aware, and as we  
4 have talked, Fort Campbell and the men and women that are  
5 stationed there -- and this is something that is important  
6 to them.

7 General Clarke: Senator, you bring out a great point  
8 about our forces. Many times they are working in small  
9 teams and they are disaggregated, but they bring with that  
10 disaggregation some power of being able to work with foreign  
11 partners, and providing them all the assets and tools, and  
12 as we look at this, at a point forward that very few could  
13 do. And it is accepting to the host nation that they can  
14 work there because they have the culture, they have the  
15 language, and most times they are combat-credible forces who  
16 have been tested on the battlefields in Iraq, in  
17 Afghanistan, in Syria, and providing them all the tools that  
18 they need.

19 What we are focused on is specifically giving them the  
20 most tools that they can have forward, what we call the  
21 hyper-enabled operator. That is one of my top five  
22 technology focus areas, to make sure that they have those  
23 tools. And a lot of that will be, as you referenced, making  
24 sure that we can put artificial intelligence and machine  
25 learning forward at the edge where they are.

1           Senator Blackburn: And in the 2022 NDAA, SOCOM, we had  
2 the operating concept, you need to articulate an operating  
3 concept that supports the joint warfighting concept. And  
4 when you are looking at that joint landscape how do you seek  
5 to define that, and then how are you filling in those gaps  
6 as you bring in and avail technology?

7           General Clarke: Senator, you are hitting a really key  
8 point, that working with ASD SO/LIC, who has given us  
9 guidance to actually look at our force structure and come up  
10 with that operating concept for 2040. I believe we have the  
11 force size that we need, but within that force size that we  
12 have we actually have to do some restructuring to ensure  
13 that we can properly compete with a nation state like China,  
14 and develop those unique capabilities that will be required  
15 for that future conflict.

16          Senator Blackburn: Okay. And then in that vein, as  
17 you look at all of this, how are you going to bring into  
18 review different levels and degrees of specialization and  
19 competence, and how do you do that with your existing force?

20          General Clarke: The way we do it now, and it works  
21 best, is through experimentation. We actually create  
22 exercises and venues so that we can actually test those, and  
23 we are doing that today. So as you look at our operations  
24 and maintenance budget for this year, about \$9.7 billion,  
25 that is what directly contributes to that experimentation

1 and building the future force that we will need.

2 Senator Blackburn: Okay. Before I run out of time,  
3 General Nakasone, I always appreciate your insights. I want  
4 you to talk for just a minute about the value of the current  
5 cyber defense partnerships that you have and how that  
6 affects your multi-domain partnerships, how that affects  
7 your multi-capable operations.

8 General Nakasone: Senator, let me begin with the  
9 partnerships in a number of different phases. So first of  
10 all I would say our partnerships with the National Security  
11 Agency is critical to what we do. U.S. Cyber Command is  
12 powerful based upon our partnership with NSA.

13 The second piece is the partnerships that we have with  
14 the private sector. As I mentioned, the change that taking  
15 place in cyberspace is mainly taking place within the  
16 private sector. So having those partnerships, like our  
17 under advisement program that this committee sponsored is  
18 critical for what we are doing.

19 The third piece is partnerships with our allies. Hunt  
20 forward teams, nine which were conducted in 2021, by the  
21 invite of foreign governments, coming into their networks  
22 and understanding is critical.

23 Senator Blackburn: Okay. I am over time but let me  
24 ask you. Having those partnerships, does that help you to  
25 retain some of the human capital and the troops that you

1 need to retain?

2 General Nakasone: Most definitely. I mean, people  
3 want to work with the private sector. They want to be able  
4 to deploy. They want to be able to work with academic  
5 institutions. There is an excitement that goes with that.

6 Senator Blackburn: Okay. Thank you. Thank you, Mr.  
7 Chairman.

8 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blackburn.

9 Senator Manchin, please.

10 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of  
11 all, thank all three of you for your service, and General  
12 Clarke, thank you and your family. I know how a commitment  
13 that is and what a commitment that is, but now you get to  
14 spend hopefully a little time with them.

