

STATEMENT OF
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BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE
ON U.S. INDO-PACIFIC COMMAND POSTURE
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Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed, and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the Indo-Pacific region. First, let me say thank you for the significant support we have received from Congress over the last two years. The temporary relief from the Budget Control Act and an on-time FY19 budget helped to restore the military readiness and lethality necessary to safeguard U.S. vital national interests in the Indo-Pacific.

Overview

For more than 70 years the Indo-Pacific has been largely peaceful. This was made possible by three things: the willingness and commitment of free nations to work together for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific; the credibility of the combat power of U.S. Indo-Pacific Command; and a robust and modern U.S. nuclear deterrent. This commitment, and this credibility, have worked to liberate hundreds of millions of people, as well as lift billions out of poverty, all to a level of prosperity previously unseen in human history. It has also ensured that tensions, regardless of how or where they arise, do not escalate into large-scale war.

Our nation's vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific, announced in 2017 at the Asia Pacific Economic Council (APEC) summit in Vietnam, demonstrates our commitment to a safe, secure, and prosperous region that benefits all nations, large and small. The concept of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific resonates with our allies and partners across the region and includes economic, governance, and security dimensions. The vast majority of nations across the region share similar values, including the core beliefs that governments should be accountable to their people. We must stand together in support of our shared values and be unambiguous in condemning those who attempt to undermine those values.

USINDOPACOM is the primary military component of our government's efforts to ensure a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Every day we work with a constellation of like-minded allies and partners and the rest of the U.S. government to advance our shared vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific.

When we say Free we mean Free both in terms of security—free from coercion by other nations—and in terms of values and political systems. Free to choose trading partners. Free to exercise sovereignty.

An Open Indo-Pacific means we believe all nations should enjoy unfettered access to the seas and airways upon which all nations' economies depend. Open includes open investment environments, transparent agreements between nations, protection of intellectual property rights, and fair and reciprocal trade—all of which are essential for people, goods, and capital to move across borders for the benefit of all.

While the term "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" is new, the underlying values and principles to which the vision speaks are not. In fact, this is how the United States has approached the region throughout our 240-plus year history. We are now seeing a general convergence around the importance of a free and open Indo-Pacific across the region—as Japan, Australia, France, New Zealand, and India have all put forth similar concepts or visions.

The United States is an enduring Pacific power. Our historical, structural, economic, and institutional ties to the Indo-Pacific are indelible.

U.S. power underpins the post-WWII international system that helps strengthen the essential foundation of a rules-based international order for economic growth and prosperity in the region for everyone. Furthermore, USINDOPACOM's role as a guarantor of security in the region has enabled our economic power and allowed our partners and allies to focus on their economic development, which in turn has increased opportunities for U.S. economic engagement and prevented costly conflict. A peaceful, free, and open Indo-Pacific is especially vital to our economy in the 21st century when you consider the following:

- The United States conducted more than \$1.8 trillion in two-way goods trade with Indo-Pacific nations in 2017, and more than \$1.3 trillion by the third quarter of 2018.
- In 2017, U.S. foreign direct investment in the region reached \$940 billion – more than doubling since 2007.

- The Indo-Pacific is home to half of the 20 fastest growing economies.
- The Indo-Pacific currently contains over a third of global GDP and 60% of the global GDP growth.
- By 2030, 65% of the world’s middle class will reside in the Indo-Pacific, representing an unrivaled amount of purchasing power.

As the above statistics portend, this dynamic and economically robust region will continue to play a vital role in our economic future throughout the 21st century.

Five Key Challenges

In my view, five key challenges threaten our vital national interest in ensuring a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. While we have made significant progress over the last year, North Korea will remain the most immediate challenge until we achieve the final, fully verifiable denuclearization as committed to by Chairman Kim Jong Un at the summit in June 2018. China, however, represents the greatest long-term strategic threat to a Free and Open Indo-Pacific and to the United States. Through fear and economic pressure, Beijing is working to expand its form of Communist-Socialist ideology in order to bend, break, and replace the existing rules-based international order. In its place, Beijing seeks to create a new international order led by China and with “Chinese characteristics”—an outcome that displaces the stability and peace of the Indo-Pacific that has endured for over 70 years. Russia is also active throughout the region. Moscow regularly plays the role of a spoiler, seeking to undermine U.S. interests and impose additional costs on the United States and our allies whenever and wherever possible. I am also concerned about the threat posed by non-state actors. Violent Extremist Organizations (VEOs) seek to impose their views and radicalize people across the region, as evidenced by the capture of Marawi City in the southern Philippines in 2017—a city of over 200,000 people—by ISIS extremists. Lastly, natural and manmade disasters are an ever present danger in the region. Let me describe these five key challenges in more detail.

North Korea:

Denuclearization. USINDOPACOM’s assessment on North Korean denuclearization is consistent with the Intelligence Community position. That is, we think it is unlikely that North

Korea will give up all of its nuclear weapons or production capabilities, but seeks to negotiate partial denuclearization in exchange for U.S. and international concessions.

Following a rapid series of nuclear and missile tests into 2017, tensions declined; North Korea halted nuclear testing in September 2017 and ICBM testing in November 2017. President Trump's meeting with Chairman Kim in Singapore in June 2018 was a significant milestone, and I am optimistic about another U.S.-North Korea summit. North Korea has taken some steps in the direction of denuclearization, most notably the reversible dismantlement of tunnels at the Punggye nuclear test site, yet much needs to be done to make meaningful progress.

In early 2018, the two Koreas initiated a season of rapprochement, beginning with the Winter Olympics in February 2018, and continuing through three subsequent Korean summits between President Moon and Chairman Kim and multiple lower-level meetings. More recently, North Korea has undertaken measures in accordance with the Comprehensive Military Agreement it signed with South Korea in September 2018, to include dismantling guard posts within the demilitarized zone and removing land mines near Panmunjom. North Korea also returned remains of U.S. service members from the Korean War, which provided great comfort to mourning families.

I welcome these steps, but we must remain vigilant to the threat North Korea still poses to the United States and the international community. North Korea has demanded "corresponding measures" from the United States in return for these above actions. Kim warned in his 2019 New Year's speech of a potential "new path," which could indicate an eventual return to missile and weapons of mass destruction (WMD) testing if he is not satisfied with the pace of negotiations and potential benefits. Our military combat readiness and combined lethality remain the best deterrent and the best leverage against any threat from North Korea.

Sanctions. North Korea is continuing efforts to mitigate the effects of international sanctions and the U.S.-led pressure campaign through diplomatic engagement, counter pressure against the sanctions regime, and direct sanctions evasion. USINDOPACOM will continue to support the President's pressure campaign by ensuring the military readiness of the combined force and

supporting sanctions enforcement as directed by United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR). UNSCR sanctions resulted in a decline in North Korea's export earnings and cut off key cash flow sources. However, recent calls from Russia and China to change the sanctions against North Korea threaten to undo these positive developments.

Additionally, North Korea has a long history of flouting international sanctions, and Pyongyang regularly attempts to circumvent them. Early in 2018, North Korea exceeded its sanctioned limit on refined petroleum imports through illicit ship-to-ship transfers. USINDOPACOM is working with partners and allies to disrupt illicit ship-to-ship transfers that occur primarily in the East China Sea, often near or in Chinese territorial waters, and in the Yellow Sea. North Korea is also engaged in cross-border smuggling operations and cyber-enabled theft to generate revenue, while simultaneously circumventing United Nations Security Council prohibitions on coal exports.

China:

Military Modernization. Over the last 20 years, Beijing has undertaken a massive effort to grow and modernize the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The PLA is the principal threat to U.S. interests, U.S. citizens, and our allies inside the First Island Chain—a term that refers to the islands that run from northern Japan through Taiwan, the Philippines, and Indonesia—and the PLA is quickly increasing its ability to project power and influence beyond the First Island Chain. Beijing pursues both qualitative and quantitative efforts to transform its military, modernizing its military platforms while simultaneously increasing the number of platforms in service. Newly-fielded systems include:

- Beijing's first aircraft carrier group, centered around its refurbished Soviet-built carrier, reached initial operational capability in mid-2018.
- Beijing's first domestically-built aircraft carrier, has completed four sets of sea trials since May 2018 and will likely join the PLA Navy (PLAN) fleet in 2019.
- The RENHAI-class guided missile cruiser, was launched in 2017; three additional vessels were added to the PLA Navy's inventory in 2018. This class of vessels will be a key component of PLA Navy carrier strike groups.
- The FUYU-class fast combat support ship, developed specifically to support aircraft carrier task group operations, was commissioned less than a year ago.

- The J-20, the PLA's first 5th-generation stealth fighter, entered service in February 2018; plans are underway to research a sixth-generation fighter.
- The Y-20, a domestically-produced heavy-lift aircraft, entered military service in 2016; the Y-20 has a significantly larger payload capacity and range than the PLA's previous heavy and medium-lift aircraft, which advances Beijing's strategic airlift capability.
- The S-400 advanced surface-to-air missile system, received from Russia in April, 2018; the S-400 has a 250-mile range, which could expand the PLA's air coverage over the Taiwan Strait and other high priority facilities.

