

**HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATIONS  
OF: ADM JAMES A. WINNEFELD, JR., USN,  
FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF  
ADMIRAL AND TO BE VICE CHAIRMAN OF  
THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF; GEN RAY-  
MOND T. ODIERNO, USA, FOR REAPPOINT-  
MENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO  
BE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY; AND GEN.  
WILLIAM M. FRASER III, USAF, FOR RE-  
APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GEN-  
ERAL AND TO BE COMMANDER, U.S. TRANS-  
PORTATION COMMAND**

---

THURSDAY, JULY 21, 2011

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:41 a.m. in room SH-216, Hart Senate Office Building, Senator Carl Levin (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Senators Levin, Lieberman, Reed, Akaka, Nelson, Udall, Hagan, Begich, Blumenthal, McCain, Sessions, Wicker, Brown, Ayotte, and Graham.

Committee staff members present: Richard D. DeBobes, staff director; and Leah C. Brewer, nominations and hearings clerk.

Majority staff members present: Jonathan D. Clark, counsel; Madelyn R. Creedon, counsel; Richard W. Fieldhouse, professional staff member; Creighton Greene, professional staff member; Jessica L. Kingston, research assistant; Michael J. Kuiken, professional staff member; Peter K. Levine, general counsel; William G.P. Monahan, counsel; Michael J. Noblet, professional staff member; and William K. Sutey, professional staff member.

Minority staff members present: David M. Morriss, minority staff director; Adam J. Barker, professional staff member; Paul C. Hutton IV, professional staff member; Daniel A. Lerner, professional staff member; Lucian L. Niemeyer, professional staff member; Michael J. Sistik, research assistant; Diana G. Tabler, professional staff member; and Richard F. Walsh, minority counsel.

Staff assistants present: Brian F. Sebold and Breon N. Wells.

Committee members' assistants present: Margaret Goodlander and Christopher Griffin, assistants to Senator Lieberman; Carolyn

Chuhta and Elyse Wasch, assistants to Senator Reed; Nick Ikeda, assistant to Senator Akaka; Ann Premer, assistant to Senator Nelson; Casey Howard, assistant to Senator Udall; Lindsay Kavanaugh, assistant to Senator Begich; Joanne McLaughlin, assistant to Senator Manchin; Jordan Baugh, assistant to Senator Gillibrand; Ethan Saxon, assistant to Senator Blumenthal; Anthony Lazarski, assistant to Senator Inhofe; Lenwood Landrum, assistant to Senator Sessions; Clyde Taylor IV, assistant to Senator Chambliss; Joseph Lai, assistant to Senator Wicker; Charles Prosch, assistant to Senator Brown; Brad Bowman, assistant to Senator Ayotte; Ryan Kaldahl, assistant to Senator Collins; and Sergio Sarkany, assistant to Senator Graham.

**OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN, CHAIRMAN**

Chairman LEVIN. Good morning, everybody. The committee meets this morning to consider the nominations of three outstanding military officers for positions of leadership and command, among the most important in the Department of Defense.

Our witnesses today are Admiral Sandy Winnefeld, U.S. Navy, to be Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; General Raymond Odierno, to be Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army; and General William Fraser III, USAF, to be Commander of the U.S. Transportation Command.

We thank each of you for many decades of dedicated service to our Nation and your willingness to continue that service in these positions of great responsibility and challenge.

And let me also extend on behalf of the committee our thanks to your families, whose support has been so important to the success that you have enjoyed, and whose support for you makes a difference for the Nation as well. As is a tradition that we particularly enjoy, we would invite each of you to introduce any family members or friends who may be here with you during your opening remarks.

One of the first actions that all three of our nominees will carry out if confirmed will be immediately implementing the reduction of U.S. forces in Afghanistan by 10,000 by the end of this year, and removing the rest of 33,000 U.S. surge force from Afghanistan by the end of the summer in 2012.

These reductions are part of an ongoing process of transitioning, increasing responsibility for Afghanistan's security for the Afghanistan security forces, which by 2014 would have leader responsibility for security throughout the country.

