

# Limiting Regret

## Building the Army We Will Need—An Update

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Testimony presented before the Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee on Tactical Land and Air Forces on March 1, 2017.



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# LIMITING REGRET

## Building the Army We Will Need



Testimony of Tim Bonds<sup>1</sup>  
The RAND Corporation<sup>2</sup>

Before the Committee on Armed Services  
Subcommittee on Tactical Land and Air Forces  
United States House of Representatives

March 1, 2017

**T**hank you Chairman Turner, Ranking Member Tsongas, and members of the subcommittee for inviting me to speak with you. It is an honor for me to be here today. I would like to share an analysis on closing the gap between the security commitments the United States has made and the ground forces that the Department of Defense (DoD) has planned to fulfill U.S. commitments.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The opinions and conclusions expressed in this testimony are the author's alone and should not be interpreted as representing those of the RAND Corporation or any of the sponsors of its research.

<sup>2</sup> The RAND Corporation is a research organization that develops solutions to public policy challenges to help make communities throughout the world safer and more secure, healthier and more prosperous. RAND is nonprofit, nonpartisan, and committed to the public interest.

<sup>3</sup> This analysis draws upon publicly available materials, published RAND national security research, and RAND wargaming and analytic expertise to evaluate the U.S. Army's ability to help execute the national defense strategy against key threats. This analysis was funded by philanthropic contributions from RAND supporters and income from operations.

The Army describes its capability to support the nation’s security commitments in terms of three factors: (1) its number of soldiers—what it refers to as its “end-strength”; (2) how well prepared its units are to operate —what the Army refers to as its “readiness”; and (3) how modern its equipment is. What I would like to talk about today is how big and ready the nation needs its Army to be—from a joint perspective—to fulfill America’s commitments and limit future regret about the decisions that the nation makes today.

I have three main messages today: (1) the world has changed since the decisions in the 2014 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) set the size and capabilities of the forces we have today; (2) emerging and growing threats make it more likely that U.S. commitments in key regions will be challenged; and (3) the current trend in force planning will leave us with an Army too small to credibly sustain U.S. commitments and interests under the shadow of emerging and growing threats.



The latest review of Army force size and capabilities, contained within the March 2014 QDR, “rebalanced” U.S. military operations to the Asia-Pacific and prescribed cuts in Army end strength. This included reducing the regular Army from 570,000 soldiers to 450,000; reducing the Army National Guard from 385,000 to 335,000; and reducing the Army Reserve from 205,000 to 195,000. Further reductions in each component were anticipated.

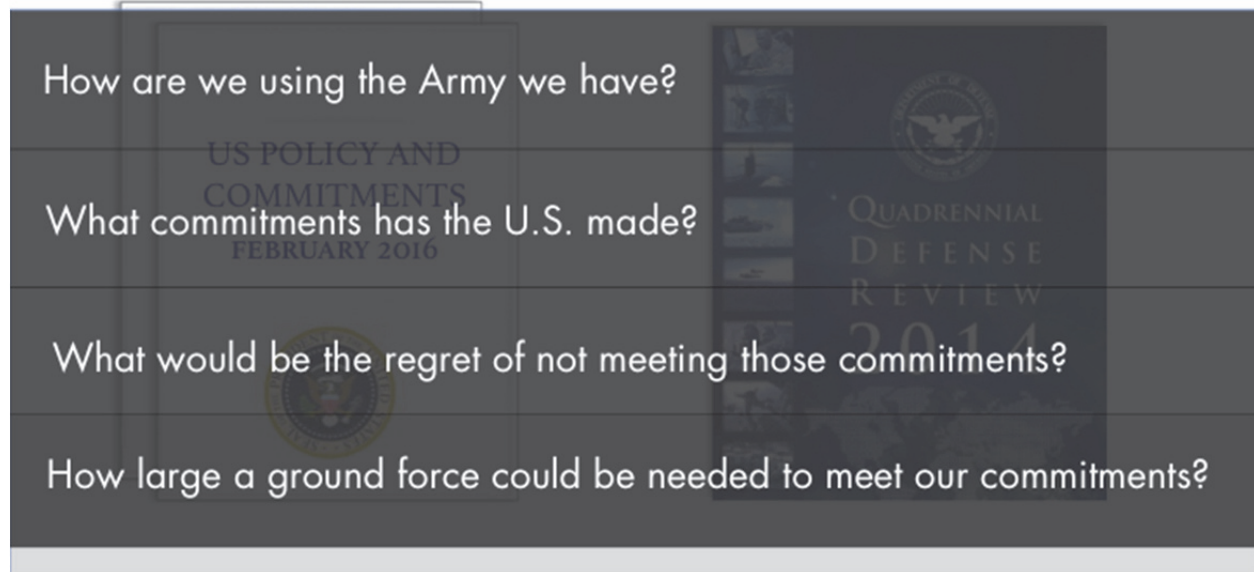
But many challenges to U.S. security have emerged or worsened since the 2014 QDR. In response, the work of this subcommittee, as reflected in the National Defense Authorization Act, increased the size of the Army to 476,000 soldiers in the regular Army, 343,000 in the Army National Guard, and 199,000 in the Army Reserve. In addition, it paused the Marine Corps

drawdown at 184,000. This increase in Army size and pause in Marine Corps drawdown will increase the nation's capacity to meet these security challenges—if these forces are fully resourced and matched with the funds needed to ready these soldiers and equip them with modern weapons.

As the Trump Administration develops its defense policy and strategy, it needs to assess whether further growth in the nation's ground force size, capabilities, and posture may be needed.

