

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF
GENERAL MARK A. MILLEY, USA
20TH CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
FY23 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET HEARING

Introduction

I am privileged to represent the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, Marines and Guardians of the United States Joint Force. Our troops are the best led, best equipped, best trained, most lethal and capable military force in the world. Alongside our allies and partners, American Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, Marines and Guardians are currently standing watch in 155 countries and conducting operations every day that keep Americans safe. We are supporting our NATO allies and guarding the Eastern flank in the face of the unnecessary war of Russian aggression against the people of Ukraine and the assault on the democratic institutions and rules-based international order that have prevented great power war for 78 years.

The United States military is a key component in the efforts to sustain a stable and open international system and an important component of our national power. In cooperation with our diplomatic corps, economy, and democratic institutions, we are part of the range of options available to this legislative body and the Commander-in-Chief. As the U.S. military, we are prepared to fight and win if those who seek to attack the United States, our allies, and partners are undeterred.

The Joint Force appreciates the work that our elected representatives do to ensure that we have the resources needed to train, equip, and manage the force in order to be ready. This legislative body increased the level of military funding for the last fiscal year and with that additional funding we are ensuring that the future modernization of the armed forces along with funding the security requirements of today remain on track.

The Joint Force will deliver modernization of our armed forces and security to the people of the United States at the FY 2023 budget request of \$773 billion. This budget will enable the decisions, modernization, and transformation the Joint Force needs to set the conditions for the Force of 2030. This budget allows the Joint Force to remain on a stable glide path toward that future.

The people of the United States through Congress provide the military the resources we need, and we will work diligently to ensure it is spent prudently in the best interest of the Nation. In alignment with the forthcoming National Defense Strategy and National Military Strategy, this budget delivers a ready, agile, and capable Joint Force that will defend the Nation, while taking care of our people and working with our partners and allies.

Strategic Environment

We are witness to the greatest threat to the peace and security of Europe and perhaps the world in my 42 years of service in uniform. The Russian invasion of Ukraine is threatening to undermine the global peace and stability that my parents—and generations of Americans—fought so hard to defend. The islands of the Pacific and the beaches of Normandy bore witness to the incredible tragedy that befalls humanity when nations seek power through military aggression across sovereign borders. Despite this horrific assault on the institutions of freedom, it is heartening to see the world rally and say never again to the specter of war in Europe. Your military stands

ready to do whatever is asked to maintain peace and stability on the European continent, a peace that ensures global stability and an international order where all nations can prosper in peace.

The People's Republic of China

The People's Republic of China (PRC) remains our #1 long term geo-strategic pacing challenge. The PRC continues to challenge the stability and security in the Pacific and is increasingly exporting their ability to destabilize countries abroad.

The PRC has and continues to develop significant nuclear, space, cyber, land, air, and maritime military capabilities, and they are working every day to close the technology gap with the United States and our allies. In short, they remain intent on fundamentally revising the global international order in their favor by midcentury, they intend to be a military peer of the U.S. by 2035, and they intend to develop the military capabilities to seize Taiwan by 2027.

Furthermore, they are actively watching the events in Ukraine and intend to exploit efforts in order to weaken the U.S. and our allies supporting Ukraine. Where Russia is an acute threat, the PRC is our long-term, geo-strategic national security pacing challenge. As President Biden's Interim National Security Strategic Guidance stated, China is the only country "capable of combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to mount a sustained challenge to a stable and open international system."

History is not deterministic; war with the PRC is not inevitable. The PRC is clearly a strategic competitor, and it continues to improve its technology and modernization of its armed forces. It is imperative that we keep our relationship with the PRC a competition and not allow it to become a conflict.

Integrated Deterrence

Integrated deterrence, as defined in the National Defense Strategy, is how we will align the Department's policies, investments, and activities to sustain and strengthen deterrence – tailored to specific competitors and challenges and coordinated and synchronized to maximum effect inside and outside the Department. We must act urgently to develop deterrence approaches – including denial, resilience, and cost imposition – across domains, theaters, and spectrums of conflict. If we remain militarily superior to our adversary, then conflict is less likely. As history has shown, peace through strength is a time-tested approach and our best approach for a strategic way ahead.