15 To General Clarke and to Secretary Maier, this is for  
16 you all. I noted the comments in your advance testimony  
17 about special operation forces, unique training authority,  
18 and the need to maintain readiness in the diverse global  
19 environments that we are in.

20 I wanted to make sure you were both aware that in West  
21 Virginia we are working and making our state more available  
22 to SOCOM training operations -- e are only 3 hours away now.

23 We are not that far. You can hop, skip, and a jump --  
24 available for SOCOM operations. We have parts of the states  
25 that are in great condition for training opportunities, if

1 it has not been brought to your attention, from subterranean  
2 complexes to austere rural environments. There is surface  
3 mine land -- that is possible for transfer to DoD for  
4 nothing. Zero. One dollar to make it legal, probably -- the  
5 East Coast-based units to train to significantly reduce cost  
6 compared to similar training that you are going to travel to  
7 the West Coast and do. It is right in your backyard.

8 And my office has been working with J3 representatives  
9 from SOCOM and our state as well as the West Virginia  
10 National Guard to highlight what we have to offer. And I  
11 hope to have you out soon to do a site visit. If you could  
12 I would appreciate it very much.

13 So if your SOCOM staff has not briefed you on this  
14 program would you work with me and maybe come and visit and  
15 see what we have to offer?

16 General Clarke: Senator, the SOCOM staff has briefed  
17 me. Having been appointed to West Point from Martinsburg,  
18 West Virginia, by Senator Byrd 42 years ago --

19 Senator Manchin: Oh, you have got to come. You have  
20 got no option.

21 General Clarke: -- I am very familiar with West  
22 Virginia and this initiative and your hosting of 2nd  
23 Battalion 19th Special Forces Group and our continuous  
24 assessment that we run in your state.

25 Senator Manchin: We are a state that is totally

1 committed to the defense of this country, and think you it  
2 proves that by the amount of veterans that we have who have  
3 fought in every war in conflict, and have even shed a lot of  
4 blood. So we are ready to go, and we would love to have you  
5 all there because you would be most welcome in whatever we  
6 have to offer.

7 I have always said this too, about West Virginians  
8 fighting. I say when there is not really a good fight going  
9 on around the world, we fight each other just to stay in  
10 practice, because we are ready. Just like Alabama.

11 So General Nakasone, this is for you. As Chairman of  
12 the Cyber Subcommittee I am particularly concerned that it  
13 is only a matter of time before cyber criminals and bad  
14 actors launch attacks on our commercial space assets,  
15 particularly our global positioning system. Cyber and space  
16 realms are intertwined and it is imperative for CYBERCOM and  
17 SPACECOM to work in lockstep, because every system SPACECOM  
18 uses has a cyber component that has to be secure and  
19 reliable.

20 So how are you all working together, and if there are  
21 things you can talk about. If not, we will do it in a  
22 secured setting.

23 General Nakasone: So again it begins with the ability  
24 for us to work closely with U.S. Space Command. We put a  
25 cyber integrated planning element into Space Command

1 headquarters last summer. This is our ability now to work  
2 hand-in-hand with General Dickinson and his staff to be able  
3 to plan those types of operations.

4 Senator Manchin: How about nitro?

5 General Nakasone: Pardon me?

6 Senator Manchin: Nitro.

7 General Nakasone: If I might come back to you on that,  
8 Senator.

9 Senator Manchin: That is what I thought. Okay. We  
10 will do that.

11 And also, General Nakasone, a few weeks ago we heard  
12 from STRATCOM and SPACECOM on their readiness posture.  
13 Maintaining our nuclear deterrent and preserving our ability  
14 to operate in space are fundamental to today's great power  
15 competition with Russia and China. I believe that both of  
16 these missions are connected to our cyber defensive and  
17 offensive capabilities. The cyberspace and nuclear missions  
18 have to be interconnected and cannot operate in a vacuum.

19 So my question would be, given that CYBERCOM is  
20 operating in a highly complex and ever-evolving environment,  
21 how integrated would you say that the efforts are between  
22 STRATCOM and SPACECOM right now?

23 General Nakasone: Totally integrated, and it begins  
24 with the assurance of our nuclear command and control and  
25 communications capabilities.

