

"There are lessons in this history, important lessons about how we as a country have screwed up the entire process, not just hypersonics. So DARPA had a program, I think it was called Hypersonic Test Vehicle, HTV-1 and HTV-2. HTV-1, 2007. HTV-2 I think was 2009. The thing about HTV-1 is the first flight failed. It flew, but it hit a certain point in the trajectory. You're talking about the hypersonic glide vehicle at this point. So it's going straight level, it's going hypersonic. The heat and vibration caused a failure of the flight mechanism and it broke up in flight. A failure. All right, so what does this nation do in 2007 when you have a failure? Congress forms committees to investigate why we had a failure, the Department of Defense forms committees to figure out why we have a failure, and we stopped for two years doing anything while we figure it out. Then we figure out that one problem, which oh by the way, the engineers knew on day two. All right, but we took two years to figure it out and then we go back and test again and we fail again. All right?

Because we failed twice, Congress kills the program. That's ridiculous. One of my favorite stories, probably one of General Shelton's favorite stories too, is the story of Corona and Discover. So my favorite painting in the Pentagon is a painting this big. It used to be on the A ring of the eighth corridor. They moved it. I asked Salty where they put it and he doesn't know, but we're going to find it because that needs to be somewhere in the Pentagon. It was this little picture of a nighttime launch of a little rocket and the little plaque on the bottom said, Discover 13. Discover 13. Why is that my favorite painting? The question is, what happened to Discover 1 through 12? All failures. All failures. Discover 13 carried the first Corona satellite, the spy satellite, to space that delivered imagery of what was really going on in the Soviet Union, critical at the time. Why is that my favorite painting? Because Discover 13, the success was 18 months after Discover 1, 12 failures in 18 months. That's actually how you go fast.

That's how North Korea goes fast. That's how China goes fast. We form congressional committees and study, why did we fail? We failed because it didn't work. For God's sakes, fix it and make it work. That's all you have to do. So let me take you back now to my last year as Vice Chairman, July 27th, 2021. I'm about to do something that you should never do in a speech. I'm going to read my own quotes. That's like the dumbest thing to do in a speech, but I'm going to do it because, well, I'll tell you why. So July 27th, 2021, I'm sitting in my office. That was a very significant time because we were actually coming out of Bagram and when we made the decision to come out of Bagram, we were out of Afghanistan completely. You could tell that it was just going to break apart. August turned into a horrible month. But July 27th, we're sitting there, all those things going on, phone rings in my office because I get notified of all launches that happen anywhere in the world.

But usually, I just get an email because I mean, it's a test launch, it's a test launch or a SCUD launch. Who knows what it is, but I just get notified by email. But if it's out of the ordinary, I get a call. So I got a call because this was out of the ordinary. China had just launched a missile, and so they launch missiles all the time. Why is this one out of the ordinary? The answer was, "Well, it went backwards." There's actually no such thing as backwards. There's been reports that it violated the laws of physics. It doesn't violate the laws of physics, it just fights the laws of physics because it launches to the west, which is against the rotation of the earth. So a giant ICBM is launched out of China to the west. That's all they could tell me. That's all we knew for a few days. Then we found out what it was and it was the hypersonic test.

When I found out what it was and I found out what it did, and I found out how it worked, I went to the chairman, we went to the SecDef and we said, "We have to be able to tell this story in public because the country needs to know what is going on because this is the most significant test that has happened from an adversary since the Cold War, and we just need to be able to tell." So I retired on November the 19th of that year. On November the 16th, I was allowed to go on CBS News with David Martin and tell the story. I had everything approved through the security classification folks, which is why I'm going to read it out because I don't know what's changed, because I know this is safe. So I'm going to read what I said on TV that night. CBS thought it was a big deal too. They gave it a featured space and they put it right up. Here's what I said.