Russia

In recent months, Russia – under the direction of Vladimir Putin – has taken unprovoked, premeditated actions to violate a sovereign nation. With the invasion of Ukraine, Putin has created a dangerous, historical turning point and has invaded a free and democratic nation and its people without provocation. Shoulder-to-shoulder with our allies, we have bolstered NATO's Eastern Flank and imposed wide-ranging costs on Russia, demonstrating our willingness to defend the international, rules-based order. Russia retains a large and varied nuclear capability to

threaten the United States and our allies and partners, and we have heard very provocative rhetoric concerning Russia's nuclear force alert levels from Russian senior leaders. Russia has repeatedly demonstrated its capability and will to conduct complex malicious cyber activities targeting American protected digital infrastructure, both military and commercial.

Democratic People's Republic of Korea

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea's (DPRK) continued weapons testing and development poses real threats to our allies and partners in the Indo-Pacific as well as the homeland. **The DPRK** continues to enhance its ballistic missile capability and possesses the technical capacity to present a real danger to the US homeland as well as our allies and partners across the Indo-Pacific. They show no signs of relenting in their myopic focus on military capability at the expense of their citizens and peace of the Korean Peninsula as well as the entire region.

Iran

Iran is likely to remain a significant regional threat to the United States and our partners and allies. Through its support of terrorist activities and a proxy army inside the borders of its neighbors, along with its ballistic missile programs, Iran seeks to revise the Middle East regional order and balance of power in Iran's favor. Iran has continued to develop its nuclear program as leverage towards that end. Furthermore, if not constrained through a new diplomatic agreement, their continued nuclear program threatens the emergence of a regional arms race. Additionally, Iran continues to openly threaten to assassinate current and former members of United States Government and our military, which is unacceptable.

Violent Extremist Organizations

Following the conclusion of two continuous decades of U.S. presence in Afghanistan, terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Al Shabaab, and others continue to export terror, destruction, and destabilization. Until and unless the root causes of instability that give rise to these types of groups are resolved, we will continue to deal with their attacks to undermine legitimate governments worldwide. The root causes can only be effectively addressed by governments of the region and we can best influence outcomes with diplomatic, economic, information and stability efforts along with train, advise, assist and intelligence sharing combined with an effective counter-terrorism capability that can find, fix, disrupt, and destroy an emerging specific terrorist threat. Through coalition efforts in support of local governments and an aggressive counter-terrorism strategy, we will continue to ensure they do not possess the capacity and capability to exert their terror in the U.S. homeland.

Allies & Partners

Our alliances and partnerships are our most significant asymmetric advantages and are key to maintaining the international rules-based order that offers the best opportunities for peace and prosperity for America and the globe. This budget allows us to build our partners and allies capabilities, foster interoperability, and strengthen relationships. Doing so allows us, our allies,

and partners to counter the coercion of our strategic competitors, the malign activity of regional challengers, and meet the varied security challenges state and non-state actors, terrorism or any other threat that may emerge. We are stronger when we operate closely with our allies and partners. Simultaneously, we must be ready for today and prepare for tomorrow.

Readiness and Modernization

Continued modernization is imperative for the Joint Force. We cannot allow ourselves to create the false trap that we can only either modernize or focus on today's readiness, we must do both. The United States has always had the advantage of time to conduct a long build up prior to the beginning of hostilities, we have the fortunate geography of having the Atlantic and Pacific oceans as our east and west borders and having friendly neighbors to our north and south. With advances in technology, we will no longer have the luxury of a long protected buildup prior to conflict. Having modernized forces in sufficient size and readiness that can rapidly respond at scale will be the key to sustaining deterrence and maintaining the peace, and if deterrence fails, being able to fight and win.

Our Strategic competitors are modernizing their militaries, weapons and capability. We will continue to modernize ours to ensure we deter and, if necessary, defeat adversaries. We will divest legacy systems to enable the modernization of our forces not only in terms of materiel, but also in terms of doctrine. In the fall of 2019, the Joint Staff began to develop the **Joint Warfighting Concept (JWC)** to address the changing character of war, fully informed by the future operating environment and threats we will face. The JWC guides how we organize, train, and equip the Joint Force. It further guides us in shaping our strategic environment and future operations. JWC continues to evolve and is being refined through robust experimentation and war-gaming. Among the enablers for JWC, Joint all domain command and control (**JADC2**) is a warfighting capability to sense, analyze, and act at all levels and phases of conflict, across all domains, and with partners, to deliver information advantage to our forces and decision makers at greater speeds than our adversaries can react. JADC2's data-centric approach to command and control will dramatically increase the speed of information sharing and decision-making in a contested environment. Conceptual frameworks like the JWC and JADC2 will ensure capabilities such as Long Range and Hypersonic Fires, Logistics and Information Advantage are employed to the full extent. This combination of operational concepts and technology will enable **integrated deterrence**.