1           Senator Manchin: I know that Senator King asked the  
2 question about what is going on and why has Russia not --  
3 are you seeing indications that we should have some concern  
4 there, that there might be movement in that area of  
5 cyberattacks?

6           General Nakasone: So again, Senator, I think that the  
7 President, as he announced last week with his indications of  
8 concern, we have concerns all the time. We remain vigilant,  
9 and we will continue to remain vigilant.

10          Senator Manchin: Do you believe that we are adequately  
11 capable of stopping these horrible cyberattacks that could  
12 harm just the well-being of the average United States  
13 citizen?

14          General Nakasone: We are, along with our partners at  
15 CISA, and the private sector.

16          Senator Manchin: So everybody is on track. Thank you  
17 very much. No further questions.

18          Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Manchin.

19          Senator Cotton, please.

20          Senator Cotton: Welcome, gentlemen. General Nakasone,  
21 let us talk a little bit about intelligence sharing with  
22 Ukraine. We have heard a lot about that over the last few  
23 weeks. You mentioned it a little bit today in your  
24 testimony. Can you tell us exactly, like how does that  
25 happen for you and your people, at NSA and CYBERCOM? Do you

1 have partners in Ukraine that you are going direct to with  
2 intelligence we share? Is it going up in the United States  
3 government and then going to them somehow? Just give us a  
4 little more visibility.

5 General Nakasone: Senator, if I might, I think this is  
6 a great conversation for this afternoon, in closed  
7 testimony, just because I can lay out the numbers and the  
8 procedures upon which we do this.

9 Senator Cotton: Okay. We will have that conversation  
10 in a closed session.

11 I would like to know what kind of limitations that you  
12 face on what you are able to share, if any. Has the  
13 Administration put limitations on your ability to share  
14 actionable intelligence with Ukrainians?

15 General Nakasone: So, Senator, again there is policy  
16 guidance that we follow at the National Security Agency with  
17 regards to the sharing of that intelligence.

18 Senator Cotton: Are you allowed to share intelligence  
19 that would allow or facilitate strikes into the Donbas  
20 region?

21 General Nakasone: Again, Senator, I think this is  
22 obviously better handled in closed testimony.

23 Senator Cotton: Okay. We will talk about it in closed  
24 testimony. I certainly hope that you and the rest of our  
25 government is allowed to share such intelligence, since

1 Russia has announced that that is the main effort in Ukraine  
2 now and that the White House is not nervous as a cat in a  
3 room full of rocking chairs about allowing Ukraine to retake  
4 some of its territory in the Donbas.

5 General Clarke, you have planned a mission or two in  
6 your life. Do you think it would complicate Russia's  
7 operations in the Donbas if they had to worry not just about  
8 Ukraine's defense operations there but also had to worry  
9 about potential offensive operations across the line of  
10 contact in the Joint Forces area?

11 General Clarke: Senator, I believe that any time that  
12 any nation has increased capabilities and knowledge of their  
13 opponent it is helpful.

14 Senator Cotton: I bet it would complicate the hell out  
15 of their planning, if you asked me. But anyway, we will  
16 talk about it at closed setting.

17 General Clarke, I want to talk to you briefly about a  
18 couple of matters. The first is Afghanistan and the so-  
19 called over-the-horizon counterterrorism strikes we heard so  
20 much about last summer, in the lead-up to and during the  
21 collapse in Kabul. Since the last American soldier left  
22 Afghanistan, how many over-the-horizon strikes have we  
23 conducted in Afghanistan?

24 General Clarke: Senator, I am not aware of any over-  
25 the-horizon strikes that have been conducted since we

1 departed Afghanistan.

2 Senator Cotton: Yeah. Unfortunately, neither am I. I  
3 think it might have been better called over-the-rainbow  
4 counterterrorism strikes at the time by the White House.