"China launched a long range missile. It went around the world, dropped off a hypersonic-wide vehicle that glided it all the way back to China, that impacted a target in China." Asked if it hit the target. I replied, "Close enough." That's it, right? Then he asked me, "How many times have they tested?" I had that approved. "China has hypersonic tested 200 times in the last, hundreds of times in the last five years. We've tested nine." That goes back to the whole test equation, hundreds of times to get to that test. We tested nine. The test failure that is a software problem, why? It's February now. Why haven't we tested again? We have got to figure out how to go fast. So I said that and when I said that, I came back, chairman saw it, SecDef saw it. "Perfect, perfect. This is going to get people's attention." There's a big blow up in the news that week. Then the country shrugged our shoulders and we just moved on. We didn't do anything, literally didn't do anything. Some people got their attention, but for the most part, we didn't do anything.

So I retired November the 19th. My wife and I, we disappeared to Australia just to disappear for a while. I told everybody that wanted to talk to me, everybody that wanted to hire me, "Don't call." I said, "If you want to hire me and you call anytime in the next four months, I will never call you again, period." So the entire time we're in Australia, the phone is quiet. I made it so my

phone didn't work. The only phone that worked was Laura's in case somebody needed to get ahold of us, like our kids. One day, we're sitting in a bar, well, an establishment in Australia, and the phone rings, Laura's phone rings, and she holds it up and it's got a 202 area code. She goes, "Here we go again. Should I answer it?" "Answer it." It was Senator Reed and Senator Inhof and they were getting ready to start a strategic policy committee to look at the strategic policy of the United States. They had to release their names in the next month.

They know they promised not to call me for four months, but they called and asked me if I would serve, and so I did. So that committee formed 12 Citizens of America. I was the only one with a military background. From as far left on the spectrum and far right of the spectrum as you can, six appointed by Democrats, six appointed by Republicans to come up with what we believed would be a consensus report on what the strategic posture of the United States should be. I tell you, when you have the far left and the far right in a room, Congressman Lamborn, it is hard to get people to agree. Yeah. Well, if you haven't read that report, I encourage you to go read that report because all 12 members agreed, and I'm going to read some of the things that we agreed to because they're critically important for what we have here today. And it was the far left and the far right and the Senator and everybody on that panel that agreed to all of these things. Critically important things for the nation. How did we come to agreement? We came to agreement because we all got clearances and we all spent three months and we all went and got the threat. And I tell you what, once you see the threat, once you understand the threat, you got to realize that China is not building a hypersonic glide vehicle that can go in a fractional orbit around the world and drop in because they're needing that capability to handle their internal problem with the leaders.

They're not doing it because they're worried about Australia, even though they are. They're not doing it because they're worried about Europe. They're doing it because they're worried about the United States. And that capability is to target the United States. So why would a nation spend all that money and all that time to build a capability that is only built to target the United States? So as we work through that, one of the great things that we did is if you don't want to pick up anything, read anything in that commission report, just read the threat section. Because to take all that classified material and turn it into unclassified documents that American citizens can read is a huge thing. So here's what we said about the hypersonic tests. On July 27th, 2021, the People's Republic of China conducted a test of an ICBM range, hypersonic glide vehicle that traveled 40,000 kilometers. The test likely demonstrated the PRC's technical ability to field a fractional orbital bombardment system that if fielded could be intended for a decapitation strike and therefore highly destabilizing. That's an unclassified report.

And it was pulled from all unclassified information. That's why when it went through security and policy review, nobody could take it out. It's in unclassified information that comes out of where? China. For gosh sakes, just read what our adversaries are saying. So the commission then concluded that China now has for the first time a nascent triad of strategic nuclear delivery systems, potentially a launch on warning posture. They're also developing and testing potentially destabilizing new intercontinental range systems that include hypersonic as well as fractional and multiple orbital bombardment systems that could threaten an unwarranted preemptive attack in the United States. Therefore, the recommendations include developing and fielding homeland integrated air and missile defense that can deter and defeat coercive attacks by Russia and China, and determine the capabilities needed to stay ahead of the North Korean threat. Coercive attacks by Russia and China. If you've watched Vladimir Putin in the war on Ukraine, especially in the early stages, he threatened to use nuclear weapons against the United States.