The PLA maintains a high operations tempo, primarily in and near China, but is quickly expanding its operating areas beyond the region. The PLA's Naval Escort Task Force (NETF)—now in its 31st iteration—follows its anti-piracy missions off the Horn of Africa by conducting naval diplomacy deployments to Europe, Africa, and the South Pacific. From May-July 2018, the 28th NETF completed a three-month naval diplomacy tour conducting port visits and bilateral exercises in Spain, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Gabon, South Africa, and Indonesia before returning to China. Beijing regularly conducts joint military exercises across its ground, sea, air, and space forces, including amphibious assault training that is designed and specifically timed to intimidate Taiwan. This spring, approximately 10,000 PLA Marines traveled more than 1,200 miles as part of a large-scale exercise designed to improve long-range maneuverability. In April, Beijing conducted a live-fire exercise into the Taiwan Strait with coastal artillery, and PLA Air Force (PLAAF) bombers regularly circumnavigate Taiwan.

Beijing continues pursuing next-generation technologies and advanced weapons systems, including hypersonic glide vehicles, directed energy weapons, electromagnetic railguns, counter-space weapons, and unmanned and artificial intelligence-equipped weapons. The PLA has also made significant technological, game-changing developments in its ability to defeat, or drastically reduce, the effectiveness of U.S. sensors and defensive weapons. The PLA has tested hypersonic missiles since 2014, including the WU-14, with speeds approaching Mach 10. In August 2018, Beijing claimed to have successfully tested its first hypersonic aircraft.

Beijing is also modernizing and adding new capabilities across its nuclear forces. China's third generation Type 096 nuclear-powered Ballistic Missile Submarine (SSBN) will be armed with JL-3 sea-launched ballistic missiles and will likely begin construction in the early-2020s. In April, Beijing confirmed the DF-26 entered service—a road-mobile, nuclear, and conventional capable Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM), expanding Beijing's near-precision strike capability as far as the Second Island Chain (a term that refers to the southern part of the Aleutian Islands, the Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, the Republic of Palau, and northern Papua New Guinea). Beijing continues testing its DF-41 road-mobile Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM), which carries multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles and has a range of up to 9,300 miles.

South China Sea. Beijing maintains maritime claims in the South China Sea that are contrary to international law and pose a substantial long-term threat to the rules-based international order. Beijing ignored the 2016 ruling of an Arbitral Tribunal established under Annex VII of the Law of the Sea Convention, which concluded that China's claims to historic rights, or other sovereign rights or jurisdiction, with respect to the maritime areas of the South China Sea encompassed by the "nine-dash line" are contrary to UNCLOS and without legal effect. In April 2018, Beijing continued militarizing outposts by deploying advanced military systems that further enhance the PLA's power projection capabilities, including missiles and electronic jammers. These actions run directly counter to President Xi's 2015 commitment not to militarize these features. On multiple occasions, Beijing has landed military transport aircraft on the Spratly Islands and long-range bombers on the Paracel Islands. Additionally, Chinese Coast Guard vessels now fall under the command of the Central Military Commission and regularly harass and intimidate fishing vessels from our treaty ally, the Philippines, operating near Scarborough Reef, as well as the fishing fleets of other regional nations.

East China Sea. Beijing continues using its military forces to advance its territorial claims in the East China Sea. Beijing maintains a high level of surface combat patrols in the East China Sea. Additionally, Chinese Coast Guard vessels frequently enter the territorial waters of the Senkaku Islands, which the United States recognizes as being under the administrative control of the Japanese. In 2017, these incursions occurred on an average of once every ten days, and

continued in 2018 at about two per month. Additionally, while Beijing mostly implements United Nations Security Council Resolutions against North Korea, in a number of cases, illicit ship to ship transfers continue to occur within Chinese territorial waters.

Economic Pressure. While the United States strives to promote a Free and Open Indo-Pacific, Beijing is leveraging its economic instrument of power in ways that can undermine the autonomy of countries across the region. Beijing offers easy money in the short term, but these funds come with strings attached: unsustainable debt, decreased transparency, restrictions on market economies, and the potential loss of control of natural resources. Beijing's actions in this regard have potential military ramifications as well. Beijing touts its need to safeguard its citizens abroad and defend its expanding global interests in order to justify increased permanent PLA overseas basing and presence. Beijing is also exploiting growing debt burdens to access strategic infrastructure in the region. In December 2017, Sri Lanka handed over control of the newly-built Hambantota seaport to Beijing with a 99-year lease because Sri Lanka could no longer afford its debt payments to China.

Over the last year, we have seen that countries across the region are becoming more aware of the threat Beijing's economic policies pose. Malaysia announced the cancellation of three projects worth \$22 billion in August 2018, declaring that it could not afford Beijing's projects, decrying the corrupt practices associated with the projects, and criticizing the loans as a "new version of colonialism." The Maldives' former president described Beijing's investments as a "land grab" under the guise of development. In contrast, the United States' vision for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific strives to preserve the autonomy of independent nations in the Indo-Pacific region. We must continue to support countries that stand up to Beijing's coercive economic policies whenever possible and help those countries offset any economic blowback from Beijing. Our engagement in the Indo-Pacific must truly be a whole-of-government undertaking, in partnership with the private sector and civil society, to counter China's economic coercion.

Arctic and Antarctic. Beijing recognizes the growing strategic significance of the Arctic and Antarctic and has signaled its plans to assert a greater role in these regions. Despite not being an Arctic nation, Beijing published its first Arctic policy paper in 2018, which defends Beijing's

role in the region and outlines Beijing's vision of a "Polar Silk Road" to complement its other economic initiatives. Beijing launched its first domestically built icebreaking research vessel in September 2018, and Beijing plans to launch its second in 2019. Beijing also opened bidding for construction of its first nuclear-powered icebreaker. Beijing wants to boost its polar research and expedition capabilities and recently announced plans to double the frequency of its Arctic expeditions to once a year. Beijing has also expressed increasing interest in Antarctic operations and establishing logistics stations to supply them. This is of increasing concern to our ally Australia, as well as New Zealand, as Beijing seeks positional advantage and control of territory and natural resources in these vital regions.

Fentanyl and Pre-Cursors Chemicals. Another challenge that affects the security environment indirectly is the continuing fentanyl and opioid crisis in the United States. Illicit fentanyl, as well as legal pre-cursor chemicals used in the production of illegal drugs primarily originate from China. Moreover, technological advancements in e-commerce and commercial shipping present a different business model from the traditional methods used by transnational criminal organizations for drug trafficking. These innovations represent a new level of complexity for U.S. law enforcement agencies and policymakers alike. I welcome the PRC's decision to designate and regulate fentanyl as a controlled substance after President Xi's meeting with President Trump in Argentina in December of last year, and we look forward to seeing tangible progress.

Russia:

Military modernization. Moscow continues to modernize its military forces, viewing military power as critical to achieving key strategic objectives and global influence. Nuclear weapons remain an important component of Russia's power projection and deterrence capabilities, and the Russian military conducts regular nuclear-capable Tu-95 Bear bomber long-range aviation flights off the coasts of Japan, Korea, Canada, and Alaska. For the past decade Russian military planning has emphasized the development of modernized platforms and weapons systems, and Moscow is pushing these platforms to the Indo-Pacific region. In recent years, the Eastern Military District has become increasingly important for Russian security interests. Russia has invested in military infrastructure, improved its command-and-control capabilities, deployed

anti-ship missile systems, and modernized its anti-air capabilities in the region. For example, Russian units in the Eastern Military District expect to take delivery of thirty-seven new vessels by 2024, which is a major increase compared to the twenty-eight new units received in the region over the last decade. Moscow recently announced plans to expand its combat forces in the Eastern Military District and to substantially reinforce the Pacific Fleet. Despite the threat of U.S. sanctions through the 2017 Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA), Russia continues to export weapons to the Indo-Pacific region.

Furthermore, Russia hosted its largest military exercise since 1981, Exercise VOSTOK 2018, simulating land, sea, and air operations in the Eastern Military District and mobilizing forces from across Russia to engage in multiple live-fire missile launches. Of note, Chinese forces participated in Exercise VOSTOK for the first time. While Beijing's military cooperation was largely symbolic, because the forces remained segregated with separate command posts, Vostok 2018 was still a significant first step in forging a closer military partnership.