## US Policy and Commitments

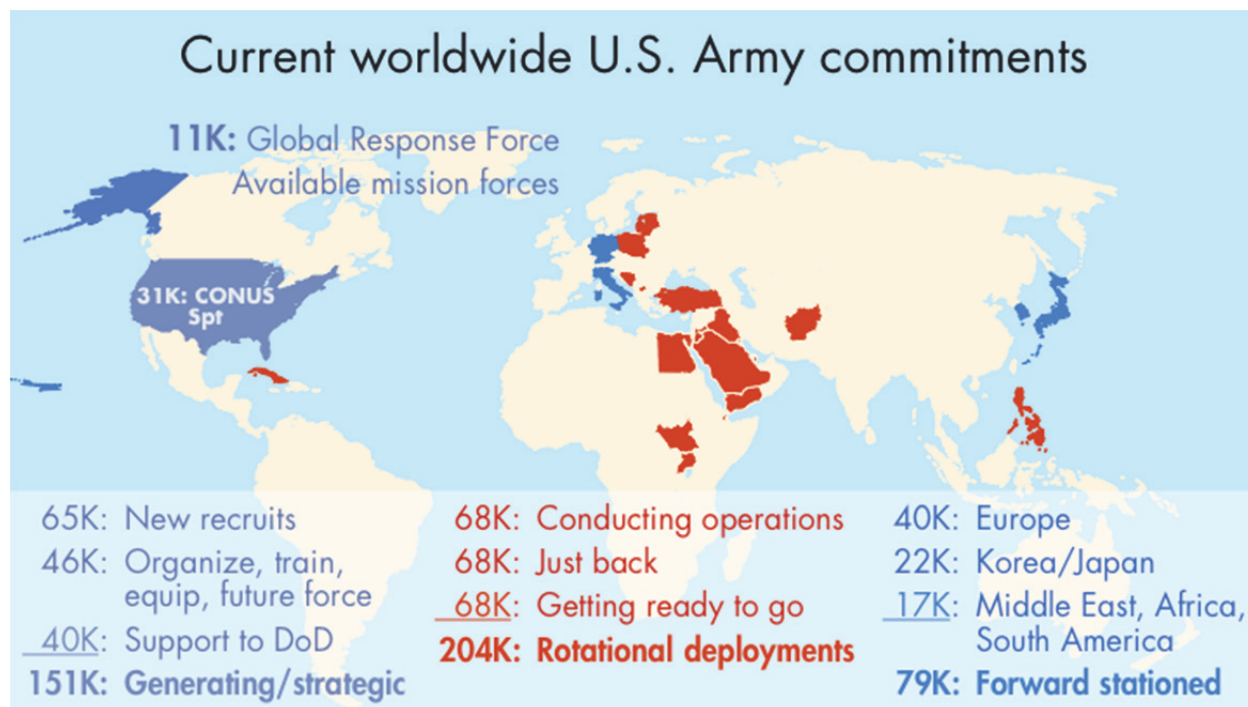
## Current Force Planning Construct



To begin this assessment, we sought answers to four specific questions:

- How is the Army being used now around the globe?
- What has the United States committed itself to do?
- What regret might the nation have if it does not meet those commitments?
- How large a ground force could be needed to meet those commitments?

The final question assumes that the ground force would be employed as part of joint air, sea, land, space, and cyber operations as one component of national power, in addition to diplomatic, economic, and other measures.

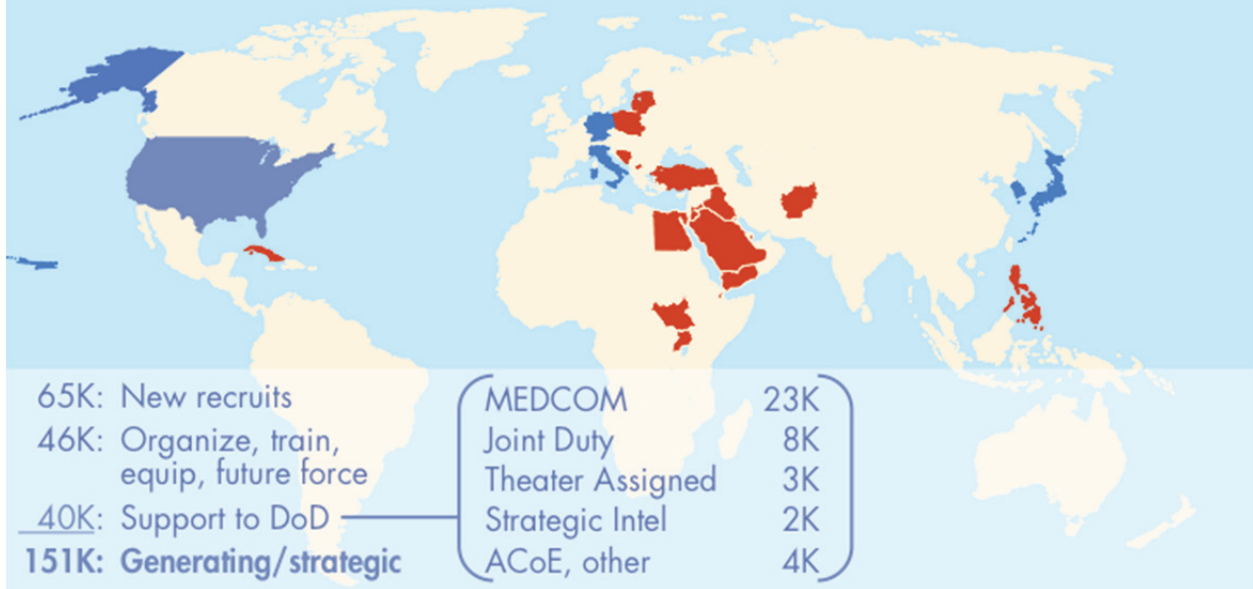


The United States currently maintains forces worldwide, as shown on the above map. Specifically, as highlighted on in red, the Army has 68,000 soldiers on rotational deployments to the Baltics, Iraq, the Persian Gulf, Africa, Afghanistan, South Korea, and other places around the world.

These soldiers are deployed on a rotational basis, so it takes more than 68,000 troops to maintain a constant presence in a given theater. For the Army, forces could be deployed for nine months, followed by 18 months at home—a 1:2 deployment ratio. At a 1:2 deployment ratio, 204,000 troops are needed to keep 68,000 troops deployed in the field—68,000 conducting operations, 68,000 just back, and 68,000 more getting ready to go.