5 Another thing, General Clarke, I want to address with  
6 you is the authorities you have. Last year, when the Biden  
7 administration took office, one of the very first actions  
8 was to remove approval delegations for actions outside of  
9 Iraq and Syria, so places like, say, Yemen. We talked about  
10 it in this hearing last year, and you probably remember me  
11 referencing a story from the previous President about his  
12 first encounter with this question, when he was asked to  
13 approve a strike, and he did not understand why some captain  
14 or major or colonel who was on the ground was not approving  
15 it.

16 Has the Biden administration's policies affected your  
17 ability to get after terrorist targets in places like Yemen  
18 or Somalia or elsewhere?

19 General Clarke: Senator, I defer those specific  
20 questions to the geographic combatant commander. We  
21 continue to give that capability to those combatant  
22 commanders to conduct those strikes with our SOF personnel.  
23 I defer policy over to Secretary Maier, if there is anything  
24 that he would want to add on top of that.

25 Senator Cotton: Secretary Maier, is there anything you

1 would like to add on top of that?

2 Mr. Maier: Senator, I think there has been no change  
3 in the policy from where we talked a year ago.

4 Senator Cotton: So at what level in the United States  
5 government does a strike against a bad guy in Yemen or  
6 Somalia have to be approved? Do you have to wake the  
7 President up in the middle of the night and ask him?

8 Mr. Maier: Senator, is that question for me?

9 Senator Cotton: Sure.

10 Mr. Maier: So I think it varies based on the  
11 geographic area, but there are very few that rise to the  
12 level of the White House. Most of those are within the DoD  
13 hierarchy, sir.

14 Senator Cotton: And at what level in the DoD  
15 hierarchy? Would that go to the combatant commander?

16 Mr. Maier: Oftentimes the combatant commander, sir,  
17 but I think it varies depending on how low they are  
18 delegated. In some cases it is well below the combatant  
19 commander.

20 Senator Cotton: Okay. General Clarke, I have a lot of  
21 confidence in you and your combatant commanders, but you  
22 know who else I have a lot of confidence in? People who are  
23 doing jobs that Major and Colonel Clarke used to do back in  
24 the day. Thank you. See you in the closed setting.

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

1 Senator Blumenthal, please.

2 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman. Thank you  
3 for being here. Thank you all for your extraordinarily  
4 distinguished and dedicated service to our country.

5 General Nakasone, in your responses to Senator Cotton  
6 you did not mean to say that we are not sharing intelligence  
7 with Ukraine, did you?

8 General Nakasone: I did not. I said that I believe,  
9 Senator, I wanted to make sure that we talked about the  
10 details in a closed setting.

11 Senator Blumenthal: But the idea that we are denying  
12 intelligence or refusing to share intelligence is incorrect.

13 General Nakasone: That is correct, Senator.

14 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

15 General Clarke, I wonder if you could provide some  
16 background as to why use of undersea vehicles for inserting  
17 our special operators is important, whether it is through  
18 the Dry Combat Submersible or through the existing undersea  
19 warfare platforms that we have.

20 General Clarke: Senator, our naval special operators  
21 can get into places that a larger maritime ship or an  
22 undersea vessel, one of the Navy submarines, cannot get  
23 into, and it provides us the opportunity -- which I can  
24 cover specifics in a closed session -- to get in places that  
25 we need to conduct reconnaissance in, and to be able to give

1 the Joint Force insights for potential future conflict and  
2 for competition.

3 Senator Blumenthal: So the smaller vehicles can enter  
4 places that submarines could not, which makes them  
5 potentially very valuable, and I think in response to  
6 Senator Tuberville you talked a little bit about the  
7 timeline. What is the fastest that we could see those Dry  
8 Combat Submersibles available?

9 General Clarke: Senator, we are testing one now. I  
10 went on it personally within the last 12 months, and found  
11 that it is almost ready at this point. We are still going  
12 through some specific testing of it, and I can get back to  
13 you on the record with what that specific timeline is. But  
14 we are talking months, probably not years. We are  
15 operationally validating it now, to make sure it would be  
16 completely safe in an operational environment.

17 Senator Blumenthal: Are you satisfied that the budget,  
18 the 2023 budget, includes sufficient funding to make it  
19 operational during the coming year, if it is a matter of  
20 months before it would be?