Japan-Russia Relations. Japan and Russia have a long-standing territorial dispute since the Second World War over the Northern Territories/Kuril Islands, which are strategically important for Russia's access to the Pacific Ocean. Russia has further entrenched itself in this contested territory by reestablishing an airfield on Matua Island, located in what it calls the central Kuril Islands, to accommodate light military transport aircraft and helicopters. Russia has also deployed coastal defense cruise missile systems and SU-35 multirole fighters to the islands and also announced plans to build a naval base. This more assertive approach to its eastern front reflects growing focus in Moscow of the vital importance of the broader Indo-Pacific for Russia's long-term security. Although Prime Minister Abe and President Putin have met on several occasions to negotiate a peace treaty that could, in part, resolve this territorial dispute, they have not reached an agreement. Russia remains concerned that the United States could establish military facilities under Article VI of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security in the Northern Territories if they are returned to Japan

Violent Extremist Organizations (VEOs):

In the wake of the 2017 siege of the southern Philippine city of Marawi, Philippine security forces have maintained consistent pressure on Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) networks in the Philippines, conducting a number of arrests in 2018. Additionally, counterterrorism operations on the Philippine island of Jolo against ISIS-supporting elements of the Abu Sayyaf Group succeeded in disrupting kidnap-for-ransom operations. ISIS claimed credit for multiple small-scale attacks in the Philippines, including a mid-2018 vehicle-borne improvised explosive device attack at a military checkpoint in the southern Philippines. Outside of the Philippines, we saw a number of small-scale attacks in 2018, and I remain concerned about the growth of ISIS in the region. Over 1,000 foreign terrorist fighters have traveled to Iraq and Syria from the Indo-Pacific region, and at least 170 have returned. We expect the number of returnees to increase with the persistent loss of ISIS-held territory. ISIS' Amaq News claimed responsibility for a series of mid-May 2018 bombings against churches and a police headquarters in Surabaya, Indonesia. Other countries across the region remain concerned about the potential for disenfranchised and vulnerable populations to become recruitment targets. Self-radicalized violent extremists who are influenced or inspired by ISIS or other extremists are another cause for concern. The recent attack on a local Catholic parish in Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago is evidence of continued concern.

Natural and Man-made Disasters:

The Indo-Pacific remains the most disaster-prone region in the world. It contains 75% of the earth's volcanoes and 90% of earthquakes occur in the "Ring of Fire" surrounding the Pacific Basin. Since 2008 the Indo-Pacific has lost half a million lives and suffered over \$500 million in damages, with over one and a half billion people affected by natural and manmade disasters overall. The UN estimates that economic losses in the region due to disasters could exceed \$160 billion annually by 2030. Many countries across the region lack sufficient capability and capacity to manage natural and man-made disasters.

A key element of USINDOPACOM's engagement strategy in the region is building capacity with our allies, partners, and friends to improve their resilience and capability to conduct their own humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR).

USINDOPACOM directly supports HA/DR efforts across the region, as well. In July 2018, we sent special operations forces to help the international effort to rescue twelve Thai boys and their coach from a flooded cave. USINDOPACOM also assisted relief efforts in Sulawesi, Indonesia last year with sixty-four personnel and three C-130 aircraft after an earthquake and tsunami hit the country. Another recent example of USINDOPACOM's support continues today after the Super Typhoon Yutu hit Tinian and Saipan. USINDOPACOM responded quickly by providing joint forces, equipment, and fresh drinking water, and by building temporary shelters and assisting with clearing debris from roads and homes.

USINDOPACOM's Security Role in the Indo-Pacific

The most important security development in the Indo-Pacific has been the rapid modernization of the PLA. The scope and scale of that modernization has caused USINDOPACOM's relative competitive military advantage to erode in recent years. With the 2018 National Defense Strategy as a guide, USINDOPACOM is focused on regaining our competitive military advantage and ensuring a Free and Open Indo-Pacific over the short- and long-term.

My strategy centers around fielding and sustaining a force capable of combat-credible deterrence that is postured for two distinct security roles: to win before fighting and, if necessary, be ready to fight and win.

Ready to Fight and Win. USINDOPACOM's ability to prevail in armed conflict is the foundation of combat credible deterrence. By fielding and maintaining a joint force ready to fight and win, USINDOPACOM reduces the likelihood that any adversary will resort to military aggression to challenge or undermine the rules-based international order.

Win Before Fighting. Deterrence is necessary to prevent conflict, but deterrence alone cannot ensure a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Our adversaries are pursuing their objectives in the space between peace and war, using fear and coercive actions across the instruments of national power to revise the rules-based international order and without resorting to armed conflict. Alongside like-minded allies and partners, USINDOPACOM must compete in the "gray zone" between

peace and war. These deliberate actions will ensure a Free and Open Indo-Pacific against those malign actors that seek to accomplish their political objectives short of armed conflict.

USINDOPACOM Focus Areas

Given the challenges in the region, ensuring a Free and Open Indo-Pacific requires that USINDOPACOM remain ready to execute high-end/high-tech wartime missions on short notice. USINDOPACOM must be postured to achieve a more advantageous security environment without the lethal use of military force. The following four focus areas guide the command's efforts toward meeting both of the aforementioned security roles:

- **Focus Area 1. Increase joint force lethality.** We must continue to develop and field capabilities necessary to deter aggression and prevail in armed conflict should deterrence fail.
- **Focus Area 2. Enhance our design and posture.** We will adapt from our historic service-centric focus on Northeast Asia only to a more integrated joint force blueprint that is informed by the changing threat environment and challenges of the 21st century across the entire Indo-Pacific region.
- **Focus Area 3. Exercise, experiment, innovate.** Targeted innovation and experimentation will evolve the joint force while developing asymmetric capability to counter adversary capabilities.
- **Focus Area 4. Strengthen our allies and partners.** Through increased interoperability, information-sharing, and expanded access across the region, we will present a compatible and interoperable coalition to our adversaries in crisis and armed conflict.

Focus Area 1: Increase Joint Force Lethality

Over the last two decades, adversaries have rapidly closed the gap in many of the areas that used to be clear asymmetric advantages for the United States, encroaching upon USINDOPACOM's ability to deter conflict or prevail in armed conflict should deterrence fail. Our adversaries are fielding advanced Anti-Access Area Denial (A2AD) systems, advanced aircraft, ships, space, and cyber capabilities that threaten the U.S. ability to project power and influence into the region. Increasing joint force lethality means developing and fielding systems and capabilities to

preserve our key asymmetric advantages in order to prevent any potential adversary from thinking it can achieve its political or military objectives through armed conflict. Increasing our joint force lethality means joint and combined interoperability, an integrated fires network that enables long-range strike, and advanced missile defense systems capable of detecting, tracking, and engaging advanced air, cruise, ballistic, and hypersonic threats from all azimuths. In short, we must be able to defend our forces and project power so that no adversary can achieve sustained dominance in the Indo-Pacific and threaten our key allies and partners.

Air Superiority. The United States cannot assume that it will have air superiority in the Indo-Pacific. For over fifteen years, the predominant employment of United States armed forces has been in the ongoing fight against terrorism in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan where our ability to dominate in the air domain was unchallenged. In contrast, the U.S. faces peer competitors in the Indo-Pacific. Beijing has invested heavily in systems that challenge the United States' ability to achieve air superiority. The U.S. government must continue to pursue multi-domain capabilities to counter anti-air capabilities and we continue to prioritize 5th generation fighter capabilities to the Indo-Pacific.

Undersea Warfare. The United States must maintain its advantage in undersea warfare—an asymmetric advantage that our adversaries are focused on eroding. There are four-hundred foreign submarines in the world, of which roughly 75% reside in the Indo-Pacific region. One-hundred and sixty of these submarines belong to China, Russia, and North Korea. While these three countries increase their capacity, the United States retires attack submarines (SSNs) faster than they are replaced. USINDOPACOM must maintain its asymmetric advantage in undersea warfare capability, which includes not just attack submarines, but also munitions and other anti-submarine warfare systems such as the P-8 Poseidon and ship-borne anti-submarine systems. Potential adversary submarine activity has tripled from 2008 levels, which requires at least a corresponding increase on the part of the United States to maintain superiority.

Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance. The Indo-Pacific's dynamic security environment requires persistent and intrusive Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) to provide indications, warning, and situational awareness across over half the world.

USINDOPACOM supports a re-allocation of DoD ISR assets to better satisfy intelligence needs in line with National Defense Strategy-priorities. USINDOPACOM relies on a mix of Airborne ISR (AISR) assets to provide a dedicated and flexible ISR capability across the entire region.

USINDOPACOM supports efforts to re-capitalize critical AISR capabilities and the continued development of future ISR platforms, such as the MQ-4C Triton, as well as our interoperable Processing, Exploitation, and Dissemination architectures.

Space. Space is a vital strategic domain. U.S. adversaries are militarizing space; USINDOPACOM must have access to resilient and defensible space systems that can operate in a contested environment. USINDOPACOM relies on space-based assets for satellite communications (SATCOM), ISR, missile warning, and Positioning, Navigation, Timing (PNT) capabilities, which support missions across the range of military operations. The command's vast geographic expanse increases the strain on USINDOPACOM's requirements and our reliance on low-density space-based assets that are in high-demand.