Also shown on the map in blue are the 40,000 troops the Army has assigned to US European Command and with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the 22,000 troops forward stationed in South Korea and Japan; and the 17,000 additional soldiers forward stationed in other parts of the world. Because these 79,000 soldiers are home-based in these regions, they are all postured to support contingencies. Finally, the Army has 31,000 soldiers in the United States, providing a variety of support for ongoing missions. (Many of these may be the 23,000 Army National Guard and Army Reserve soldiers on active duty in February 2017). At an end strength of 476,000 regular soldiers, the Army would also have 11,000 soldiers in the continental United States (CONUS) supporting the Global Response Force (GRF), along with other forces available for assigned missions.

## U.S. Army support to joint missions



Let me also mention the 151,000 soldiers conducting generating-force and strategic activities. At present, about 65,000 new soldiers are undergoing training or education; approximately 46,000 soldiers are organizing, training, and equipping the Army and building the capabilities that the United States will need in the future; and 40,000 soldiers are providing support for joint and national missions, including the 23,000 soldiers in Army Medical Command and the 8,000 soldiers in joint assignments, such as combatant commanders and other senior officials. Additional soldiers are assigned to theater commands, strategic intelligence, U.S. Cyber Command, and other activities that support the DoD.



## US Policy and Commitments

## Current Force Planning Construct

ISIL: "To these forces of death and destruction: America and its allies will defeat you"	ISIL and continuing ops in Afghanistan not anticipated
NATO: "America stands with those who stand in defense of freedom. We have your back every hour, every day, now and always."	Did not anticipate Russian annexation of Crimea and invasion of Ukraine
"Ironclad commitment to defend the ROK, including ... extended deterrence, using the full range of military capabilities."	North Korean artillery threat and WMD program larger than anticipated
Iran: "As of today, we are officially putting Iran on notice,"	Persian Gulf focus limited to building partner capacity
"We are committed to the security of Japan and all areas under its administrative control"	Focused on partner space, cyber, missile and maritime defense, HADR capacity

Given the forces available, the question then is how such forces map against the commitments the United States has made. We list above several recent statements of intent by the Trump Administration. In this testimony, we will focus on three of our commitments that are particularly salient today: our commitment to defeat violent extremism, our commitment to defend our NATO allies, and our commitment to defend South Korea.

First, the national strategy commits the United States to combatting the persistent threat of terrorism. President Trump has specifically stated that "today, we deliver a message in one very unified voice: To these forces of death and destruction, America and its allies will defeat you."<sup>4</sup> However, our current force planning mainly considered efforts to continue to degrade al Qaeda. It turns out that the Middle East is in much worse shape than we assumed in our planned "rebalance" to the Pacific: The Taliban remains a threat to the government of Afghanistan, and the rise of ISIL—and its seizure of population centers—was not anticipated in our force planning.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the forces that have been deployed to these areas further reduce our available capacity for more serious threats to America's security.

<sup>4</sup> The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Remarks by President Trump to Coalition Representatives and Senior U.S. Commanders," MacDill Air Force Base, Tampa, Florida, February 6, 2017b.

<sup>5</sup> The ISIL organization's name transliterates from Arabic as *al-Dawlah al-Islamiyah fi al-'Iraq wa al-Sham* (abbreviated as Da'ish or DAESH). In the West, it is commonly referred to as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Sham (both abbreviated as ISIS), or simply as the Islamic State (IS). Arguments abound as to which is the most accurate translation, but here we refer to the group as ISIL.

The next two commitments are related. Our nation has long been committed to assuring allies and deterring, defeating, and denying aggression in multiple theaters. Regarding NATO, in the same speech, President Trump stated that:

We will make a historic financial investment in the Armed Forces of the United States and show the entire world that America stands with those who stand in defense of freedom. We have your back every hour, every day, now and always.<sup>6</sup>

He has also commented on the fact that many of our NATO partners have not yet met their obligation to increase defense spending to 2 percent of GDP; stating that:

That also means getting our allies to pay their fair share. It's been very unfair to us. We strongly support NATO. We only ask that all of the NATO members make their full and proper financial contributions to the NATO alliance, which many of them have not been doing. Many of them have not been even close, and they have to do that.

Our NATO allies have agreed to increase their spending in order to contribute their fair share to our collective security.<sup>7</sup> Even if and as they do so, however, it will take some time for those increased investments to result in the needed forces in the field. In the meantime, the United States must decide whether it is willing to bridge this gap with our allies, increasing their share as time goes on.

However, the current force planning in the 2014 QDR does not provide sufficient ground capabilities for the United States to sustain a defense against Russian aggression. The QDR did not anticipate the Russian invasion of Ukraine and its potential implications for the NATO Baltic states. There are some references in the QDR to concerns about Russia's behavior, including:

Russia's multidimensional defense modernization and actions that violate the sovereignty of its neighbors present risks. We will engage Russia to increase transparency and reduce the risk of military miscalculation.

Other than that, the QDR force-planning construct does not anticipate what President Obama later described as Russia's "brazen assault on the territorial integrity of Ukraine."

Finally, this and previous administrations have long acknowledged the dangers that weapons of mass destruction (WMD) pose to the United States, its allies and friends, and their interests. In a phone call with acting South Korean President Hwang Kyo-Ahn, the White House reports that President Trump "reiterated our ironclad commitment to defend the ROK, including through the provision of extended deterrence, using the full range of military capabilities." The statement further reports, "The two leaders agreed to take steps to strengthen joint defense capabilities to defend against the North Korean threat."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, 2017b.

<sup>7</sup> NATO, "Wales Summit Declaration Issued by the Heads of State and Government Participating in the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Wales," September 5, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Readout of the President's Call with Acting President Hwang Kyo-Ahn of the Republic of Korea," January 29, 2017a.