As important is the education of our military leaders. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and their senior enlisted advisors unanimously endorsed two documents: shared visions for both officer and enlisted joint professional military education. We increased the time our developing leaders spend studying the changing character of war and a greater focus on both the PRC as the pacing challenge and Russia as our immediate threat, which seeks to create leaders fully versed in the Joint Warfighting Concept. Furthermore, our shift to outcomes based military education will help us better measure progress and the return on our investment.

Our staff college and war college curriculum are being streamlined to focus on the warfighter skills necessary to execute the JWC and prevail in future conflict. Also underway is the first class of GATEWAY, the Joint Staff's newest in-person enlisted development course introducing the Joint Environment to E-6s and E-7s from across the force. GATEWAY is designed to develop joint enlisted leaders capable of operating in Joint Interagency, Intergovernmental, and Multinational (JIIM) organizations. And we, the Joint Force, must also focus on recruiting the most capable talent so we can develop our leaders of the future.

We are focused on building a more lethal Joint Force ensuring that we continue to modernize our concepts, doctrine, training, and military education. It is imperative that we continue to invest in capabilities that sustain our advantages, while strengthening alliances and attracting new partners. Investments in this budget will ensure that the requirements our nation levees on the Joint Force are executable. The investments made in this budget will specifically ensure that we remain a relevant and ready force while ensuring that **nuclear modernization, long range fires, hypersonic technology, shipbuilding, missile defeat and defense, space and cyber** remain at the center of our funding priorities.

Nuclear Modernization

The **nuclear triad** is the cornerstone of our strategic deterrent. Our adversaries are improving their nuclear stockpiles and potential nuclear threats continue to emerge. While today's nuclear TRIAD is safe, secure, and effective, most U.S. nuclear deterrent system are operating beyond their original design life, increasing concerns about mission effectiveness, reliability, and availability. Replacement programs are in place, but there is little or no margin between the end of useful life of existing systems and the fielding of their replacements. Managing the programmatic risk is a key feature of our approach going forward, however we must also account for geopolitical, operational, and technical risks the could pose new deterrence dilemmas in the future. Risk mitigation in the programs is one aspect, the other area encompasses the nuclear weapons complex, infrastructure, and the nuclear command, control, and communications (NC3). All of which remain a high priority in the Department and the Joint Force.

Long Range Fires

One need look no further than the current conflict in Ukraine to see the devastating effect that long range fires provide. Ensuring we have a strike capability without having to also maintain air superiority is a critical asset. We must field multi-domain, long-range offensive capabilities that are both cost-effective and cost-imposing as a means of improving deterrence. By enabling power projection from standoff ranges, the risk to critical U.S. assets decreases while the defensive burden imposed upon the enemy increases. The PRC has thousands of ground-launched theater-range missiles in its arsenal that would be difficult for the U.S. to counter given its current inventories. Investments in long range missiles are a cost-effective strategy that improves our ability to compete with the PRC.

Hypersonic Technology

This technology is going to continue to be developed by our adversaries and the means and mechanisms for delivery will be varied and difficult to detect and defeat. At the very core of this technology is a speed that is almost unbeatable. It is for this reason that we must invest in this technology. Hypersonics are a suite of capabilities that provide transformational warfighting capability to our Joint Force.

Missile Defeat and Defense

Missile Defeat is all whole-of-government activities to counter the development, acquisitions, proliferation potential, and actual use of adversary offensive missiles of all types, and to limit damage for such use. As the scale and complexity of missile capabilities increase, we must continue to develop, acquire, and maintain credible U.S. missile defeat capabilities as necessary to protect against possible missile attacks on the U.S. homeland, allies, and partners. The Ground-Based Midcourse Defense (GMD) system, and continued modernization and expansion of it, will remain an important and effective element of our comprehensive missile defeat approach to defend the homeland from DPRK long-range missiles.