As Beijing's and Moscow's military modernization continues, they are pursuing broad and robust counter-space capabilities. While not as advanced, North Korea remains a threat through its employment of SATCOM and PNT jammers. The threat to the electromagnetic spectrum continues as our adversaries develop means to deny our space-enabled capabilities. As Space Command (SPACECOM) transitions responsibilities from United States Strategic Command (STRATCOM) into the future Space Force, USINDOPACOM looks forward to continued collaboration in this critical domain as we work to further integrate space-based capabilities into our daily operations and contingency planning.

Cyber. USINDOPACOM is heavily reliant on cyber capabilities and faces increasing threats in the cyber domain from both state and non-state actors, such as Beijing, Moscow, Pyongyang, and criminal actors. The United States must ensure it has a robust and capable cyber force with all required equipment and a common network operational structure necessary to ensure command and control. Moreover, USINDOPACOM requires an agile and defensible mission command network infrastructure to ensure adequate command and control, and enable interoperability with

our allies and partners to fully leverage our combined capacities. Furthermore, the DoD must prevent and, if necessary, respond to cyber-attacks against non-military critical infrastructure in both homeland defense and in support of civil authorities.

The U.S. military's offensive cyber capabilities provide additional tools to leverage as part of multi-domain operations to compete and win, but these tools must become more responsive to the operational requirements of the combatant commands. The growth in these offensive capabilities is not limited to equipment – we need talent and innovation. The development and retention of personnel with subject-matter expertise is a critical component for our nation's success.

My staff coordinates extensively with USCYBERCOM to integrate effective offensive, defensive, and network operations into my multi-domain plans and operations. Our staffs collaborate daily on current operations through our respective operations centers, at least weekly on future operations planning, and at least quarterly on future capability requirements.

Multi-Domain and Distributed Operations. As adversary military forces grow in both quantity and quality, USINDOPACOM must integrate operations in all domains to be successful in the 21st century. The Multi-Domain and Distributed Operations concepts of the services incorporate the capabilities of the physical domains and place greater emphasis on space, cyberspace, and other contested areas including the electromagnetic spectrum, the information environment, and the cognitive dimension of warfare. Multi-Domain and Distributed Operations allow U.S. forces to outmaneuver adversaries physically and cognitively, advancing the 20th century concept of combined arms into the 21st century's requirement to operate across all domains, at all times.

I fully support all services and functional commands efforts to operationalize Multi-Domain and Distributed Operations concepts. In 2018, USINDOPACOM successfully demonstrated Multi-Domain and Distributed Operations capabilities in major exercises while also integrating new technologies and approaches across the joint force. In the years ahead, USINDOPACOM will

progress from experimentation to validation of concepts, culminating in an overall increase in the lethality of the joint force.

Advanced Munitions. Developing and fielding advanced munitions is a critical component to increasing joint force lethality. The following are some of the more pressing munitions upgrades based on the challenges we face in the region:

- Improvements to Missile Defense – Patriot Missile Segment Enhanced (MSE), Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) upgrades, and other capabilities to defend against maneuvering and hypersonic missiles.
- Innovations in heavy weight torpedo technology provide force-multiplying effects that currently do not exist, including long range in-port or at-sea attack and shallow water covert mine laying.
- The immediate resourcing and integration of ATACMS system and/or the Kongsberg Naval Strike Missile with HIMARS/MLRS to support Army and United States Marine Corps (USMC) units conducting Multi-Domain Operations and sea control missions.
- Continued investments in Hard Target Munitions (HTM). There is a significant increase in the number of hard and deeply buried targets in the theater requiring HTM.
- Hypersonic long-range strike (H-LRS) – these emerging weapons dramatically improve probability of engaging time sensitive targets and have increased survivability and thus higher probability of success.
- Effective counters to the expanding asymmetric unmanned aerial system (UAS) threat including potential for multiple swarms of small UAS.

Focus Area 2: Enhance Design and Posture

To effectively defend U.S. interests, USINDOPACOM must update its existing design and posture to compete with our adversaries across the entire Indo-Pacific. At present, USINDOPACOM forces west of the International Date Line are focused in Northeast Asia – an historical legacy of the Second World War and Korean War. We must update our design and posture to preserve strength in this key region, but also ensure that the United States is ready to compete and win before fighting across all of the Indo-Pacific. By recalibrating theater posture

to balance capabilities across South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania, USINDOPACOM will be able to respond to aggression more effectively throughout the Indo-Pacific.

Similarly, the USINDOPACOM Joint Logistics Enterprise must be capable of supporting joint warfighting requirements across the entire theater in a more dynamic and distributed posture. Posture and pre-positioning are essential to overcome the region's tyranny of distance. Ship sailing times are upwards of ten days from the U.S. west coast, and it takes significant lead-time to reposition strategic airlift and tanker support to enable major force flow.

The speed of war has changed, and the nature of these changes makes the global security environment even more unpredictable. It's dangerous and unforgiving. Time and decision space have collapsed, so our approach to warfare must adapt to keep pace; with the speed and multiple avenues that our adversaries are able to pursue. We require a force posture that enables the United States to undertake a spectrum of missions. These missions include: capacity building for partners that face internal and external vulnerabilities, cooperation on transnational threats, and joint and combined training. Our enhancements to interoperability make for more effective coalitions in crisis.

USINDOPACOM will "regain the advantage" by positioning theater infrastructure that supports:

- Expeditionary capability that is agile and resilient.
- Dynamic basing for our maritime and air forces.
- Special operations forces capable of irregular and unconventional warfare.
- Anti-submarine warfare capabilities unmatched by any adversary.
- Land forces equipped with weapons systems that hold an adversary's air, sea, and land forces at risk.
- Cyber and space teams integrated into Multi-Domain and Distributed Operations.
- Unique intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities.

Global Force Management (GFM) and Posture. The Indo-Pacific is a theater that requires short response timelines across a vast region. Regional threats require U.S. forces to maintain a high level of readiness to respond rapidly to crises. USINDOPACOM's readiness is evaluated

against its ability to execute operational and contingency plans. The plans place a premium on ready and immediately responsive forces that can exercise, train, and operate with our partner nations' militaries. Forward-stationed forces west of the International Date Line decrease response times, bolster the confidence of allies and partners, and reduce the chance of miscalculation by potential adversaries. Contingency response times require that I have the essential conventional and strategic forces assigned to USINDOPACOM.

In line with the National Defense Strategy, USINDOPACOM prioritizes stationing and deployment of 5th generation aircraft in the Indo-Pacific. Additionally, the United States has deployed some of our newest and most advanced aviation platforms to the region, such as the P-8 Poseidon, RQ-4 Global Hawk, MV-22 Osprey, EA-18G Growler, E-2D Hawkeye, and C-130J Super Hercules.

In addition to forward stationed forces, the ability of the United States to surge, rotate, and globally maneuver ready forces is an asymmetric advantage that must be maintained. The high operational demands, delayed maintenance, training pipeline shortfalls, and shortage of ready surge forces limit USINDOPACOM's responsiveness to emergent contingencies and greatly increases risk. The challenges grow each year as our forces continue to deploy at unprecedented rates while the DoD grapples with fiscal uncertainty.

Integrated Air and Missile Defense. USINDOPACOM faces unique Integrated Air and Missile Defense (IAMD) challenges in the Indo-Pacific to protect our forces and allies. Hawaii, Guam, and our Pacific Territories are part of our homeland and must be defended. Hawaii is currently protected from North Korean Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) by the Ground-Based Midcourse Defense System. This system includes Ground-Based Interceptors in Alaska and California; ground, sea, and space-based sensors; and redundant command, control, and communications systems.

For the defense of Hawaii, the planned Homeland Defense Radar Hawaii (HDRH) will improve U.S. capabilities. A Notice of Intent to Prepare an Environmental Impact Statement was released in June 2018, and the radar is projected to be operational by late 2023. The HDRH will

provide an enhanced ballistic missile sensing and discrimination capability in the Indo-Pacific, and it increases the capability of the Ground-Based Midcourse Defense System to defend Hawaii.

Meanwhile, our adversaries continue to improve their capabilities in ways that challenge the United States' strategic, operational, and tactical freedom of movement and maneuver. Beijing and Moscow continue to develop and field advanced counter-intervention technologies, which include highly maneuverable reentry vehicle and warheads (hypersonic weapons). Beijing and Russia possess cruise missiles and small-unmanned aerial systems (sUAS) that fly different trajectories, making them hard to detect, acquire, track, and intercept due to unpredictable low-flight profiles and sophisticated countermeasures. North Korea retains its nuclear and ICBM capabilities.