The QDR does address deterring a North Korean attack and countering WMDs to some degree. However, the scope and scale of needed capabilities are not fully addressed. In particular, the QDR does not anticipate the scope and scale of countering provocations that could escalate to a massive North Korean artillery barrage of South Korea. Similarly, the problem of “loose nukes” is described in terms of counterterror and special operations, but not in terms of securing the entire North Korean nuclear program, including an estimated 200 separate sites, from theft and proliferation.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Timothy M. Bonds, Eric V. Larson, Derek Eaton, and Richard E. Darilek, *Strategy-Policy Mismatch: How the U.S. Army Can Help Close Gaps in Countering Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, RR-541-RC, 2014 (as of September 1, 2015: [http://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR541.html](http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR541.html)).

## Potential regret: enduring violent extremist groups



- Destabilize neighbors
- Harm captured peoples
- Exploit sanctuary, sustainable economic base, global recruiting pipeline
- Export violence to U.S., allies, and friends

Given that our most recent defense plans have not completely anticipated current threats, let's examine the regrets that the nation might face if it does not meet the commitments we have made to meet those threats.

For our first example, what might happen if the United States does not continue its missions to defeat ISIL, al Qaeda, the Taliban, and other violent extremist groups around the world? One potential regret is enduring terror movements that continue to destabilize vulnerable nations and whole regions; harm captured peoples; exploit captured territory to train terrorists, raise funds, and attract new recruits; and export violence to the United States and its allies and friends.

It remains unknown whether currently deployed forces are sufficient to achieve U.S. objectives. In fact, the United States has steadily increased troop deployments to Iraq and Syria and extended the mission in Afghanistan. However, this analysis assumes that U.S. ground forces will remain engaged at their current levels against extremist groups in order to continue to degrade them. Therefore, we assume here that these troops could not be pulled away for other operations without ending this mission. It is also possible that countering violent extremists will require more troops if the mission changes—for example, if additional ground troops are committed to combat operations, such as those in Syria and Iraq. Total troop requirements would remain those shown earlier as the worldwide commitments.

## Potential regret: fractured NATO or war



- Russian “volunteers” could destabilize Baltics
- Rapid invasion could present fait accompli
- Would leave few and bad choices for U.S.

For our second example, how might Russia take the same course in the Baltics that it has taken in Ukraine? Russian “volunteers” could enter and destabilize Estonia and Latvia, or worse, conventional forces could launch a surprise invasion and present a fait accompli to NATO. We estimate that against currently stationed forces, the Russians could reach the Baltic capitals in 36–60 hours. That would leave the President with few and bad choices. The President could negotiate for the Russians to leave and risk the fracture of NATO if negotiations and sanctions drag on for months or years, or the President could choose to launch a counteroffensive to retake NATO territory—against a nuclear-armed Russia that has threatened first use of nuclear weapons to defend its territory from conventional attack and prevent its military from being destroyed. While the risk of war with Russia is small, and the risks of escalation to nuclear conflict are smaller still, neither risk is zero. Since the human and financial costs of both would be catastrophic, it is prudent to hedge against them.

## New threat: fractured NATO or war

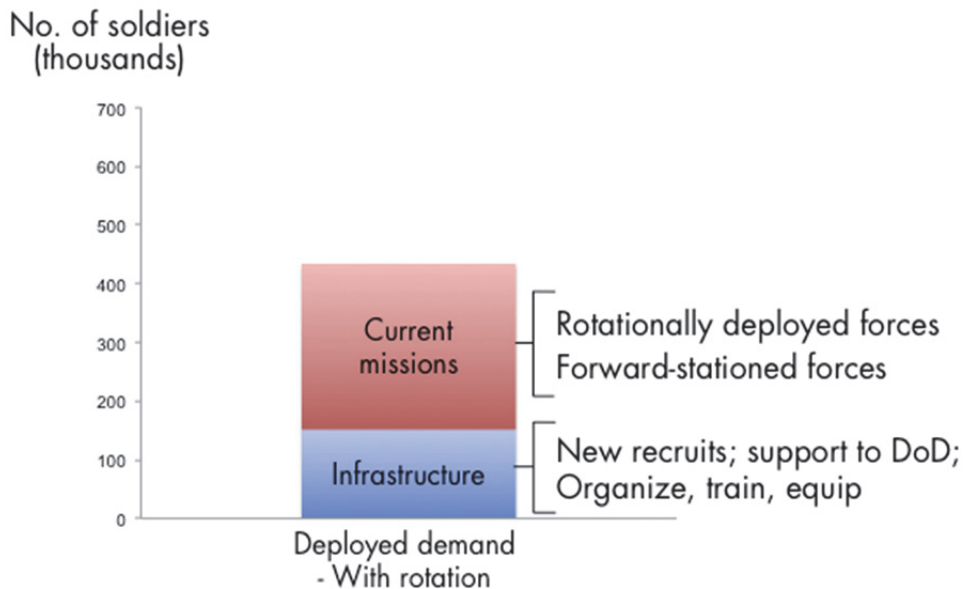


- Rapid invasion could present fait accompli
- Would leave few and bad choices for U.S
- NATO armored ground forces needed to:
  - Prevent overrun
  - Repulse invasion

Instead, NATO—and the United States—might place armored brigades in the Baltics. These armored brigades, along with other U.S. and NATO forces able to quickly deploy on warning, would be capable of denying Russia a quick victory. Such forces could be permanently stationed or rotationally deployed. These ground forces would be supported by air and sea power from the United States and its NATO allies. The European Reassurance Initiative and the four NATO battalion tactical groups deployed to Poland and the Baltics have made an important statement of alliance commitment and an initial “down payment” on the forces needed, but are not yet close to the amounts required to deny Russia a quick overrun of the Baltics.

If the Russians attacked under this scenario, the United States and NATO would send air, sea, and land reinforcements to deny a Russian victory. Additional U.S. and NATO forces would be needed to defeat Russian forces and reverse any Russian territorial gains.