Optimizing Force Structure

To pace the PRC threat, we can no longer afford to maintain weapons that are not relevant in the future fight and whose capabilities can be matched by superior technology. Sustaining such equipment takes needed defense dollars away from the acquisition of systems that are needed for modernization. We need to retire aging platforms, and ensure that every defense dollar is spent on programs and equipment that will be relevant to the high-end fight in contested environments. We cannot continue to mortgage our future by being wedded to technology of the past.

Naval Forces

Strategically, the United States has always been and remains a maritime Nation, and we cannot have a world class Navy without world class ships. Manufacturing our warships overseas is simply not in our national interest. Our **shipbuilding** and supporting vendor base are a national security capability that needs support to grow and maintain a skilled workforce. The FY 2023 President's Budget reflects the Administration's strong commitment to continued American naval superiority, including a properly sized and well-positioned industrial base to meet the demands of our current and future defense needs. The conclusions from past force structure analyses have been fully considered and are simple: ship count is an incomplete metric, as it fails to fully capture the capability, payload capacity, and employment of ship classes in the fleet. We must have the right ships, with the right crews, and the right capabilities in the theaters where they matter. This budget specifically procures warships and submarines with credible combat power to deter China while continuing remotely operated ship development and investing in the industrial base to support fleet modernization and on time delivery of the Columbia class submarine. **Sealift recapitalization** is a critical component of our fleet, 90% of war material moves by sea and the DoD fleet is reaching its end of life with an average vessel age of 46 years.

Our overall sealift readiness rate is consistently below our stated requirements. We must recapitalize our fleet.

Space Forces

More so now than ever, space is essential to our way of life; space capabilities are essential to our economy, quality of life, our exploration initiatives, and our ability to wage war. Every day we see additional commercial space launches and increased competition for low earth orbit as well as increased reliance on these space assets by Americans. Adversaries are testing and fielding counterspace weapons that threaten not just our National interests and advancements in space, but those of all nations that rely upon space. Russia recently tested both a ground-based anti-satellite missile and an on-orbit anti-satellite weapon prototype which will threaten our space capabilities once fielded. Left unsecured, our capabilities in space will become strategic vulnerabilities, and if we begin to lose our freedom of maneuver in space, this impact will be felt by Americans of all walks of life. This year's budget submission provides a significant investment in resilient space architectures so U.S. and allied partners will be able to continue to derive the national security and societal benefits from space in the face of these threats.

Cyber Forces

Our adversaries are leveraging the open commerce platform that is the modern cyber environment to further their own nefarious ends. The PRC consistently uses the cyber domain to collect intelligence from the US government and to extract proprietary commercial information from the private sector. Malign cyberspace actors increasingly exploit supply chain vulnerabilities, such as commercial software, to gain network access and conduct cyber operations against U.S. citizens, organizations, and institutions. The low cost combined with deniability and the frequency with which non-state actors conduct operations make this domain a priority focus for adversaries to asymmetrically compete without escalation in other domains. Therefore, we must increase our ability to compete in cyberspace and ensure all elements of informational power are integrated into operations, activities, and efforts to deter our adversaries and protect the U.S. homeland. This requires investment in partners and technology, building and maturing cyber operations and readiness, reducing risk to weapon systems and critical infrastructure, strengthening cybersecurity, and improving network resiliency.

Ground Forces

Decision in war is ultimately achieved on land, and maintaining a capable land force in the United States Army and Marine Corps is key to our overall deterrence capability and national security. The Army is rapidly modernizing with innovation, creativity, and entrepreneurship in the application of combat power. Modern battlefields are increasingly faster, more lethal, and more distributed. To meet emerging challenges, the Army is transforming to provide the Joint Force with the speed, range, and convergence of cutting edge technologies that will generate the decision dominance and overmatch required to win the next fight. By 2035, the Army aims to realize its vision of a multi-domain force. Similarly, the Marine Corps is deliberately

transforming its capabilities, capacity, and composition through its expeditionary advanced base operations to meet future challenges.