USINDOPACOM's IAMD priority is to establish a persistent, credible, and sustainable ballistic missile defense by forward deploying the latest missile defense technologies to the Indo-Pacific. Through forward and persistent presence, these active missile defense capabilities would help mitigate the risk to missile threats faced in the region and to the homeland. USINDOPACOM addresses this IAMD priority in the following ways:

- USINDOPACOM works with the DoD, Missile Defense Agency, the services, academic institutions, and industry to deploy capabilities that counter the advanced missile threats in the region.
- USINDOPACOM maintains an active Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) battery on Guam to protect U.S. citizens and strategic military capabilities from North Korean intermediate-range ballistic missiles (KN-17 and MUSUDAN).
- USINDOPACOM employs additional radars across the theater supporting homeland and regional missile defense, as well as continued testing of the Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS).
- In 2017, USINDOPACOM and USFK, with support from the MDA and the DoD, deployed a THAAD battery to the Korean Peninsula that is fully operational. The MDA and the services deliver improved BMDS capability to the Korean Peninsula, including

integration of existing Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) assets to improve engagement options and coverage area.

- The U.S. Navy completed its forward deployment of the USS MILIUS from San Diego, CA to Yokosuka, Japan in Spring 2018. This port shift provides the U.S. Seventh Fleet improved capability to support the U.S.-Japan Alliance.
- USINDOPACOM continues working with Japan, South Korea, and Australia toward creating a fully-integrated BMD architecture that addresses the increasing cruise missile threat.
- USINDOPACOM supports MDA and the services to develop and test emerging missile and counter-small UAS defense capabilities through modeling and simulation, as well as live-fire testing conducted at the Pacific Missile Range Facility, the Ronald Reagan Test Center at Kwajalein Island, Point Mugu, and other testing ranges located in the continental United States and Alaska.

I support all efforts that improve the capability and capacity of ballistic missile, cruise missile, and UAS defense technologies to further enhance homeland defense capabilities and protect key regional locations. The development of a credible and effective defense against advanced and future missile and UAS threats remains vital to our operational plans and critical to the continued defense of the United States.

Logistics and Supply. Driven by budgetary pressure, our logistics system has become a more efficient business process, and a less effective warfighting function over the last 20 years. Efficiency has come at the cost of increased vulnerability and decreased redundancy. While this arrangement is sufficient for peacetime operations, it is insufficient for combat. Congress' Indo-Pacific Stability Initiative could significantly help reverse the current trend toward a less resilient Joint Logistics Enterprise in the Pacific.

As adversary capabilities improve, joint operations will increasingly rely on distributed supply chains in order to fight and win against a peer adversary. The joint logistics enterprise must be postured with the right capability and capacity at the right locations in order to effectively support multi-domain and distributed operations. This means developing infrastructure at both

enduring and contingency operating locations; identifying and sourcing transportation, distribution, and maintenance requirements; and developing the processes to enable logistics decisions at the speed of war. USINDOPACOM is critically dependent on tactical airlift and sea lift capacity, which expands options for force design and maneuver. Increased tactical airlift and sealift capacity further increase survivability as it becomes more difficult for an adversary to counter a highly maneuverable joint force. These tactical lift assets play just as important a role as strategic lift assets in ensuring our ability to create a resilient and agile logistics network. Significant and sustained investment in munitions is needed to reduce risk to current and future strategic readiness. Services must fund and continue investment in munitions research and development, while setting relatively steady requirements to maintain a healthy production capability for current and new munitions. I appreciate Congress' action to enhance munitions funding in FY2018 and FY2019, but shortfalls remain. USINDOPACOM's top priorities for increased procurement are Long Range Anti-Ship Missiles, SM-6, MK-48 torpedoes, AIM-9X, BGM-109 Block IV (Maritime Strike Tomahawk), and AIM-120D. The Services must also upgrade storage facilities and reassess prepositioning based on the new security environment.

Fuel supply agility and resilience are central to our success in being competitive, responsive, and lethal. The changing threat environment, energy security risks, and adversarial geopolitical and economic influences are driving longer supply lines, necessitating a flexible resupply chain and more resilient, agile, and interoperable petroleum distribution capabilities. Continued investment in next generation petroleum distribution systems is required to mitigate sustainment risk in austere, contested, and denied environments. Access and positioning of fuel remains a key pillar of our logistics posture and is vital to USINDOPACOM's ability to ensure operational freedom of maneuver throughout the theater.

Focus Area 3: Exercise, Experimentation, and Innovation

Our exercise, experimentation and innovation program is key to maintaining readiness while also developing and integrating new capabilities and concepts. This program also highlights our capabilities and capacity to deter competitors while simultaneously reassuring allies, partners, and friends.

Pacific Multi-Domain Training and Experimentation Capability (PMTEC) Initiative.

USINDOPACOM's Joint Exercise Program has traditionally monitored the operational and warfighting readiness of assigned theater and partner nation forces for crises, contingency operations, and HA/DR. Exercises have advanced key objectives including strengthening regional alliances and partnerships, while deepening interoperability through combined training. The current Joint Exercise Program has been useful for enhancing the readiness of USINDOPACOM's assigned forward deployed forces; I am now looking to move to the next level of integration.

Scarce resources have reinforced the need to integrate all major test and training ranges in the Pacific region through a Pacific Multi-Domain Training and Experimentation Capability (PMTEC) initiative. This USINDOPACOM initiative combines the existing Air Force Joint Pacific Alaska Range Complex (JPARC), the Navy's Pacific Missile Range Facility (PMRF) and the Army's Pohakuloa Training Area (PTA) in Hawaii, the Delamere Air Weapons Range in Northern Australia, and the Marine Corps' future Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) Joint Military Training (CJMT) range into a fully networked and integrated training constellation that supports joint, combined, multi-domain training. PMTEC will also ensure USINDOPACOM has the ability to prioritize training, readiness, and experimentation to achieve a more integrated and lethal joint force that can both deter and when necessary, fight and win. As the next layer of integration, PMTEC will also link test-ranges (e.g., the Ronald Reagan Test Site at Kwajalein) to enable experimentation with developing technologies to create new, more effective, joint operating concepts that will ensure future warfighting success.

The PMTEC initiative also integrates cyber and space capabilities to enable joint and combined experimentation and testing that is truly multi-domain. Currently, many of these ranges restrict operations to just air and land capabilities or just air, land, and maritime capabilities. As a result, our forces often have to simulate or provide exercise injects that replicate space and cyber effects. We are working to fully incorporate space and cyber into our exercises.

Experimentation and Innovation. USINDOPACOM relies on innovation and experimentation, underpinned by strong partnerships, to address our capability gaps in the region. This includes

testing and integrating new technologies, developing new capabilities, and exploring new concepts of operation and employment. USINDOPACOM makes extensive use of OSD's Joint Capability Technology Demonstration, Coalition Warfare Program, and other rapid prototyping programs to focus cutting edge technology-based capabilities and innovation to enhance our readiness.

Innovation is crucial to increasing logistics agility and resilience. USINDOPACOM will continue utilizing the Joint Capability Technology Demonstration program to identify technological solutions to our critical logistics capability gaps. To facilitate greater resilience, USINDOPACOM will protect and harden our critical logistics infrastructure, information systems, and enablers. For example, USINDOPACOM is developing the capability to rapidly repair damage to critical seaports and airfields.

As part of our innovation and experimentation efforts, USINDOPACOM maintains robust engagement with a variety of partners to identify, promote, and incorporate research and development to address key capability gaps. USINDOPACOM has worked with some of the best DoD industry partners on advancing man and machine teaming, artificial intelligence, machine-learning, hypersonic technology, autonomy, command and control, and block chain technology. USINDOPACOM benefits from engineers, operations analysts, and theater-experienced operators from Federally Funded Research and Development Center (FFRDC) and University Affiliated Research Center (UARC) partners. These partners perform robust military utility assessments of emerging technology in the context of theater plans. The ability to harness the knowledge and experience of the individuals from these organizations is vital to advancing key capabilities for targeting, cyberspace operations, undersea warfare, electronic warfare, and ISR.

Focus Area 4: Strengthen Allies and Partners:

The United States' network of allies and partners is our principal advantage against any adversary. USINDOPACOM depends upon the collective capabilities of our allies and partners to address the challenges to a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. The most obvious point—one made abundantly clear in the National Security Strategy—is that whatever we do, we must do it with

our allies and partners. The keys to our bilateral and multilateral relationships are communication, information-sharing, and interoperability.

Agile Communications. Agile communications are crucial—not only for our readiness, but for our relationships in the region. USINDOPACOM works with allies and partners in order to enhance our interoperability throughout the Indo-Pacific region. Currently, USINDOPACOM is not fully postured with the latest technology to operate in cyberspace with dynamic multiple-partner combinations in all phases of military operations. Furthermore, our nation is still developing the communication capacity and sharable encryption capability necessary to support most modern warfighting platforms and weapon systems with our allies and partners. Although USINDOPACOM does not have formal agreements for exchanging information with many of the nations or organizations within the region, there is continued progress. The recently concluded Communications, Compatibility, and Security Agreement (COMCASA) with India is a step in the right direction. COMCASA is a bilateral agreement that allows the Indian military to procure U.S. cryptological equipment to enable secure voice and data exchange for enhanced interoperability. There will be similar efforts undertaken with others in the Indo-Pacific. As we continue to improve our agility in coalition information-sharing environments, our future capabilities will allow ally and partner forces alongside of our forces to adequately respond to natural disasters and contingencies. We will have agile, secure, dynamic information technology capabilities to support the full spectrum of military operations with our partners and allies in order to enhance interoperability.