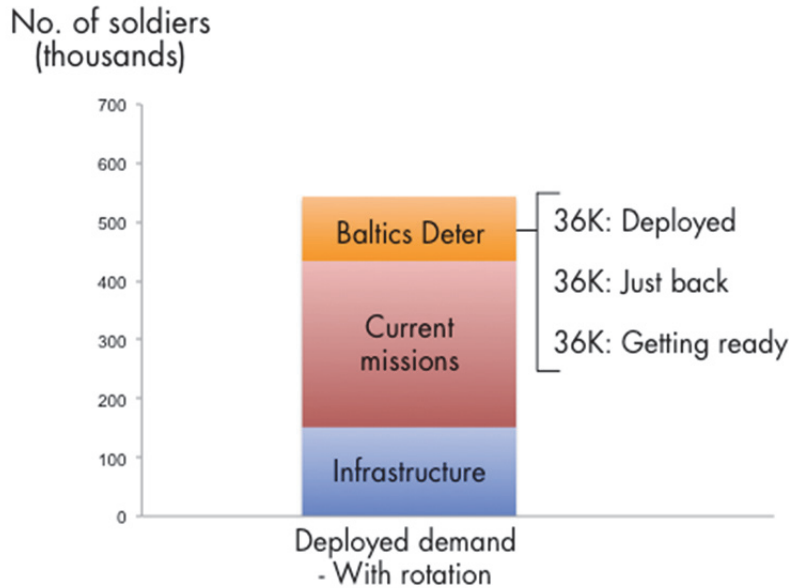
## Current worldwide U.S. Army commitments



We will now assess the numbers of ground forces needed for the missions described above. We will begin with continuing infrastructure tasks, including training new troops, supporting joint missions, and current overseas missions.

Adding the forces supporting current missions, we have a demand for 434,000 soldiers to support infrastructure tasks and current missions. This includes the troops who are rotationally deployed; those forward-stationed in Europe, South Korea, and other places; and those supporting generating- and strategic-force operations (but who are not in the GRF or available for other missions).

## Additional demand for Baltics deterrent

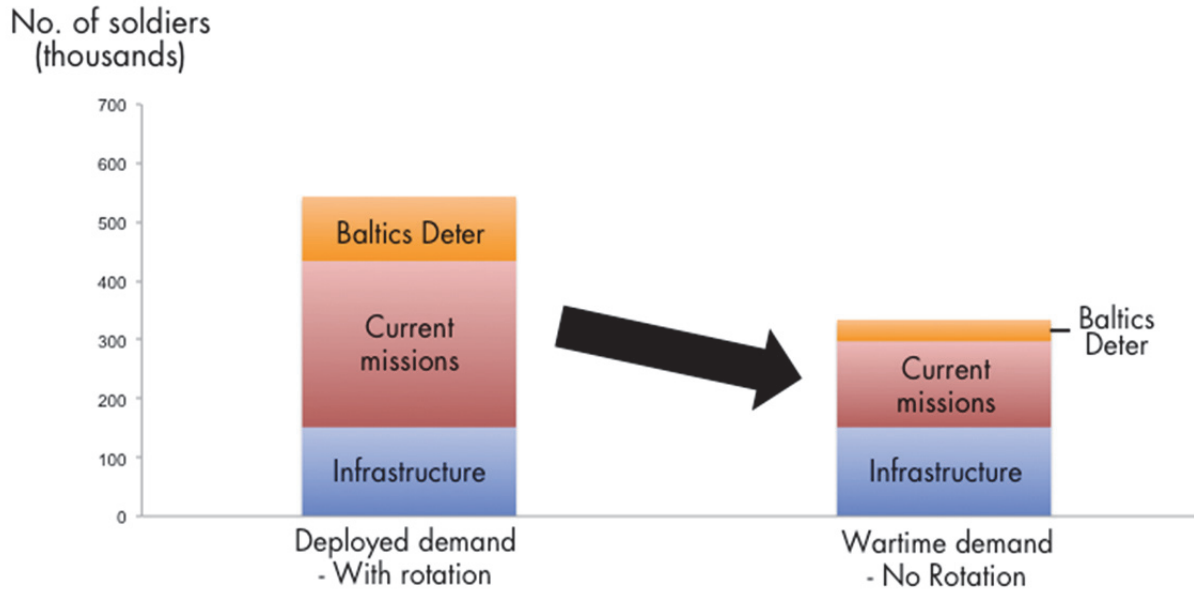


How large of an additional force would be required to deter and defeat aggression in the Baltics (shown here in orange)? For the deterrent force, we estimate that a total of three armored brigades would be needed on the ground in the Baltics on the day fighting started, along with the two U.S. brigades and supporting soldiers already in Europe, and two other U.S. Army and NATO rapid reaction brigades (the 82nd Airborne GRF and the NATO Very High Readiness Task Force) that can deploy to the Baltics on warning. In the future, our NATO allies should be able to provide one or more of the three armored brigades needed. However, in the near term, it is unlikely that any one of these nations would be able to sustain a deployed armored brigade. Therefore, we assume that the U.S. would need to deploy two more armored brigades and a fires brigade in addition to the forward stationed forces already in Europe and the armored and aviation brigades already deployed in a “heel to toe” fashion. In total, 36,000 additional soldiers would be needed over and above those already forward stationed or rotationally deployed to Europe.

When deployed at a 1:2 rotation ratio, keeping 36,000 soldiers on the ground in the Baltics requires 108,000 soldiers to maintain a continuous presence. Including the 283,000 soldiers forward deployed in or rotating to Europe and other theaters, and the 151,000 soldiers engaged in infrastructure activities, a total of 542,000 soldiers would be required for these activities alone. This number exceeds the 476,000 soldiers now planned for the regular Army, forcing the DoD to reduce day-to-day operations, continuously deploy 66,000 National Guard or Army Reserve soldiers, grow the regular Army, or take some combination of these measures. Worse, this leaves no margin for higher demands if deterrence fails and war breaks out in Europe, Korea, or elsewhere in the world.