The course which the President's decision sets provides a strategy for success in Afghanistan. The Afghan security forces have increased by almost 100,000 since the President announced the surge in December 2009, and that Afghan army will expand by another 70,000 security forces by the time all of the U.S. surge forces are brought home by September 2012.

The growing capabilities of the Afghan security forces provide the Afghan people, but one Afghanistan elder in southern Afghanistan told me that they want the most, which is the ability to secure their own country themselves. And having Afghan forces in the lead puts to the lie to the Taliban's propaganda that international forces are there to occupy Afghanistan. The Afghans taking over

their own security is the key to the strategy for success in Afghanistan.

Admiral Sandy Winnefeld currently serves as the commander of U.S. Northern Command and is commander of the North American Aerospace Defense Command, NORAD with Canada. In this capacity, he has been responsible for defense of the homeland, military support through civil authorities for domestic emergencies, as well as aerospace warning and control for North America.

In his current capacity, he is the combatant commander responsible for the operation of the ground-based midcourse missile defense, GMD, system. If confirmed as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he would have a number of key roles and responsibilities related to missile defense.

We would be interested Admiral Winnefeld's views on whether he believes we should demonstrate correction of the two recent GMD flight test failures before resuming production or delivery of the kill vehicles for the GMD interceptors.

The vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has a wide range of responsibilities, including playing a major role as chairman of the Joint Requirements Oversight Council, JROC, in defining and improving requirements for future acquisition programs, and monitoring the progress of ongoing programs.

As we all know, most of the major acquisition programs at the Department of Defense are over budget and behind schedule. The F-35 Joint Strike Fighter is but dramatic example. As the Defense budget is reduced, the inability of the Department to acquire and its contractors to provide needed systems on time and on budget becomes an even more significant problem than it is already.

A significant challenge related to the vice chairman's acquisition responsible is in the area of cyber security. All of the systems, equipment, support, intelligence, and almost everything else that the Department of Defense does relies on networks. Making sure that the networks can support the operations reliably will be a large part of Admiral Winnefeld's responsibilities.

There also are issues, such as when does a cyber attack on United States' activities or entities require or justify a U.S. offensive reaction, cyber or other. The vice chairman will surely be involved in addressing that issue as well.

If confirmed, Admiral Winnefeld would also serve as a member of the Nuclear Weapons Council. Producing and maintaining nuclear is expensive and technically challenging. Today the Nuclear Weapons Council is participating in the design of the nuclear deterrent for the next generation. If confirmed, one of the challenges would be to keep both the costs and the scope of maintenance and modernization within reason.

And, of course, a central part of the vice chairman's role will be to act as chairman of the Joint Chiefs in the chairman's absence.

General Odierno is well known to this committee. He has before us several times as a commander of U.S. forces in Iraq, and more recently when nominated for his current position as commander, U.S. Joint Forces Command.

General Odierno will assume leadership of an Army that has battled tested and proven, but stretched by 10 years of war. The Army

has met every challenge with the courage, dedication, and professionalism for which they and all of us are profoundly grateful.

Over the next four years, under General Odierno's leadership, the Army will deal with many enduring and new challenges. First and foremost, the Army must continue to meet the demand for trained and ready forces in support of operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. As a commander with recent operational experience, we will be interested to hear General Odierno's views on the continuing demands for Army units in support of operations, their preparation, readiness, and performance, and how he would ensure that we continue to meet this challenge.

The future beyond operations in Afghanistan and Iraq holds real questions about what we will need the Army to do, how it will be structured and equipped, and how we manage to keep a force that is as good and ready as it is today, modernizes to stay relevant for tomorrow, and that is at the same time affordable. We will be interested to hear General Odierno's views on how he will deal with the budget pressures that are already being felt throughout the Defense Department and that no doubt will result in funding challenges over the next several years.

Perhaps the greatest leadership challenge that General Odierno will face is the 49,000 soldier end strength reduction planned for completion by 2017. The Army has reduced its size many times in its history, most recently at the end of the Cold War and Operation Desert Storm. The Army must plan and be able to manage its troop reductions and accompanying force structure changes to avoid hallowing out units and to remain as capable as it is today. And we are interested to hear General Odierno's thoughts on end strength reduction, force structure changes, and how best to manage this change without losing the Army's hard won fighting edge.