Security Cooperation and Capacity Building. Security cooperation and capacity-building engagements in the region help build ally and partner capabilities, information-sharing, and interoperability. Addressing maritime security and maritime domain awareness challenges remains a key priority for nations across the region. The 2019 National Defense Authorization Act extended the FY16 NDAA Section 1263 “Southeast Asia Maritime Security Initiative (MSI)” for another five years (FY21 through FY25), and expanded MSI to encompass portions of South Asia. The MSI authority, along with other DoD authorities such as the Title 10 Section 333 Global Train and Equip, and Department of State authorities such as Foreign Military Financing (FMF) and International Military Education and Training (IMET), in addition to the

new Asia Reassurance Initiative Act, represent weighty tools available for building partner readiness, reducing capability gaps, and building capacity. The Department of State's one-time reprogramming of \$290.5 million of FMF to the Indo-Pacific in 2018 is a clear effort to assist our region, for which USINDOPACOM is grateful.

Addressing the Indo-Pacific Together: Enhancing Partnerships with our Allies and Partners

The Indo-Pacific is one of the largest and most diverse regions on earth. These differences are our strength, and the thousands of miles of ocean and sky between us do not divide us, they are the connective elements that bind us together. As I look at the depth and breadth of the Indo-Pacific, I see opportunities in each of the regions to advance our shared values in ensuring a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Throughout the Indo-Pacific, the most effective way to address the challenges I have described is through collective action of multiple nations.

The security landscape mirrors the diversity of the Indo-Pacific. In Northeast Asia, the security environment where our strong alliances with Japan and South Korea dominate, I am focused on the immediate threat presented by North Korea and the long-term threat posed by Beijing's and Moscow's aggressive policies. In Southeast Asia, I am focused on working with our allies, Thailand and the Philippines, and our strong partners, Singapore and Vietnam, to strengthen ASEAN, expand multilateralism, and improve their combined capacity to stand up to the malign influence of state and non-state actors, especially in the South China Sea. In South Asia, I am focused on expanding cooperation with the world's largest democracy, India, and working with all South Asia countries to increase air and maritime domain awareness across the Indian Ocean. Finally, in Oceania, I am encouraged by the opportunities to partner with our strong allies, Australia and France, and strong friend, New Zealand, to improve information sharing and maritime cooperation as the Pacific Island Countries address the challenges associated with Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated (IUU) fishing, natural disasters, narcotics trafficking, and economic coercion from Beijing.

Northeast Asia. The command's goal is to stabilize Northeast Asia and leverage our strong alliances with Japan and South Korea to improve stability across the broader Indo-Pacific. In order to achieve this, USINDOPACOM needs a security environment that is secure from coercion from Pyongyang, Beijing, and Moscow. As the region becomes more stable, we will encourage Japan and South Korea to take a greater role in the alliances related to their own security and contribute to security in the broader Indo-Pacific region.

Japan. The U.S.-Japan alliance is the cornerstone of our efforts to ensure a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. The Government of Japan released its own Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy in 2017, and Japan is looking to become more involved across the broader Indo-Pacific region. Additionally, Japan is a key supporter of UNSCR enforcement operations and hosts the Enforcement Coordination Cell (ECC) in Yokosuka, Japan. Tokyo intends to procure high-tech U.S. platforms that will increase interoperability, including F-35A, E-2D Hawkeye, Global Hawk UAS, MV-22, and Advanced Electronic Guides Interceptor System (AEGIS) Ashore. Furthermore, Japan's 2018 National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) call for strengthening the U.S.-Japan alliance, and expanding their international security cooperation with like-minded partners in the region. They also prioritize advancements in Japan's space, cyberspace, and electro-magnetic capabilities.

USINDOPACOM and Japan's Self Defense Force have transformed the way military alliances plan and campaign together. Our approaches for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific are synchronized in our national policies and defense strategies, and communication mechanisms exist at every level of our governments to ensure we are synchronized on key issues. The U.S.-Japan alliance is committed to supporting countries that respect and adhere to the rule-of-law, and our alliance seeks to enable opportunities for economic prosperity throughout the region.

South Korea. The U.S.-South Korea alliance remains ironclad, and we are both committed to the final, fully verified denuclearization of North Korea. South Korea is also a key supporter of UNSCR Enforcement activities against North Korea. USINDOPACOM works closely with Seoul in obtaining capabilities required under the Conditions-based Operational Control Transition Plan (COTP) – the ongoing plan to transfer Combined Forces Command (CFC) to

South Korean leadership. Seoul has future procurement plans for the P-8, advanced munitions, upgrades to PAC-3 missiles, and F-16 fighters. All these assets will increase interoperability with the United States.

Taiwan. In accordance with our One China Policy, based on the Taiwan Relations Act and three U.S.-China Joint Communiques, the United States and Taipei maintain a substantive and robust unofficial relationship with Taiwan based on the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA). Taiwan's values reflect our own—it features an open economy with a free and democratic society that respects human rights and the rule of law. The United States opposes any unilateral change to the status quo in the Taiwan Strait. The United States continues to support the peaceful resolution of cross-Strait issues in a manner, scope, and pace acceptable to the people on both sides. USINDOPACOM's engagement focuses on improving joint interoperability within Taiwan's military, improving Taiwan training and readiness, and supporting Taiwan's military and professional development.

Beijing is pushing across the globe to diplomatically isolate and economically constrain Taiwan. Taiwan has only seventeen diplomatic partners left after losing El Salvador, Burkina Faso, and the Dominican Republic as diplomatic partners in 2018. Beijing continues to press the international community and private businesses to remove or modify any references to Taiwan on websites and publications and is attempting to deny Taiwan's participation in international fora.

As evidenced in President Xi Jinping's New Year's speech, China is focused on achieving reunification as a part of the PRC's national plan of rejuvenation by "reserving the option of taking all necessary measures and not renouncing the use of force." We continue to be concerned with China's military buildup across the Strait, Beijing's opaqueness about its military capability and capacity, and its unwillingness to preclude the use of force to resolve the cross-strait issue. The United States has a deep and abiding interest in peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait and welcomes steps by both sides to reduce tensions and improve cross-Strait relations. President Xi's solution of a one country, two systems approach to reunification does not reflect the wishes of both sides. We hope that there will be continued high-level

communications and interactions going forward through which both sides can continue their constructive dialogue on the basis of dignity and respect. Although President Tsai and her party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), have committed to “avoid confrontation and prevent surprises” with China, the cross-Strait situation is of increasing concern given the harsh rhetoric from Beijing toward the leadership in Taipei.

Taiwan recently passed its 2019 defense budget, which will fund foreign and indigenous acquisition programs as well as near-term training and readiness. Consistent with the TRA, USINDOPACOM engages with the Taiwan military to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability that is credible, resilient, and cost-effective.

Mongolia. Mongolia is a strong partner and contributor to the United States’ regional and global policy objectives. Mongolia supports missions in Afghanistan and United Nations Peace Keeping Operations, making Mongolia a model for emerging democratic countries that want to be more active globally. Ulaanbaatar’s “Third Neighbor Policy” intends to balance Russian and Chinese influence by developing relationships with the United States and other like-minded countries. USINDOPACOM and Mongolia have had inaugural land forces talks, developed a five-year security cooperation plan, and laid the groundwork for Airman-to-Airman Talks. The United States is helping Mongolia improve their special operations forces, peacekeeping operations, and Air Forces.

Southeast Asia. USINDOPACOM’s objective in Southeast Asia is to strengthen the sub-region’s ability to deny adversaries’ attempts to dominate or disrupt the gateway between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, while enabling the region to promote their sovereign interests, resist economic pressure from others, and preserve conditions for continued economic growth. USINDOPACOM is setting conditions in the security environment that support this goal, which ensures that all nations can freely access shared domains. Adversary militaries will be unable to dominate the global commons that enable trade and the global economy. The command’s efforts will improve the region’s awareness and capability to enforce their borders, territorial waters, and exclusive economic zones. USINDOPACOM will advocate for multilateral venues like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to advance collaboration, settle disputes

equitably, and strengthen resolve against the malign influence of state and non-state actors. We are very grateful to Congress for its continued support for the \$425 million Maritime Security Initiative for Southeast Asia which enables Thailand, Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, and India to increase their capability and capacity in continued maritime domain awareness over the next five years.