21 General Clarke: Senator, I do, for this year's budget,  
22 but there are additional capabilities that we will continue  
23 to advocate for to build the modernization not just of the  
24 Dry Combat Submersible but other undersea, clandestine type  
25 vessels that will also assist us in the maritime and the

1 littoral domain.

2 Senator Blumenthal: I would appreciate hearing more,  
3 whether it is in a closed setting or on the record in  
4 writing more about this program.

5 General Clarke: Yes, sir. I will take that for the  
6 record, Senator.

7 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you. One other area. When  
8 I visited Ukraine just very shortly before the invasion, in  
9 January, and I think it is certain now it is a matter of  
10 public record that we had trainers there for the Ukrainian  
11 forces. How would you assess the effectiveness of the  
12 training that we gave to Ukrainians through our special  
13 operations as well as other personnel, and would such  
14 training now be useful for more of them outside of Ukraine?  
15 Obviously, we are not going to put any of our personnel into  
16 Ukraine, but if there were training outside the country for  
17 some of their special operators.

18 General Clarke: I assess that training as very  
19 effective, and what we did for 8 years prior for both lethal  
20 capabilities but also in the information operations. And I  
21 do believe that at Ukrainians' desire, based upon what they  
22 will need in the future, for what could become a protracted  
23 engagement with Russia, we should look at and assess what  
24 future capabilities they will need, because they will need  
25 to have a sustained effort, and I think we could provide

1 those if the policy is decided. But I think that would  
2 benefit the Ukrainians in the future.

3 Senator Blumenthal: Absolutely. Thanks so much,  
4 General. Thank you all.

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.

6 Senator Sullivan, please.

7 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and  
8 gentlemen, thank you for your service here. General Clarke,  
9 both you and General Nakasone, I think you are two of our  
10 best four-star commanders focused on lethality, warfighting,  
11 crushing our enemies when called upon, and I just really  
12 want to thank you for that, and General Clarke, for your  
13 service, if you are going to be retiring soon. I hope you  
14 are not retiring soon but I understand it is maybe close to  
15 40 years now, so good luck with everything. But you have  
16 done an exceptional job. Both of you have.

17 I just want to emphasize what Senator Cotton mentioned,  
18 General Nakasone, on the intel-sharing piece. I know you  
19 cannot say a lot here, but I think it is strong bipartisan  
20 support to the extent we can share as much intel, of course,  
21 without compromising sources and methods, with Ukrainian  
22 forces, including in Eastern Ukraine, I think it is really  
23 important. And I think I am speaking for a lot of Senators  
24 on this committee.

25 General Clarke, I have kind of a multi-part question.

1    Could you elaborate a little bit on SOCOM's role in building  
2    out Ukrainian Special Forces over the last several years,  
3    and then what lessons are we applying with regard to what we  
4    have learned there to Taiwan Special Forces?

5            You know, one of the things that you mentioned in the  
6    what-we-do section of your vision for SOCOM is helping shape  
7    the environment to reduce risk, prevent crises, and set  
8    conditions for success in competition and conflict, and I  
9    would like to get a little sense, to the extent you can talk  
10   about it here, on what we are doing to help Taiwan the way  
11   we have helped Ukraine, particularly in the SOF world.

12           General Clarke:  Senator, when we first started  
13   training with the Ukrainian special operations over 8 years  
14   ago they were a smaller force and they did not necessarily  
15   have a SOCOM-like headquarters.  That force grew to three  
16   brigade equivalents, commanded by colonels, and a training  
17   regiment.  And they also, over the last 18 months, added a  
18   resistance company made up of what we -- like a home guard,  
19   that was embedded in each one of those.  And that was  
20   through the persistent effort of not just the U.S., but we  
21   also brought in allies from other NATO countries.

22           Senator Sullivan:  And you are seeing, obviously, some  
23   of the success of that training and structure in the current  
24   conflict.