Finally, the Army must continue to work as hard as possible to deal with the human costs to soldiers and their families from the pressures and consequences of an army in continuous combat for 10 years. The Army has instituted significant programs to improve deployment predictability and reduce the stress of multiple rotations on soldiers and their families, improve care for our wounded soldiers and their families, and strive to deal with the heartbreaking incidence of suicide that continue in the Active-Duty Force, and have been increasing in our National Guard and Reserves. The committee will be interested to hear General Odierno's assessment and plans for the Army's efforts in those areas.

General Fraser will also face critical challenges in his new position. The strategic mobility of our armed forces enables us to project power anywhere around the world. The U.S. Transportation Command, which encompasses the Air Force's Mobility Command, the Navy's Military Sealift Command, and the Army's Surface Deployment and Distribution Command, is the linchpin of that strategic mobility.

General Fraser will also be dealing with the disparate components of the private transportation sector, including a railroad and commercial air carriers, who participate in the Civil Reserve Air Fleet Program, and commercial ship operators.

One area where General Fraser will be immediately deluged is the growing challenge of logistical support for the Afghanistan the-

ater of operations, concerns about over reliance on sometimes tenuous surface lines of communication through Pakistan, for logistic support into Afghanistan had led to over the past couple of years the establishment of the Northern Distribution Network through Central Asia. However, these northern routes may need to be expanded to allow increased movement, both into and increasingly out of, Afghanistan if we are to maintain the quality and the timeliness of that support to our Afghanistan forces.

We will be interested General Fraser's views on that challenge.

And, again, gentleman, our deepest thanks to you and to your families for all that you have done and will do for the Nation in the days ahead.

Senator McCain.

#### **STATEMENT OF SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN**

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I welcome General Odierno, Admiral Winnefeld, and General Fraser and their families. A special thanks to their families, and congratulate them on their nominations.

I particularly want to recognize Mr. Tonio Odierno, a distinguished wounded warrior and former soldier who is here today supporting his father.

General Odierno, I strongly support your nomination to be the next chief of staff of the Army. Your critical role in Iraq, and I note that you are one of the very few officers to have commanded at the division, corps, and Army level during a single conflict, give you a unique perspective on the capabilities of U.S. forces as you executed maneuver and counterinsurgency operations.

Your service as commander of the 4th Infantry Division, as commander of Multinational Force Iraq, and U.S. Forces-Iraq, was instrumental in implementing the surge strategy and turning the tide of battle in Iraq.

Your career of Army service and your various joint assignments currently as commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command have provided you with an essential understanding of counterinsurgency operations, joint operations, and, most importantly, of soldiers and their families.

We know that soldiers, active duty reservists, and national guardsmen and their families have served gallantly and with a single-minded focus on victory under the most stressful conditions. As the Army has transformed itself into an expeditionary force while meeting the demands of two wars, we are enormously grateful for their service and sacrifices. The human cost of combat have been great.

The comprehensive study completed last year under the Army vice chief's direction underline the effects of continuous combat rotations and the work that has to be done. But I applaud the efforts of senior military leaders in the Army and in DOD to understand these problems, provide the best medical care possible in responding to the needs of wounded soldiers, and to assist the families of all soldiers. If you are confirmed, there will be no higher priority than continuing this work.

Wining the current fight in Afghanistan and preserving the hard won gains in Iraq must continue to be the Army's top priority. In

his few short months on the job, General Dempsey identified resolving the future mix of personnel and equipment as the Army's top priority. In this regard, you will be required to deliver honest assessment and make hard choices.

As the Army decides upon the optimal number and type of vehicles and equipment and invest in recapitalization and modernization, I urge you to look carefully at recent history. Over the last decade, the Army embarked on a number of developmental procurement and modernization programs that were subsequently de-scoped, re-baselined, or cancelled outright. I am very interested in the specific steps you intend to take to improve the Army's procurement track record.

The committee will interested to know your views on the continued drawdown of our forces in Iraq, and under what conditions you would advise an enduring troop presence. I have expressed my concerns about the size and pace of the drawdown of troops in Afghanistan. I also want to hear your views about reducing Army manpower by 22,000 soldiers over the next three years, and another 27,000 in future years, while absorbing a growing population of non-deployable soldiers.