ASEAN. The United States and ASEAN share the common principles of a rules-based international order, respect for international law, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. The ten ASEAN member states, under the chairmanship of Singapore in 2018 and Thailand in 2019, continue to seek ways to improve multilateral security engagements and advance stability in the Indo-Pacific. USINDOPACOM is committed to strengthening regional institutions such as ASEAN, the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting-Plus, and the ASEAN Regional Forum. USINDOPACOM participates in ASEAN exercises, key leader engagements, and multilateral cooperation on a number of shared transnational challenges, and will host an ASEAN-U.S. Maritime Exercise in 2019. USINDOPACOM co-chairs the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting-Plus Experts' Working Group on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief with Malaysia through the end of 2019. USINDOPACOM's engagements with ASEAN, and with the respective ASEAN member states, build and strengthen relationships, and convey the United States' steadfast commitment to the region.

Cambodia. USINDOPACOM reduced the number of engagements with Cambodia. During these limited engagements the command reaffirms the importance of strengthening democratic institutions and maintaining an independent foreign policy. The United States and other countries in the region are concerned about the possible construction by a Chinese state-owned enterprise of a facility in Cambodia. USINDOPACOM appreciates the statements by the Prime Minister noting that foreign military facilities are prohibited under their constitution. However, the command remains concerned about the possible militarization of Cambodia's coast including the prepositioning of military equipment, the stationing of military units on long term rotations, and the construction of dual use facilities.

Indonesia. This year, the United States and Indonesia celebrate our 70th anniversary of bilateral relations, which provides an opportunity to highlight our growing strategic relationship. USINDOPACOM is committed to a strategic partnership with Indonesia. Indonesia's strategic location, its status as the third largest democracy, fourth most populous country, and its expanding economy all underscore its essential role in the regional security architecture. Indonesia is the largest recipient of U.S. training and education programs in the region. We continue to support the Indonesian military's focus on external threats and national defense, particularly maritime domain awareness and maritime security.

Laos. After decades of stagnation in the U.S.-Lao relationship following the Vietnam War, we have seen some significant advancements over the last two years. In 2016, the United States and the Lao People's Democratic Republic signed a Comprehensive Partnership that resulted in a surge of bilateral military engagements. The command's engagement goals are to partner and assist Laos in becoming a stable, prosperous, and independent member of ASEAN that is willing and able to promote its sovereign interests and respect international law. These engagements focus around unexploded ordnance (UXO) clearance, POW/MIA recovery, and military medicine. Laos actively supports the Defense Personnel Accounting Agency (DPAA) in the search for 290 missing U.S. service members with an aim to honorably conclude war legacy issues (UXO and POW/MIA recovery missions) by 2030. USINDOPACOM is expanding engagements with the Lao military.

Malaysia. Malaysia remains a critical partner of increasing importance in the region ever since the United States elevated the relationship to a Comprehensive Partnership in 2014. USINDOPACOM is exploring expanded collaboration in the areas of maritime security, counterterrorism, information-sharing, and defense institutional reform. Malaysian Armed Forces have demonstrated the professionalism, capacity, and resolve to contribute to regional security, and we continue to evolve our defense relationship on mutual areas of interest.

Philippines. The Philippines is a treaty ally and a partner in preserving a Free and Open Indo-Pacific and our military-to-military relationship has never been stronger. USINDOAPCOM has increased the number and scope of exercises in recent years, to include the resumption of live-

fire exercises. Terrorism continues to pose a security challenge in the Philippines, and USINDOPACOM is committed to helping the Philippines ensure that the southern Philippines does not become a safe-haven for terrorists that would threaten the entire region. I am also focused on helping to develop the territorial defense capability of the Armed Forces Philippines (AFP) and look forward to re-engaging with the Philippines National Police Maritime Group to continue improving their ability to protect their sovereign interests.

Singapore. Singapore remains a steadfast security cooperation partner in Southeast Asia with a strong commitment to promoting a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Though not a formal ally, Singapore provides valuable access to the strategically-located entrance of the Malacca Straits and South China Sea. Singapore supports a strong U.S. presence in the region as well as a deep and broad defense relationship between our two countries. Singapore supports our objectives on North Korea, and in 2018, Singapore hosted the historic U.S.-North Korea summit between President Trump and Chairman Kim Jong Un. Singapore also hosted the transit and rotational deployment of more than 1,500 U.S. military aircraft and vessels (2015-2018), making the United States the heaviest foreign user of Singapore's facilities at Sembawang Port, Paya Lebar Air Base, and Changi Naval Base. Singapore maintains training facilities at Luke Air Force Base (AFB), Arizona (F-16); Mountain Home AFB, Idaho (F-15SG); Marana, Arizona (Apache AH-64D); and Fort Sill, Oklahoma (High Mobility Artillery Rocket System (HIMARS)). Moreover, USINDOPACOM and Singapore steadily increased interoperability through increasingly complex exercises, and we continue to strengthen cooperation in counterterrorism and maritime security. Singapore annually sends 1000 students to training and education courses in the United States, representing the largest training presence in the United States from any foreign military.

Thailand. Last year marked 200 years of friendly U.S.-Thai relations, and Thailand remains a key ally and security partner. In 2019, I am focused on advancing our alliance and restoring elements of our military-to-military relationship following the restoration of a democratic government after elections in March. Thai facilities provide vital training opportunities for USINDOPACOM personnel, and logistical nodes that are essential to operate throughout the

Indo-Pacific region. Thailand assumed the chairmanship of ASEAN in 2019 and continues to play a vital leadership role in the Indo-Pacific region.

Vietnam. Vietnam has emerged as a key partner in promoting a secure and rules-based international order in the Indo-Pacific region. USINDOPACOM's defense partnership with the Vietnamese military is among the strongest aspects of our growing bilateral relationship. As a symbol of closer ties between the United States and Vietnam, the aircraft carrier USS CARL VINSON made a port call in March 2018 to Vietnam, the first of its kind since the end of the war in 1975. Vietnam shares many of the United States' principles on issues such as international rule of law and freedom of navigation, and Vietnam is one of the loudest voices on South China Sea disputes. USINDOPACOM's and the Vietnamese military's military-to-military engagements prioritize enhancing Vietnam's maritime capacity, which will be bolstered by Vietnam's acquisition of Scan Eagle UAVs, T-6 trainer aircraft, and a second U.S. Coast Guard cutter. I look forward to Vietnam assuming the ASEAN Chairmanship in 2020 and increasing its leadership across the region.

Burma (Myanmar). Ongoing human rights abuses, including growing restrictions on freedom of expression, including for members of the press, and atrocities [including ethnic cleansing], and instability in some ethnic minority areas comprise threats to Burma's democratic transition. Due to credible information of serious human rights violations and abuses, especially in relation to Rohingya, as well as restrictions that remain in place based on decades of military rule, U.S.-Burma security cooperation is minimal. The U.S.-Burma security relationship is limited to lower-level engagements at select regional security events and conferences, and participation in multilateral exercises focused on HA/DR. Burma military personnel are not attending academic exchanges, including at the region's DoD academic institute, despite the importance of engaging the next generation of officers.

South Asia. USINDOPACOM's goal in South Asia is to create and seize opportunities to broaden critical partnerships to ensure shared domains remain open to all. In conjunction with India's contributions to regional security, these actions will prevent adversaries from establishing an effective military presence in the Indian Ocean that threaten the security of vital commerce

and continued economic growth and development. As a result, the regional states will be able to reduce internal conflicts, respond to regional security challenges, and resist adversaries' military and economic coercion.

India. The U.S.-India strategic partnership continues to advance at an historic pace as we continue to increase our interoperability and information-sharing capabilities. The inaugural 2+2 Ministerial and signing of the COMCASA in 2018 were pivotal moments in our relationship. USINDOPACOM expects this trajectory to continue and that 2019 will be a significant year in bilateral relations. The United States and India are natural partners on a range of political, economic, and security issues. With a mutual desire for global stability, support for the rules-based international order, and a Free-and-Open Indo-Pacific region, the United States and India have an increased agreement on interests, including maritime security and maritime domain awareness, counter-piracy, counterterrorism, humanitarian assistance, and coordinated responses to natural disasters and transnational threats. Over the past year, the United States and Indian militaries participated in five major exercises, executed more than fifty other military exchanges, and further operationalized the 2016 Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA). The LEMOA enables the U.S. Navy to replenish supplies from Indian navy logistics platforms. USINDOPACOM is working with the Indian military to operationalize the COMCASA, which will boost interoperability between our militaries. Defense sales are at an all-time high, with India operating U.S. sourced platforms such as P-8s, C-130Js, C-17s, AH-64s, CH-47s, and M777 howitzers. Additionally, India recently agreed to a \$2.1-billion purchase of MH-60R multi-role sea-based helicopters and is considering a number of additional U.S. systems for purchase. USINDOPACOM fully supports the purchase of U.S. systems, F-16 and F/A-18E aircraft, a reorder of 12-15 P-8Is, and a potential purchase of Sea Guardian UASs.

