

**Assistant Secretary of Defense Derek Chollet  
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Chairman McKeon, Congressman Smith, and Members of the Committee, I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you today on Russia. I will focus my remarks on U.S. policy and actions in the wake of Russia’s incursion into Ukraine and continuing threats to Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, including actions taken by the Department of Defense and with our Allies and international partners.

Russia’s unlawful military intervention in Ukraine challenges our vision of a Europe whole, free and at peace. It changes Europe’s security landscape. It causes instability on NATO’s borders. And it is a challenge to the international order.

Since the outset of the crisis, the United States has pursued three courses of action, consistent with the President’s direction to achieve a negotiated, peaceful outcome and to provide President Putin with a diplomatic “off ramp” as an alternative to Russia’s use of military force. These courses of action include 1) demonstrating support to Ukraine’s transitional government, 2) re-assuring Allies and partners and deterring Russia from further military threats to Europe, and 3) imposing costs on Russia for its illegal actions. The Department of Defense has an important role in achieving U.S. objectives in all three areas.

**Support to Ukraine**

On support to Ukraine, the United States has worked with a range of partners – including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations (UN), the European Union (EU), and the Group of 7 (G7) – to help Ukraine through its political transition and economic difficulties, and to demonstrate that the international community stands firmly with the government in Kyiv. The most tangible and powerful sign of support is an \$18 billion package from the IMF to restore economic stability. The United States, European Union, and World Bank are providing further

economic assistance to complement the IMF program and help Ukraine grow its economy, wean it off dependence on Russia, and move its democracy forward.

For our part, the Department of Defense is working with Ukraine to review, prioritize and grant its defense assistance requests for materials and supplies that would serve to reassure and support Ukraine without taking actions that would escalate the crisis militarily. The first round of this process was completed last week with the delivery of 300,000 Meals Ready-to-Eat to support Ukrainian forces in the field.

In addition, we are maintaining senior-level dialogue with our Ukrainian counterparts, including multiple phone conversations between Secretary of Defense Hagel and the Ukrainian Minister of Defense. Last week, we held bilateral defense consultations in Kyiv, which we moved forward from their original dates in late May 2014. At these consultations, we discussed not only the immediate crisis, but also our mid-term and long-term bilateral defense cooperation. We agreed to work with the Ministry of Defense to continue the effective use of International Military Education and Training (IMET), to review the use of Foreign Military Financing based on Ukraine's new security situation, and to re-evaluate our mutual goals for defense institution building and professional military education in Ukraine. Based on the requirements gleaned from these reviews, we will work with the State Department to identify additional security assistance resources as appropriate.

NATO has reinforced these U.S. actions with Alliance-wide initiatives in support of Ukraine. For example, Allies have offered Ukraine greater access to NATO exercises, invited Ukraine to participate in the development of military capabilities, and offered capacity-building programs for the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

I believe it's important to highlight some important facts about the Ukrainian armed forces. Over the past two months, in this time of adversity, uncertainty, and tremendous political pressure, the armed forces have shown remarkable and commendable professionalism. First, the armed forces did not act against their own citizens during the Maidan protests against the Yanukovich regime. Then, vastly outnumbered by Russian forces in Crimea, they showed

courage and dignity. We consider these positive outcomes a direct result of the investments we have made in reform and professionalization of the Ukrainian armed forces, with the support of Congress, over the past two decades.

### **Re-assuring Allies and deterring Russia**

The second course of action is re-assuring U.S. Allies and deterring Russia from further military action in Europe. As President Obama said recently in Brussels, the NATO Alliance is “the bedrock of America’s security as well as European security.”

The United States has taken prompt and high profile steps to re-assure NATO Allies in light of Russia’s incursion into Ukraine. Measures so far include augmenting NATO’s peacetime Baltic Air Policing mission by deploying 6 additional F-15s to Lithuania. We deployed 12 F-16s and nearly 200 support personnel to Poland to supplement the U.S.-Poland Aviation Detachment training rotation, which was previously scheduled to train with the Polish Air Force. We are also sending three C-130 aircraft to Poland as part of the next scheduled rotation. In March, we extended the USS TRUXTON’s stay in the Black Sea to conduct exercises with Romanian and Bulgarian naval forces, and we will send another U.S. ship to the Black Sea shortly to conduct joint exercises with allies and partners in the region. NATO established orbits of its Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) aircraft, over Poland and Romania, both to serve as additional assurance to Allies that border Ukraine and to enhance NATO’s situational awareness of activities in the region. The Department of Defense is exploring ways to provide refueling capabilities to the NATO AWACS.

We are also taking measures to support non-NATO security partners who feel directly threatened by Russia’s actions. Moldova, for example, has Russian forces on its territory, nominally peacekeepers, but who actually support the separatist Transnistria region. We recently held senior-level consultations with Moldovan officials and discussed options for expanding our Cooperative Threat Reduction programs in that country to help it maintain secure borders. We are also working to address Georgia’s concerns through bilateral channels and in the Geneva International discussions, where we continue to focus international attention on Russia’s

occupation of Georgian territory and work to address the security and humanitarian challenges in areas affected by the conflict.

### **Imposing costs on Russia**

The third course of action is imposing costs on Russia. Russia's military operation was well planned, executed and resourced by Russian forces from both within Crimea and from Russia itself. Russia's actions require a vigorous, coordinated response, and the United States has led the international community in isolating Russia diplomatically.

The United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution that affirmed the referendum in Crimea has no validity and cannot alter the status of Crimea. G-7 leaders voiced united support for Ukraine's territorial integrity, called off a planned G-8 Summit hosted by Russia later this year, and expressed willingness to impose coordinated sanctions that will significantly impact Russia's economy, should it continue to escalate the situation in Ukraine. Along with the European Union, Canada, and Australia, we have imposed visa bans and sanctions on a growing list of Russian officials, one Russian bank, and members of Putin's inner circle, along with Ukrainians who played a role in undermining that country's sovereignty or misappropriating Ukrainian assets. The sanctions we have imposed to date are certainly not the end of what we can do.

At the Department of Defense, we have put on hold all military-to-military engagements with Russia, including exercises, bilateral meetings, port visits, and planning conferences. Although we have worked hard over two decades to build a cooperative, transparent defense relationship with Russia, the violations of international law and undermining and stability in Europe mean that we cannot proceed with business as usual. NATO and many Allies have likewise suspended military cooperation and engagements with Russia, while maintaining channels for dialogue that can serve to deescalate the crisis.

And while we do not seek confrontation with Russia, its actions in Europe and Eurasia may require the United States to re-examine our force posture in Europe and our requirement for future deployments, exercises, and training in the region. As Secretary Hagel has said: "The

essential character and commitment of (our) alliance... remains unchanged, but we will look for new ways to collaborate and improve the alliance's capabilities and readiness."

### **Conclusion**

Mr. Chairman, Congressman Smith, and Members of the Committee, Russia's unlawful actions in Ukraine have dire implications for international and regional security and are a paradigm shift for our relations with Moscow. This crisis is not one generated by the West or the United States. It is a crisis of choice, pursued by Russia to further its interests including its purported annexation of sovereign Ukrainian territory.

I want to conclude by thanking Congress for passing the Support for the Sovereignty, Integrity, Democracy, and Economic Stability of Ukraine Act of 2014. This act is closely aligned with the Administration's objectives, as I've discussed today. It demonstrates solidarity with Ukraine, helps to re-assure our Allies, and imposes further costs on Russia for its actions. Since the stakes are high, and the international principles so fundamental, it is important that the United States speak with one voice during this crisis, and I appreciate that we are doing so.

I look forward to your questions.