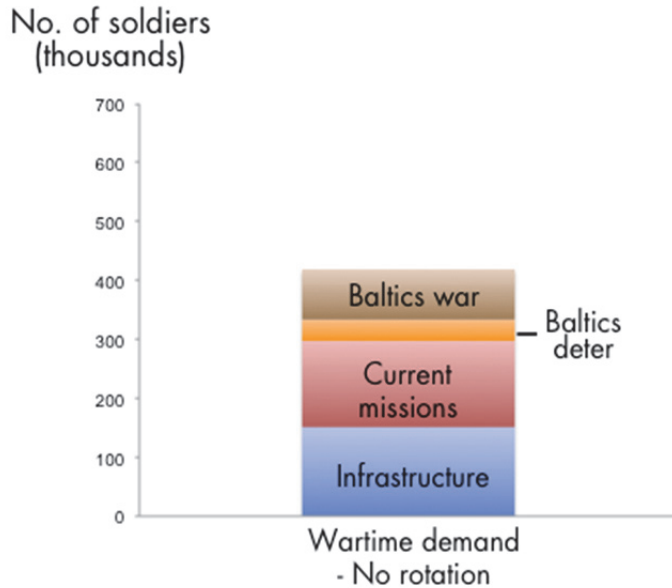
## Assume rotations can be ended in wartime



In wartime, therefore, the DoD might be compelled to suspend troop rotations to maintain sufficient numbers of forces to meet contingency needs. From this point on in this testimony, we will discuss wartime demand, with troops deployed without rotation for the duration of a conflict. Such extended deployments for the duration of the conflict will impose extraordinary strain on troops and their families. (We should also note that some troop rotation will still be needed within theaters, so battle-worn units can pull back from the line for rest, refit, and replacement of casualties).

If troop rotations to all theaters are suspended, including the deterrent force in the Baltics, troop demands will decline somewhat. The additional demand in the Baltics would decline to the 36,000 soldiers deployed at any one time; demand for the combination of other theaters would decline to 146,000, while the demand for infrastructure forces would remain steady at 151,000 soldiers. The total troops needed for these missions would decline to 334,000 soldiers when on a wartime footing.

## Forces needed to win in Baltics



Additional troops would be needed if the Russians were not deterred and decided to invade. To expel the invading Russian forces, we estimate that an additional 85,000 U.S. troops, including six armored brigades and associated artillery, aviation, headquarters, and other supporting troops, would be needed to defeat a Russian invasion (shown in brown), along with eight brigades and a similar number of troops from our NATO allies.

This raises the total U.S. troops needed to around 420,000 soldiers. This includes soldiers tasked to conduct infrastructure missions, continue current missions around the world, and deploy the U.S. contribution to the NATO deterrent and war-winning forces shown above. Once again, this assumes a wartime footing for all of these troops with no rotations of soldiers.

## Potential regret: loose nuclear weapons



- Current planning focused upon invasion threat to South Korea
- Threat changing
  - Provocation could lead to artillery barrage
  - Collapse leaves many nuclear facilities unsecured
- Both missions require significant U.S. ground forces to
  - President will need ready options

We now turn to a third example—a war resulting from a provocation cycle that escalates to a North Korean attack on South Korea.

Current DoD force planning seems to focus on an invasion threat to South Korea from North Korean forces, as depicted on the map. But the threat is changing. A provocation cycle could escalate out of control and lead to an artillery barrage of Seoul, involving some of the 10,000 artillery pieces and multiple rocket launchers, firing from hardened positions that the DoD believes to be in range of South Korea.<sup>10</sup> Or North Korea might collapse as a result of war or economic failure, leaving up to 200 nuclear, chemical, and biological program sites unsecured (as represented by dots on the map above).<sup>11</sup>

In either event, a significant burden would fall on U.S. forces. To counter North Korean artillery, U.S. ground forces would need to provide forces to evacuate U.S. noncombatants; engineering, logistics, and maneuver units to sustain South Korean and U.S. operations to clear artillery within range of Seoul; WMD-elimination task forces to secure chemical or nuclear munitions deployed with artillery units; and ground combat forces to protect each of these types of units.

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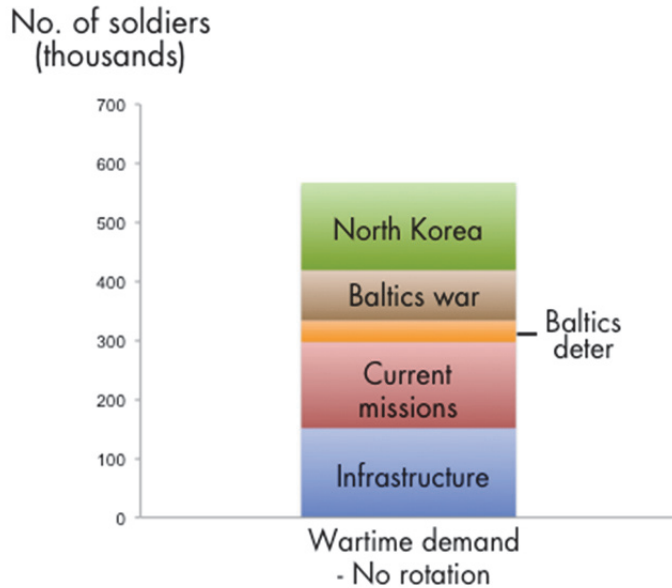
<sup>10</sup> Office of the Secretary of Defense, “2000 Report to Congress: Military Situation on the Korean Peninsula,” Washington, D.C., September 12, 2000; General Curtis M. Scaparrotti, Commander, United Nations Command; Commander, United States-Republic of Korea Combined Forces Command; and Commander, United States Forces Korea, statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee, February 23, 2016.

<sup>11</sup> The estimate of 200 sites was given by a former Republic of Korea Minister of Defense as reported by Bruce W. Bennett, *Preparing for the Possibility of a North Korean Collapse*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, RR-331-SRF, 2013.