Bangladesh. Bangladesh is an important security partner with strong potential to enhance regional stability and advance U.S. interests in South Asia on counter-terrorism, Muslim outreach, countering violent extremism, supporting humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, and supporting United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO). The humanitarian crisis caused by the presence of more than 700,000 Rohingya refugees from Burma (Myanmar) in Bangladesh has strained the Government of Bangladesh. Bangladesh's December 30 elections

point to concerning trend of consolidation of power by the ruling Awami League and raise fears that PM Hasina is aiming to achieve a de facto one-party state. Military-to-military engagement with Bangladesh fits into a broader strategy and commitment to uphold an international, rules-based order in the vital Indo-Pacific region and contributes to building a regional security framework.

Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka remains a significant strategic opportunity in the Indian Ocean, and our military-to-military relationship continues to strengthen. However, political turmoil and ethnic tension between the Tamil and Sinhalese populations remain drivers of instability and potential obstacles to continued growth in our partnership. Moreover, Sri Lanka has handed over the deep water port of Hambantota to China on a 99-year lease due to its mounting debts to China, which has caused international concern. Despite the political upheaval, it is in our interests to continue military collaboration and cooperation with Sri Lankan Forces. USINDOPACOM cooperation with the Sri Lankan Military centers on building capacity in maritime security and maritime domain awareness, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief as well as humanitarian demining, medical assistance, and peacekeeping operations. Increasing navy-to-navy engagement with Sri Lanka will be a USINDOPACOM focus in 2019. The Sri Lankan Navy is a well-trained and professional force with the potential to contribute to multi-lateral maritime interoperability in the Indian Ocean. The recent transfer of an excess U.S. Coast Guard cutter to Sri Lanka in August 2018, along with additional platforms from Japan and India, provide the Sri Lankan Navy greater capabilities to contribute to regional maritime domain awareness initiatives. Going forward, it is necessary to sustain engagement with Sri Lanka, particularly the navy, and construct a multi-lateral approach to capacity building with like-minded partners to rapidly enhance the Sri Lankan Navy's capabilities.

Oceania. USINDOPACOM is deepening engagement with the Pacific Island Countries (PICs) of Oceania to preserve a Free and Open Indo-Pacific region, and we are committed to strengthening the region's future security and prosperity with our partners and allies. In close coordination with Australia, Japan, France, and New Zealand, USINDOPACOM is working to strengthen the resilience of the PICs by tackling common challenges: drug trafficking; illegal,

Unreported, Unregulated (IUU) fishing; the existential threat of rising ocean levels; natural disasters; and the heavy debt burdens that threaten their sovereign interests.

Australia. Our alliance with Australia underpins our relations across Oceania, and Canberra plays a leading role in regional security and capacity-building efforts for a Free and Open Indo-Pacific. Australia is increasing its diplomatic presence, military and economic assistance, and infrastructure investments in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and the other PICs to enhance security in the region. Australia is a key supporter of UNSCR enforcement operations against North Korea as well. The U.S. Marine Corps completed its sixth successful Marine Rotational Force-Darwin deployment, and we expect to reach the full authorized strength of 2,500 Marines later this year. These deployments maintain significant combat power west of the International Date Line with an ally. Moreover, Australia is procuring high-tech U.S. platforms, such as the F-35, that will increase interoperability.

Compact of Free Association (COFA) States. The Republic of Palau, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), collectively referred to as the “Compact” states, are threatened by external pressures including the pernicious use of Beijing’s economic leverage. The Republic of Palau, FSM, and RMI entered into a Compact of Free Association (COFA) with the United States more than 25 years ago, allowing the United States to foreclose access or use of those countries by third-country militaries. Under the COFAs, the Compact States receive economic assistance, including grants, access to various U.S. federal programs, and for many citizens of the Compact States, visa-free travel to the United States. U.S. contributions to the trust funds established by the COFA are scheduled to end after 2023. Moreover, these island nations are under increasing pressure from Beijing’s economic strategy. Additionally, the changing climate represents an existential threat to these nations as they urgently seek to mitigate damage from higher tides and rising sea levels, shifting patterns of fishing populations essential to economic livelihood, and greater intensity of natural disasters such as tropical storms and droughts. The continued support that the COFA has engendered also benefits the United States. We provide support to these countries and they support the United States. The patriotic citizens of these nations join the U.S. armed forces in larger numbers per capita than most U.S. states, and I value their service. The Compact states

rely on continued support from the United States to mitigate these threats and the United States would like to continue to benefit from the good will of these Pacific Island Countries to further our strategic interests in Indo-Pacific region.

Fiji. USINDOPACOM's relationship with the Republic of Fiji is thriving and robust, and we were pleased to see a credible election process there in 2018. Australia's decision to invest in the Black Rock International Peacekeeping Center was welcomed, and will ensure that Fiji continues to play an important role in peacekeeping missions around the world. USINDOPACOM is postured to provide engineering support for improvements and new construction to the Ground Forces Training Center and to assist Australian engineers with the Black Rock International Peacekeeping Center. In 2018, Fiji signed a U.S. ship-rider agreement, opening up new opportunities for maritime security cooperation between our two countries. Additionally, the establishment of Fiji as a partner in the National Guard's State Partnership Program opens up another door for our two militaries to train and work together. The \$5 million plus-up in foreign military sales (FMS) allows USINDOPACOM to deepen our military relationship with the Fijian military.

France. France, a NATO ally with significant territory in the Indo-Pacific, is increasing its operational activities in the region and is a key contributor to the multilateral efforts. The United States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and France coordinate operational support and capacity-building with the PICs. The primary operational engagement provides support to the Forum Fisheries Agency to address IUU fishing. France is also becoming increasingly active across the broader Indo-Pacific region, and I welcome both French support to UNSCR sanction enforcement activities against North Korea, and increased French activity in the South China Sea.

New Zealand. New Zealand remains a steadfast and key partner who, in 2018, increased investment, foreign assistance, and infrastructure support to the South Pacific. USINDOPACOM greatly appreciates this commitment of additional resources to the PICs. For the last six years, the United States and New Zealand, through bilateral defense dialogues, have increased interoperability collaboration headlined in 2018 by New Zealand's purchase of P-8

Poseidon maritime patrol aircraft to replace aging P-3 Orion aircraft. Additionally, New Zealand has provided key support to UNSCR sanctions enforcement against North Korea.

Papua New Guinea (PNG). USINDOPACOM's engagement with PNG improves regional posture and demonstrates the U.S. commitment to the region. With security support from Australia and the United States, PNG hosted the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in 2018. During APEC, Vice President Pence announced that Australia and the United States would partner with Papua New Guinea to develop the Lombrum Naval Base on Manus Island in the northern part of PNG. USINDOPACOM looks forward to assisting Australia and PNG in developing options for this base.

Additional Allies

Canada. Like the United States, Canada is a member of NATO and a Pacific nation. Canadian policy in the Indo-Pacific focuses on cooperation and building partnerships as they increase operational activities in the region. By focusing on consistent engagement with all willing parties, Canada hopes to deepen its relationship with Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. Canada wants to provide a continued presence in the Pacific to enhance regional stability, specifically citing tensions on the Korean Peninsula in their National Defence Policy. Ottawa provides support to ongoing North Korea UNSCR sanctions enforcement as well.

United Kingdom (UK). The UK, another NATO ally, remains one of the strongest defenders of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific, and sees prosperity and security in the Indo-Pacific as an essential driver of global economic growth. The UK recently established three new diplomatic posts in the Pacific and increased foreign aid to the Pacific by 6% in 2018. The recently concluded cooperative deployment with the HMS Argyll and USS McCampbell in the South China Sea highlights the value of multinational operations and, more importantly, the international message to those who seek to infringe on the ability to fly, sail, and operate wherever international law allows.

Conclusion

In the 21st century, U.S. security and prosperity will increasingly depend upon a peaceful and stable Indo-Pacific region—one that features respect for states’ sovereignty, freedom of the seas and skies, and adherence to international norms, rules, and behavior. In short, it is in our vital national interests to ensure a Free and Open Indo-Pacific over the short- and long-term. As the Commander of USINDOPACOM, my focus is first and foremost on preserving and advancing the security and stability of the region, over the short- and long-term.

I will ensure the 375,000 men and women of USINDOPACOM remain ready to fight and win, if necessary, while also focusing on competing and winning below the level of armed conflict. It is in this so-called “gray zone” between peace and war where many of our adversaries currently operate, and we must be equally prepared to compete with our adversaries before and after the initiation of hostilities. To do this, we need a comprehensive approach across multiple U.S. governmental departments, and partnerships with civil society and the private sector, to engage in areas that transcend traditional military core competencies. Our armed services must be manned, trained, and equipped to overcome the full spectrum of challenges presented by state and non-state actors. With the continued support of Congress, and together with our allies and partners, I believe we will be successful at this important mission.