Why did he do that? He did that to coerce the United States into acting, and he actually has a doctrine. And you could read the doctrine. It's public information too. A doctrine that says, "We'll use nuclear weapons against our adversaries in order to coerce them because we don't think they will act if we conduct a limited nuclear strike." As a former strike gun commander, that's just crazy. But it is our adversary doctrine. We better listen to it. And then we said the Secretary of Defense should direct research and development, test and evaluation into advanced integrated air and missile defense capabilities, leveraging all domains including land, sea, air, and space. These activities should focus on sensor architecture, integrated command and control, interceptors, directed energy crews and hypersonic missile defenses, area endpoint defenses. The DOD should urgently pursue deployment of any capability that proves feasible as soon as it is feasible.

Note that that statement in itself would be a change in policy. We don't do that today. We say that integrated air and missile defense is too expensive and won't work against our adversaries. Then answer me this, then why have China and Russia for the last 20 years expended enormous amounts of resources fielding advanced integrated air and missile defense capabilities if it doesn't make sense? They did because we didn't, and that gives them an advantage. That advantage cannot be allowed to stand. That advantage has to be deterred. And this is all about deterrence. And many of you in this room have heard me say this before. I have studied deterrence backwards, forward, sideways, upside down. My favorite deterrent theorist is Thomas Schelling. And if you read Thomas Schelling's *Arms and Influence*, basically what he says is this, that deterrence comes through fear of your adversary.

The adversary has to have fear, but there are three fundamental things that create that fear. One is the ability to impose cost on that adversary and they can't do anything about it. That's offense. The ability to deny benefit to that adversary that the attack they take won't work. That's defense. And then the ability to communicate credibly to the adversary. And I tell you what, Congressman, our ability to communicate credibly to our adversary is horrible right now. And everything that's going on in Congress is not helping that. It's not helping that. So we need to fix that. What are the impacts? Number one, Congress has got to get off their butt and pass a budget.

We are dying because we can't start the basic new start because these continued residents are killing us. And right now the word that's coming out of the Pentagon that was given to me is that there's just as likelihood of a continuing resolution for the entire year as there are a new budget on the eighth and ninth. That would be a disaster for a country. And the message that sends to China and Russia is horrible. We cannot allow that to happen. And then we have to get our industry to move again. And right now, our industry has serious trouble. I could go through a number of things. I'll pick one of the ones that Congressman mentioned and just talk about that. It's one of my major frustrations.

New Sentinel ICBM. So the requirement is 400 three-stage solid rocket ICBMs that can reach anywhere on the globe in 30 minutes. That's the requirement. Guess what? The requirements for 400, and guess what? The requirement in 1958 to Bernard Schriever was 800 three-stage solid rocket ICBMs that can reach anywhere in the world. And he had flat ground, he had no infrastructure, no command and control, no anything. And he started in 1958. And in 1964, there were 800 three-stage solid rocket Minuteman ICBMs on alert. In total, costing the nation \$2 billion. In current year dollars, that'd be about \$18 billion. And the new Sentinel just hit a hundred billion dollars and it's going to be about a 17-year program. That is my biggest fear for this country. Because if our industry, working with the Pentagon, working with the Congress, working with the White House, can't deliver these capabilities, then we're going to walk into a war with China.

And we do not want a war with China. Anybody in this room that wants a war with China is an idiot. That's the last thing you want. But right now, if you watch it, China is taking steps towards war with us. We are taking steps towards war with China and we're not effectively deterring. It's like we even forgot what deterrence is all about. So I was talking to Jerry White and William Shelton earlier. One of the reasons I stood up, Congressman, instead of sitting with you, because they said, "You're going to give a sermon, aren't you?" And I said, "Well, yes I am. I'm going to give a sermon and you can't give a sermon sitting down." So I wanted to make sure that message got across. Some of you may disagree with it. If you do, this is a good time to ask."

-General (Ret.) John Hyten