25           General Clarke:  Yes, Senator, we are.

1           Senator Sullivan: What about Taiwan, to the extent you  
2 can talk about that?

3           General Clarke: Senator, I would prefer to talk about  
4 Taiwan in a closed setting. But broadly, building both  
5 resistance and resilience in the force -- resistance being  
6 the ability to give the punch, but resilience being the  
7 ability to take the punch and make sure you can get back up,  
8 through medical training, through logistics, and through  
9 communications -- is critical. And I think we have got to  
10 work on both of those with other nations, writ large.

11          Senator Sullivan: Let me ask a question for both of  
12 you, kind of, again a two-part question. General Clarke,  
13 Rear Admiral Howard recently wrote a piece in USNI and  
14 talked about making sure our special operations forces were  
15 combat ready for new tactics, techniques, particularly in  
16 some of the most stressing environment and hard-target  
17 conditions. And he talked about SOCOM competition in the  
18 High North.

19          Are there initiatives that you are undertaking? And  
20 General Nakasone, can you talk a little bit about what NSA  
21 Alaska has been doing, the capabilities that they bring?  
22 Even a lot of Alaskans are not aware of the great work that  
23 goes on, particularly as it relates to Russia and other  
24 places that goes on in the High North of America and Alaska,  
25 with the buildout and exceptional work that NSA Alaska is

1 doing.

2 General Clarke, can you take that question first, and  
3 then General Nakasone.

4 General Clarke: Yes, sir. I just left Norway less  
5 than 10 days ago, where I observed our special operations  
6 forces working 200 miles north of the Arctic Circle, using  
7 all of their capabilities -- insertion clandestinely,  
8 looking at hard targets, working with partners.  
9 Simultaneously, as you know, there was another exercise  
10 going on in Alaska, where we also had a large contingent of  
11 all elements of our special operations command that were  
12 practicing experimenting. And so this alone highlights the  
13 importance of training inside the Arctic for those hard  
14 targets in the future.

15 Senator Sullivan: Thank you. General Nakasone?

16 General Nakasone: Senator, geography matters, and as  
17 we take a look at our ability to provide both indications  
18 and warning and awareness of the Pacific, a critical element  
19 of this is what the men and women at NSA Alaska are doing  
20 today. And so that location, in your home state, has  
21 provided us insights into our adversaries' actions and  
22 provided protection to our forces that are deployed in that  
23 region.

24 Senator Sullivan: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Sullivan.

1 Senator Hawley, please.

2 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to  
3 all of you for being here. Thank you for your service.

4 I want to come back to this question of Taiwan that  
5 Senator Sullivan was just asking about, and let me frame it  
6 this way. Secretary Maier, let me start with you.

7 I think the Ukrainians are showing how effective and  
8 important irregular warfare can be for defeating an enemy  
9 invasion. Obviously that has got a lot of potential  
10 relevance to the situation that we see in Taiwan. Our goal  
11 in Taiwan, I think hopefully we all agree, should be to  
12 prevent an invasion. We do not want to be behind the eight  
13 ball where we are trying to displace one. But we have got  
14 to plan for all scenarios, so irregular warfare has an  
15 important role to play.

16 You testified last year, and I am going to quote you  
17 here, that the United States should "strongly" -- that is  
18 your word -- "strongly consider options to strengthen  
19 Taiwan's irregular warfare capabilities, including their  
20 ability to fight in depth" -- that is you again -- "using  
21 resistance networks or other capabilities after a Chinese  
22 amphibious landing." Is that still your view?

23 Mr. Maier: It is, Senator, and I think we are doing  
24 more work in that regard, as others have testified.

25 Senator Hawley: Perfect. Can I just ask you to expand

1 on that? Can you give us an update on what you are doing,  
2 what the Pentagon is doing to help strengthen Taiwan's  
3 irregular warfare capabilities?

4 Mr. Maier: So, Senator, I think General Clarke already  
5 hit on some of that. Obviously we can only go so much in  
6 this session. But I think consistent with the Taiwan  
7 Relations Act, we are doing all we can to look at a whole-  
8 of-resistance approach. So in some cases that means doing  
9 more exercises, more ability to touch aspects of the  
10 Taiwanese infrastructure and determine its both, as General  
11 Clarke said, ability to take a punch and give a punch. That  
12 is sort of the most basic level of our assessment at this  
13 point.