As you take the reins of chief of staff, we need to know how much risk the Army and individual units and soldiers are being required to absorb in this challenging environment.

Admiral Winnefeld, congratulations on your nomination to be the next vice chief. I think you set a very high standard as commander, U.S. Northern Command, improving our homeland defense capabilities and enhancing security in our southwestern border.

There are still many challenges in this regard, and I hope that as vice chairman of the JCS, you will continue to participate in this important work.

You are stepping into big shoes follow General Cartwright. I thank him for his great service, and I hope he will continue to contribute his expertise to national security debates in the future.

I urge you to focus immediately upon confirmation on improving the acquisition process. The Department and its industry partners have stumbled and again in producing weapons systems at affordable cost that without question the services desperately need.

Your involvement is also needed in furthering cyber defense strategy and nuclear strategy, and ensuring we achieve success in the Middle East and Libya, and ensuring that the demand for budgetary reductions does not result in loss of capabilities and a military diminished and unable to respond in defense of our vital national interests.

General Fraser, you are following in the steps of two outstanding leaders at U.S. Transportation Command, General McNabb and General Schwartz. I am sure you will receive excellent mentoring and advice from them.

Last year DOD released the Mobility Capabilities and Requirements Study, 2016, that found the Department's plan mobility capabilities are sufficient to support the most demanding projected requirements. Specifically, the study found that large cargo aircraft airlift capacity exceeds the peak demand in all the peacetime and war time scenarios considered, which covered a broad spectrum of military operations.

The study concluded that the military needs only 264 to 300 large cargo aircraft. Eliminating the 316 large cargo aircraft for restriction would allow the Air Force to retire an additional 15 C-5A aircraft, and provide substantial savings by freeing up billions in taxpayers' dollars over the next few years. Given the current climate of fiscal austerity, which requires we look to all corners of the defense enterprise to determine how the DOD can conduct itself more efficiently, this is a move in the right direction.

I thank our witnesses again for their service and their willingness to serve in these key positions.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator McCain.

Let me now call first on Admiral Winnefeld.

**STATEMENT OF ADM JAMES A. WINNEFELD, JR., USN, FOR RE-APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF ADMIRAL AND TO BE VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF**

Admiral WINNEFELD. Chairman Levin, Senator McCain, and distinguished members of the Armed Services Committee, I am very honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to become the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

This nomination is especially humbling to me when I consider the eight exceptional officers who have previously held this position. And I am very energized by the opportunity to continue serving alongside America's young men and women in uniform.

It is also an honor to appear alongside two very special colleagues in Ray Odierno and General Will Fraser, with whom I have been so privileged to serve in the past, and whom I hold in such high regard. If we are confirmed, I look forward very much to the opportunity to continue working closely with them in the future.

It goes without saying that we as a Nation face many serious near-term and long-term challenges, and that many of them fall inside the military's lane. And if confirmed, I will do my part, do my best to ensure that our many ongoing operations around the world are concluded successfully, to assist the Secretary of Defense and the chairman in crafting a way ahead for the Department to include operating in a challenging budget environment, the continued improvements in the requirements and acquisitions process that Senator McCain referred, and also to maintain the best possible stewardship of the young men and women that have been entrusted to our care.

And as such, I look forward to working with not only the senior leadership in the Department of Defense in Washington, but also with our Combatant Commanders and our friends and allies around the world, and also key members of the executive branch and Congress to include the members of this committee in our best to make sure that we're defending the American people.

If I am confirmed, I will be joined in Washington by my family, who unfortunately could not be here today. But my incredible wife, Mary, who is so supportive of military families, and my two sons, L.J. and Jonathan, who I love dearly and I am very proud of.

My parents were also unable to be here today, but I will forever be indebted to them for their love and support, and also for their service together with a 30-year Navy career.

Thank you again very much for the opportunity to appear before you. And thank you for the ongoing support that you on this committee and your hardworking committee continue to provide to our men and women serving in uniform.

And I look forward to your questions. Thank you, sir.

[The prepared statement of Admiral Winnefeld follows:]

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you so much, Admiral.