South Korean forces would also be stretched to gain control over North Korean military forces, exert political control over territory captured, and deal with a massive humanitarian catastrophe—all at a time when the South Korean Army is decreasing in size by one-third from its peak.

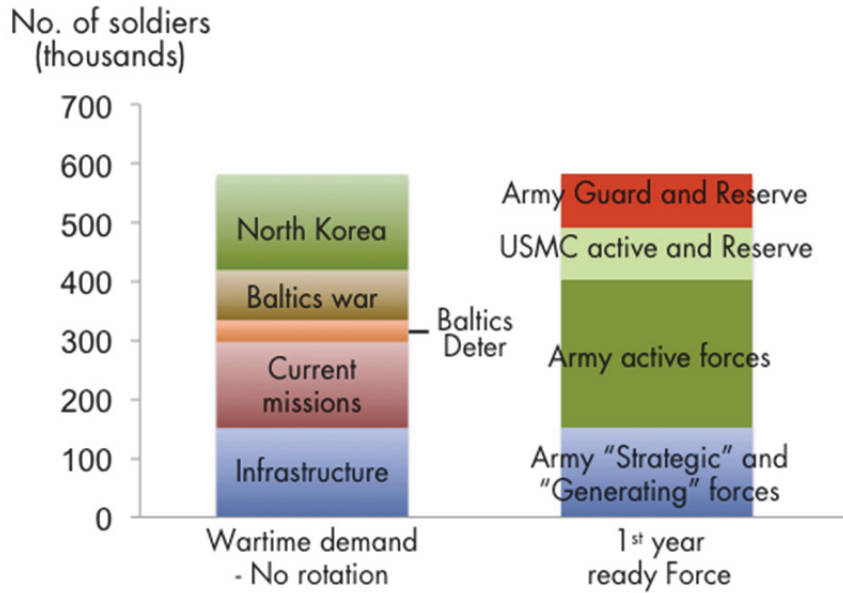
For these reasons, countering an artillery barrage or North Korean WMDs would require significant U.S. ground forces.

# Countering North Korean provocation or collapse



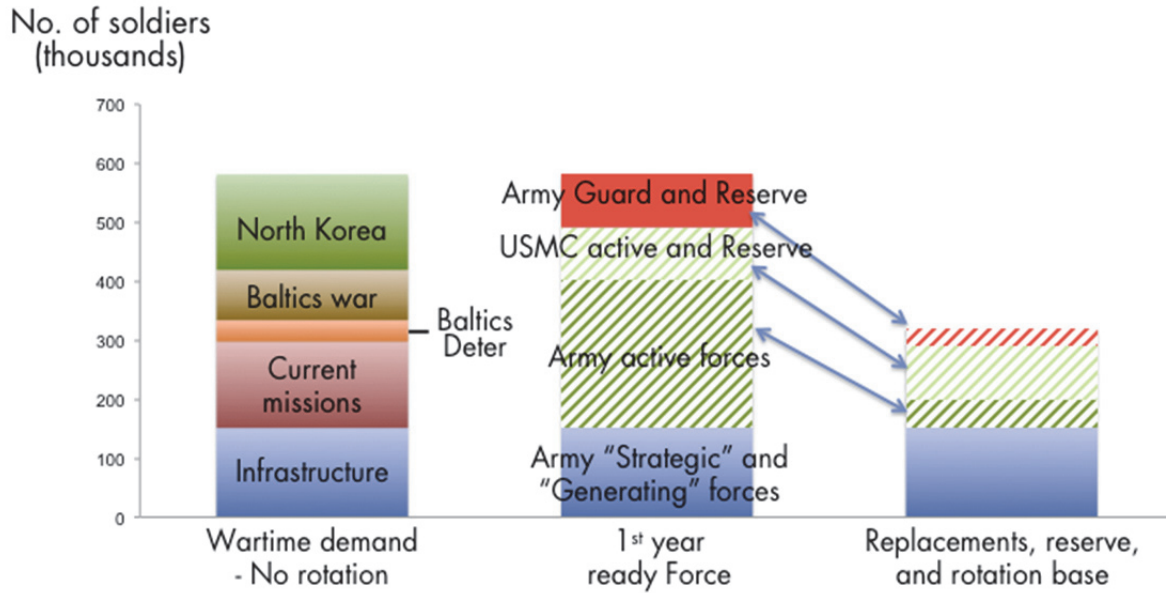
We estimate that 162,000 soldiers (shown in green in the figure above) over and above the troops already deployed or forward stationed in South Korea would be needed for either the counterartillery or counter-WMD missions. Those numbers are added to the forces already shown as needed for infrastructure, current missions, and to deter or defeat aggression in the Baltics. In total, the number of U.S. soldiers needed, including operations in Korea, would be about 570,000 soldiers.