14 Senator Hawley: Very good. General, you testified  
15 also last year, and you just reiterated it to Senator  
16 Sullivan, but you testified that you thought the United  
17 States should help Taiwan strengthen its irregular warfare  
18 capabilities. I am assuming, based on your answer just a  
19 second ago, you think that is still a priority. Is that  
20 fair to say?

21 General Clarke: All in accordance with our policies.  
22 But, Senator, if I could take it a bit broader.

23 Senator Hawley: Yeah.

24 General Clarke: It is not just about Taiwan either.  
25 It is also more than 15 countries that we are working with

1 in the Indo-Pacific that are like-minded, have the same  
2 values, and have the same interests. And so bolstering  
3 their defenses and ensuring they are seeing the same  
4 pernicious behavior that we have seen on behalf of the  
5 Chinese is critical, because we would rather be looking at  
6 15 nations aligned or 20 nations aligned than just one or  
7 two.

8 Senator Hawley: Sure. Absolutely. I agree with that  
9 100 percent. And as you may or may not know, I have  
10 introduced a bill called the Arm Taiwan Act, which would  
11 create the Taiwan Security Assistance Initiative modeled on  
12 the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative, that would help  
13 accelerate the ideas, help accelerate Taiwan's deployment of  
14 critical asymmetrical defenses. I think it is critical we  
15 learn the right lessons from what we are seeing in Ukraine.  
16 Obviously deterrence failed in Ukraine. We do not want to  
17 see deterrence fail in Taiwan -- we just simply cannot  
18 afford that -- and making sure that they are in a position,  
19 the Taiwanese are in a position to wage irregular warfare if  
20 necessary, and China knows they can do that I think is  
21 critical.

22 General, let me ask you a related question. What role  
23 do you see SOCOM playing in helping to deter or, if  
24 necessary, defeat a Chinese invasion of Taiwan?

25 General Clarke: Senator, I described our role in that

1 as the war around the edges, and being able to hold hard  
2 targets at risk to ensure that we provide the national  
3 command authority those options. And that is set up by  
4 conducting reconnaissance and ensuring, as I addressed to  
5 other members, building the undersea capabilities that we  
6 need today, ensuring that we are postured in places around  
7 the globe that can pull that. That is combining elements  
8 like cyber, space, and special operations forces together to  
9 provide unique capabilities for our nation.

10 Senator Hawley: Let me ask you if you have been able  
11 to use any resources freed up from our withdrawal from  
12 Afghanistan to invest in more capabilities relevant to the  
13 Taiwan scenario.

14 General Clarke: Senator, we have put additional forces  
15 into both the Indo-Pacific theater and into the European  
16 theater over the last 3 years. I would say we started the  
17 rebalancing of some of the soft requirements based upon the  
18 2018 National Defense Strategy that identified the threats  
19 from near-peer competitors.

20 Senator Hawley: But I guess my question is, has the  
21 withdrawal from Afghanistan, has that freed up resources  
22 that you have been able to repurpose to this theater for  
23 this pacing scenario?

24 General Clarke: I cannot draw a direct correlation  
25 from one to another, but fundamentally we do not have as

1 many people in Afghanistan, you know, today. We have no  
2 people in Afghanistan today.

3 Senator Hawley: Got it. I have got some additional  
4 questions that I will give to you each for the record.  
5 Thank you for your service. Thank you for being here.

6 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hawley.

8 Senator Scott, please.

9 Senator Scott: Thank you, Chair Reed.

10 General Clarke, what does the future operating  
11 environment look like for special forces, special operation  
12 forces over the next 5, 10, and 20 years, and do you expect  
13 to need more personnel and resources given the threats from  
14 Communist China, Russia, and emboldened Iran?

15 General Clarke: Senator, I think we have the  
16 sufficient amount of forces that we need today that exist  
17 within the force. We have just now, this year, gotten to  
18 the first time to where we actually have a predictable  
19 schedule that all of our forces are on a 2-to-1 deployment  
20 to dwell, or greater. And so the force that we have is  
21 right.