General Odierno.

**STATEMENT OF GEN RAYMOND T. ODIERNO, USA, FOR RE-APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY**

General ODIERNO. Chairman Levin, Senator McCain, other distinguished members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, thank you for allowing me to have the opportunity to appear before you today.

Before I get started, I would like to introduce my family. I would first like to start out with my wife, Linda, who has been by my side for my entire 35-year career. She has dedicated herself to soldiers and family, leading family readiness groups at company battalion, brigade, division, and corps level, volunteering and leading to ensure our soldiers and their families are taken care of. But most importantly, I believe she served as a role model for all the young spouses throughout the military.

Over the last the three years she has dedicated herself to championing and providing pet therapy to our wounded soldiers and taking this on as a great opportunity to help to continue to move forward with their lives. And she has done all this while being the mother of three children and three grandchildren. And I could not do it without her. She has been by my side the whole time, and she is, frankly, my personal hero and my partner.

I am also blessed to have three wonderful children who are all here today. First, my youngest son, Michael, who is a senior at Texas Tech University, and who has probably had to live with more deployments than any other child in recent years, and has done so well in helping my wife as they have worked through these together.

My daughter, Katie, and her wonderful husband, Nick, who are here today, they are from Baltimore. Katie is a mother and also works in interior architecture. They live in Baltimore, and they are so supportive of me.

And, finally, my oldest son, Tony, who many of you know, West Point graduate, served in Iraq, was injured in 2004. He has set such an excellent example for all of those through his perseverance and dedication. And today, Tony is married to Danielle. Unfortunately she could not be here today. She is watching their twin boys and could not make it out today. But he works for the Yankees, but he continues to—[Laughter.]

General ODIERNO. But he continues to dedicate himself to wounded warriors as he is on the board of directors of the Wounded Warrior Project. So, it is an honor for me to have them there as they continue to serve me and our country.

Mr. Chairman, if I could go on, over the last 10 years, our Army has proven itself in arguably the most difficult environment this

Nation has ever faced. Our leaders at every level have displayed unparalleled ingenuity, flexibility, and adaptability. Our soldiers have displayed mental and physical toughness and courage under fire. They have transformed the Army into the most versatile, agile, rapidly deployable and sustainable strategic land force in the world today.

I am proud to be part of this Army with the opportunity to serve with these great men and women. And I am humbled and honored that I have been nominated to be the 38th chief of staff for the Army.

But today is like no other in our history. It is a time of uncertainty and historic change. We face a multitude of security challenges, such as transnational and regional terrorism in places like Yemen, Somalia, North Africa, and Pakistan's federally-administered tribal areas. We have uncertainty surrounding the Arab spring, and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. And we face the challenges of rising powers. But most importantly, all of this is underpinned by our own fiscal crisis.

I know that if confirmed, we will face some very difficult resource decisions within the Department of Defense. And as we determine those essential characteristics and capabilities which we will need on our Joint Force to meet our future security challenges, I pledge that I will work with everyone to make sure we come up with the right answer and mitigate the risks associated with such.

But I do have one word of caution. We must avoid our historical pattern of drawing down too fast and getting too small, especially since our record of predicting the future has not been very good. As you make difficult resource decisions, you must be thoughtful and understanding the risks we incur to our Nation's future security.

Today, the Army must continue to provide training and ready forces to ensure we prevail in our current missions in Iraq and Afghanistan. In the future, we must ensure that our Army remains our National force of decisive action, a highly relevant and effective force across the spectrum of conflict.

In order to do this, we must sustain our own volunteer Army today and in the future, providing depth and versatility to the Joint Force, an army that is more efficient in its deployment, provides greater flexibility for national security decision makers and defense of our interests at home and abroad.

Finally, and most importantly, if confirmed, it is my moral responsibility as chief of staff of the Army to be the number one advocate for our soldiers and their families. It is their dedication and sacrifice that has earned the respect and confidence of the American people as they continue to put their lives in harm's way for our Nation's security.

I want to close by stating my appreciation to the committee, its unwavering support of our soldiers and their families throughout the last several years. We could not do it without the great cooperation.