# Total U.S. Army and Marine Corps needed for mission



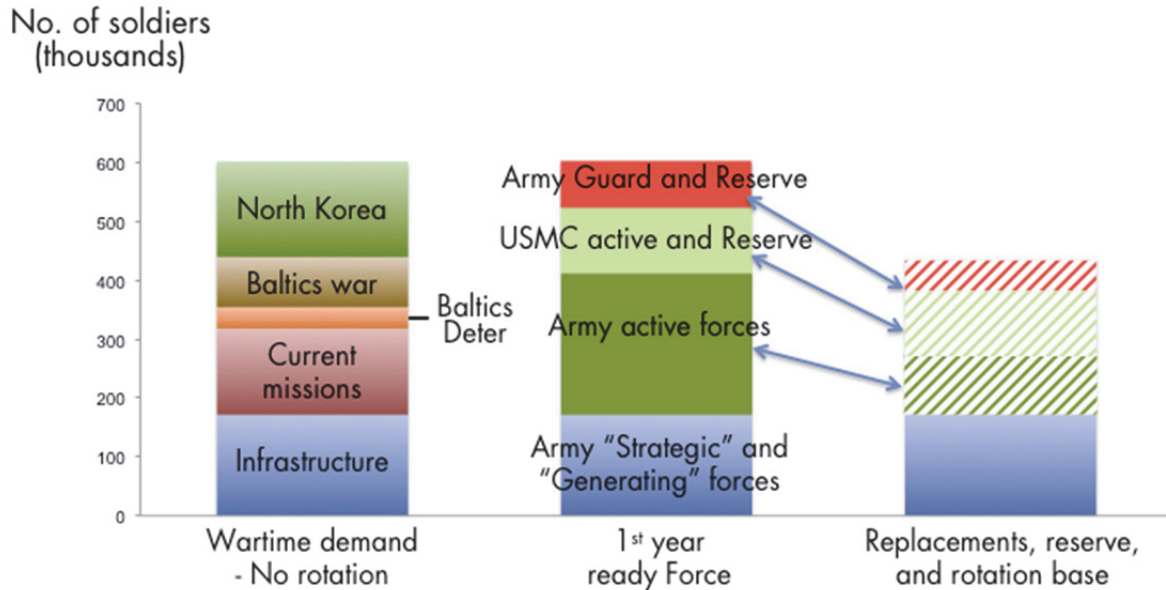
Turning from the demand side to the supply side, how could the United States meet the demand required to fulfill the three missions discussed here? This level of demand could be met if the United States could deploy over 80 percent of the planned regular Army and Marine Corps operating forces and progressively mobilized an increment of 25 percent of the Army National Guard, Army Reserve, and Marine Corps Reserve each year, as shown in the figure above.

## But force and readiness may not be sustainable



But utilizing such a large fraction of the regular Army and Marine Corps would leave very few soldiers or marines available to sustain that deployed force. Sustaining that force in combat will require replacements for casualties and other force “frictions,” a reserve in case the conflicts are harder than expected or new crises emerge, and some in-theater rotation base for units to rest and refit if wars are longer than a single year. Taken together, sustaining that force for an extended period of time will probably not be possible with an Army active component of 475,000 soldiers, a National Guard of 343,000 soldiers, and an Army Reserve of 199,000 soldiers.

## Reversing drawdown would provide needed depth



We estimate that the nation could have sufficient ground forces to conduct operations during the first year of the described conflicts and some depth to provide replacements, a reserve, and some ability to rotate some soldiers out of combat *if* the United States takes several measures.

First, reversing a portion of the recent drawdown could provide the soldiers needed to sustain contingency requirements. We estimate that returning the regular Army end strength to 540,000 soldiers, while increasing the National Guard and Army Reserve to 360,000 soldiers and 300,000 soldiers respectively, could provide the soldiers and unit types needed to reduce the gaps in our ability to maintain contingency force deployments.<sup>12</sup> In the example above, the regular Marine Corps is also increased to 200,000 troops.

Second, the United States could plan for full mobilization of the reserve components and attempt to speed up their deployment—above the 25-percent increment we assumed would be mobilized the first year and every year thereafter, as shown in the example above.

Third, the United States could either end other ground force deployments, or shift some of them—like CONUS supporting forces and Guantanamo Bay deployments—to the Navy and Air Force. However, withdrawing from these missions would be difficult in practice and may place important security and stability gains at risk.

Please note that this and the prior example assume that the Marine Corps devotes essentially its entire operating strength to these ground missions and suspends other deployments, such as the Marine Expeditionary Unit and special Marine Air-Ground Task Force missions.

<sup>12</sup> In our analysis, we particularly emphasized filling holes in the Combat Support and Combat Service Support forces. Many of the units and capabilities most in need of increased capacity are currently in the U.S. Army Reserve.



## Planned Army too small to meet commitments ... Leaving two choices:

Limit Response – Choose one fight to win

- If fully engaged in Korea, Army cannot successfully defend Baltics
- If fully engaged in Baltics, Army cannot stop artillery barrage or secure loose nukes in Korea
- Opportunistic aggression may become more likely

Limit Regret – Retain forces needed for both

- Pause drawdown until new threats fully addressed
- Increase Active and Reserve readiness – test on regular basis
- Improve defense posture in Baltics and Korea
- Force would be stressed, but would have capacity/some staying power

In summary, the planned Army is too small to meet the current U.S. commitments. This leaves the nation with two choices. The first choice is to **limit response**. The United States could decide to win just one of the fights if they were to take place—losing the ability to “hold” an opponent’s progression in other conflicts. For example, if the nation puts its war-winning force in South Korea, it could not keep the Russians from overrunning the Baltics. Conversely, if U.S. forces fully engage in the Baltics, they could not stop a North Korean artillery barrage or secure loose nukes after a North Korean collapse. Such limitations could raise chances that an adversary might take advantage of an opportunity to commit aggression and may also cause U.S. allies to rethink the credibility of U.S. commitments and whether to rely on U.S. conventional and nuclear deterrent forces.

The second choice is to **limit regret**. To do so, the United States could reverse recent troop drawdown until new threats are fully addressed. This higher force strength could be drawn down again when, for example, the Russians withdraw from Ukraine, return captured territory, and take other measures to demonstrate that they will respect international boundaries.

In either choice, to be ready to win in the Baltics, the U.S. Army should improve its ground force capabilities in the following ways: (1) increase the readiness of active and reserve forces and test their readiness on a regular basis, (2) pre-position more equipment in both the Baltics and Korea to speed force deployments and (3) restore a “matching capability,” as my colleague Dave Shlapak has testified.<sup>13</sup> The United States needs to restore its ability to at least match large and capable adversaries (overmatch would be better still, and should be a goal that we continue

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<sup>13</sup> David A. Shlapak, *What it Takes to Win: Deterring Russian Aggression in the Baltic States*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND Corporation, CT-467, 2017.

to seek). Today, the U.S. Army would be outgunned, outranged, and outmanned in a fight against the Russians in the Baltics. The Army will need to rebuild its maneuverable short-range air defenses, improve the survivability and lethality of its combat vehicles (with active protection systems and modern antitank guided missiles), and extend the range of its cannon and rocket artillery to match the Russians.

Thank you for your time. I am happy to take your questions.