22 In some cases, though, we actually need to make some  
23 changes within the force that we have, to be able to put  
24 towards the capabilities that we will need. For example,  
25 potentially more information operators that we will need in

1 the future. So we may have less in one area but actually  
2 look at where we need to put more in the future. And what  
3 we do need is a continuous, sustained budget that will allow  
4 for increased modernization and readiness so that we can  
5 build those capabilities in time for the Department.

6 Senator Scott: Thank you. General, as we know,  
7 President Biden's budget is in step with the raging  
8 inflation we are seeing right now. Are there any assets or  
9 any spending you would like to do that you will be unable to  
10 do because of the budget basically being cut when you look  
11 the inflation?

12 General Clarke: Senator, we have submitted an unfunded  
13 requirement list that hits specifically to the points, and  
14 top line that asks for additional funding in the information  
15 operations, in artificial intelligence and machine learning,  
16 and it hits on the speeding up of some of our modernization  
17 of our clandestine insertion maritime, but also looks a  
18 developing counter-UAS, unmanned aerial systems, to be able  
19 to protect our forces that are forward, and that will speed  
20 those processes up in the future.

21 Senator Scott: We watched Vladimir Putin's aggression  
22 against Ukraine, and I think we are all disappointed that  
23 President Biden did not do enough to deter it. But what can  
24 special operations continue to do to assist Ukraine and  
25 support our other partners that hopefully will help Ukraine

1 win against Russia and also make sure that Putin does not  
2 feel emboldened to invade a NATO country?

3 General Clarke: Senator, I would highlight a few.  
4 Number one is continue to ensure the lethal aid makes it  
5 into the Ukraine and for special operators to make sure that  
6 it gets to the Ukrainian special operations forces. I think  
7 they are doing a fantastic job today inside the Ukraine.

8 But we also have to be predictive and work with the  
9 Ukrainians on not what they need today but as this  
10 potentially goes into protracted conflict what will they  
11 need in the future? And it may not be as much on the lethal  
12 side but it may be other capabilities, whether it is  
13 mobility or whether it is first aid or whether it is  
14 protection. And I think we have to be predictive to that.

15 And the other one that was already hit is the continued  
16 info and intel sharing about what is going on, and we can  
17 talk about that separately.

18 Senator Scott: Are there any lessons learned from how  
19 U.S. special operations forces have been able to help  
20 Ukraine that we can apply to potentially what is going to  
21 happen when China invades Taiwan or, you know, Iran  
22 continuing to threaten Israel?

23 General Clarke: Yes, sir. Number one is it is not  
24 just the U.S. and Ukraine. While we are sitting here we  
25 have 16 NATO nations all on their own accord that are

1 currently working with our Special Operations Command  
2 Europe, and they are collaborating, they are sharing, and  
3 they are sensing what is happening in that environment that  
4 we will then collectively be able to provide the best  
5 support to Ukraine. And I think the same lessons could be  
6 applied in other theaters.

7 The second one is, though, getting ahead of it. The  
8 more than you can set up for success today, the better off  
9 you will be. And having the urgency to see that in advance  
10 and not waiting until the end.

11 Senator Scott: Thanks. General Nakasone, what has  
12 CYBERCOM been able to do to increase its efforts to protect  
13 our public and private infrastructure from bad actors from  
14 Russia?

15 General Nakasone: Senator, several things. First of  
16 all, deploying a team to the Ukraine to see what our  
17 adversaries are doing and being able to capture their  
18 malware and their tradecraft and share that broadly with the  
19 private sector.

20 Secondly, it is working with the lead for this, which  
21 is DHS CISA, and providing the capacity, if necessary, and  
22 also the collaboration that is ongoing.

23 And the last piece is working broadly with the private  
24 sector, particularly our defense industrial base, to ensure  
25 that they have an understanding of the tactics and

1 techniques our adversaries are using.

2 Senator Scott: Thank you. Thank you, Chair Reed.

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Scott, and  
4 gentlemen, thank you too. I will adjourn the open session.  
5 We will reconvene in SVC-217 in approximately 10 minutes, to  
6 begin the closed session. Thank you very much, gentlemen.

7 [Whereupon, at 11:41 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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