Air Forces

Maintaining the role as the global leader in airpower requires our Air Force to accelerate change or lose. In an environment of aggressive global competitors and technology development and diffusion, the Air Force must have the capabilities to control and exploit the air domain, while also underwriting national security through nuclear deterrence. To best address these necessary changes, we must balance risk over time. The Air Force will develop and field new capabilities expeditiously while selectively divesting older platforms not relevant to our pacing challenge—all while maintaining readiness. The Air Force must ensure its path continuously drives towards readiness to be best prepared when called upon by the Nation. Accelerating change means both getting the direction right and moving as fast as possible.

In last year's budget submission, the Air Force began the process of making hard decisions to modernize the Force. Last year's budget highlighted the Air Force needs for 2030 and beyond, and the message has not changed: the need to modernize is critical to counter strategic competitors. The Air Force is taking measured risk in the near-term, while simultaneously prioritizing an affordable, defensible force structure that grows readiness over time and accelerates investment in critical capabilities to deter and defeat the advancing threat.

Special Operations Forces (SOF)

SOF's full range of core activities, tailored capabilities, and enduring partnerships provide critical options for campaigning to bolster deterrence. The access, placement and influence generated by SOF long-term commitments to building partner capacity and improving Ally interoperability provide expanded, low-cost options to gain awareness and present an adversary with multiple dilemmas, if necessary. Additionally, SOF remain ideally suited to identify an adversary's challenge in the "gray zone" and counter those malign activities with firmness while managing escalation. USSOCOM continues to prioritize its operations, activities and investments in the Indo Pacific and Europe while maintaining prioritized posture to counter threats from the Middle East, Africa, and other regions.

SOF continue to optimize our global posture to counter violent extremists and other non-state actors while sustaining the ability to respond to crises worldwide. Focused, deliberate campaigning in Eastern Europe over several years has supported our recent response in conjunction with critical Allies and Partners. This will enhance their resistance capabilities if threatened with territorial aggression or abrogation of sovereign territory.

People First / People and Families

We must take care of our people. Taking care of our people is a fundamental component of readiness. People are our most important resource in the Joint Force. We must ensure that we are doing all that we can do to take care of and guard our most critical resource in order to attract both our troops and their families and retain the best talent in the world. Taking care of people decisively impacts unit cohesion, recruitment, retention, and confidence in leadership.

Just one example in the Budget of taking care of our troops and families is ensuring that the services increase their childcare capacity. The DoD childcare system is the gold standard of childcare with 98% of centers being accredited. Funding support from Congress is vital for fully-staffed military childcare. Childcare is key to keeping military families serving and ensuring the safety of our children.

The Joint Force is committed to **growing a bench of talent** and ensuring that all who meet the requirements to serve are able to serve. The Joint Force competes for the talent of America's youth along with every other business, and organization who seeks our Nation's best and brightest. The Joint Force's objective is to field the most lethal and combat effective fighting force in the world. We will continue to support the accessions of all qualified people to all jobs and positions within the Joint Force.

Finally, another example of taking care of our people and emerging realities is the Secretary of Defense's decision to close Red Hill. The Secretary made the decision to close the Red Hill fuel storage location earlier this year, and this decision demonstrates that we will ensure we do all we can to safeguard our most important resource. Closing Red Hill is not only an opportunity to demonstrate to our people that we care, but also an opportunity to modernize how we distribute fuel to our fleet in the Pacific. Moving away from a large legacy bulk storage system to a distributed system improves our warfighter campaign and ensures safe water for our troops, their families, and the local community. Looking for opportunities to take care of our people and modernize our force and capabilities is something we will continue to prioritize.

Conclusion

The United States is at a very critical and historic geo-strategic inflection point. We are entering a world that is becoming more unstable and the potential for significant international conflict between great powers is increasing, not decreasing. The United States needs to pursue a clear-eyed strategy of maintaining the peace through unambiguous capability of strength relative to the PRC and Russia. This requires we simultaneously maintain readiness and modernize for the future. If we do not, then we are risking the security of future generations. This budget is a major step in the right direction.

It remains imperative that we redouble our efforts to improve readiness and to modernize so that we remain the most capable and lethal Force on the planet. Our job as the Joint Force, our contract with the American people is that we, the United States military will always be ready to deter our enemies and if deterrence fails then to fight and win.