I promise you that if confirmed I will dedicate myself to carrying out my duties to the best of my ability and continue to work openly with congress to support our war fighters.

I look forward to answering your questions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of General Odierno follows:]

Chairman LEVIN. General, thank you so much.  
General Fraser.

**STATEMENT OF GEN. WILLIAM M. FRASER III, USAF, FOR RE-APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE COMMANDER, U.S. TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE**

General FRASER. Senator Levin, Ranking Member McCain, distinguished members of this committee, I am indeed honored to appear before you today as the President's nominee to be the commander of the United States Transportation Command.

It is also a privilege to join two fine officers on this panel, Admiral Sandy Winnefeld and General Ray Odierno, with whom I have worked closely not only in my current command, but in previous assignments. It is an honor and a privilege to join them today.

This morning I am joined, as I have been throughout my 37-year military career, by my wife, Bev, with whom I have been blessed to share this extraordinary experience of serving in the armed forces of this great Nation. Bev and I are indeed humbled to serve with the terrific men and women who have volunteered to serve our Nation, and we are grateful for this opportunity to continue serving, if confirmed, in this new capacity.

As you all well know, the military is truly a family, and Bev and I are extremely proud that our family has been a part of it. Our son, Mack, served in the United States Marine Corps. Our daughter, Ashley, is a military spouse of an Air Force officer. And they have blessed us with six grandchildren.

Throughout my career, I have become increasingly appreciate of the team effort required of all military families. All families of our soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and Coast Guard members, they help us perform our mission on a day-to-day basis and make many sacrifices.

The families of our service members that make these tremendous sacrifices are doing it for their husbands, their wives, their fathers, their mothers, their sons, and their daughters to answer our Nation's call. And I thank them for their priceless contribution to our freedom.

If confirmed, I look forward to joining the United States Transportation Command family, the more than 145,000 men and women who are dedicated to delivering, sustaining, and then returning our forces.

In my current role as commander of Air Combat Command, I know the critical importance of rapid, efficient, and timely global logistics. I also understand at the heart of that capability is the innovation and creativity of thousands of men and women who really make it happen.

If confirmed, I pledge to enable our total force—soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and Coast Guard and civilian team members—to build on the superior legacy of my friend and colleague, General Duncan McNabb. He has chartered a vision based on making our forces more effective and more efficient through rapid and responsive global logistical solutions and interagency, non-governmental,

commercial, and international partnerships. We will always deliver.

Finally if confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and all members of Congress to ensure that United States Transportation Command can continue to provide world class support through all of our incredible men and women.

Once again, I am humbled to have been nominated by the President for this position. I appreciate the trust and confidence of the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs in considering me for this command. And I am grateful for the opportunity to appear before you today.

I look forward to your questions. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of General Fraser follows.]

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, General.

Let me ask you the standard questions. You can all answer together.

Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulations governing conflicts of interests?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

You agree when asked to give your personal views, even if those views differ from the Administration in power?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

Have you assumed any duties or undertaken any actions which would appear to presume the outcome of the confirmation process?

[All three witnesses answered in the negative.]

Have you—will you ensure your staff complies with deadlines established for requested communications, including questions for the record in hearings?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

Will you cooperate in providing witnesses and briefers in response to congressional requests?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

Will those witnesses be protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

Do you agree if confirmed to appear and testify upon request before this committee?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

Do you agree to provide documents, including copies of electronic forms of communication, in a timely manner when requested by a duly constituted committee, or to consult with the committee regarding the basis for any good faith delay or denial in providing such documents?

[All three witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

Thank you all.

Let us have an 8-minute first round today.

On June 22, President Obama announced his decision that the United States would draw down its forces in Afghanistan by 10,000 by the end of this year, and the remaining 23,000 U.S. surge forces by the end of the summer 2012, for a total of 33,000.

Let me ask each of you—start with you, Admiral. Are you comfortable with the President's decision relative to those reductions?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Yes, sir, I am.

Chairman LEVIN. General Odierno?

General ODIERNO. Yes, sir.

Chairman LEVIN. And General Fraser?

General FRASER. Yes, sir, I am.

Chairman LEVIN. General Odierno, the former Secretary, now Secretary Gates made a speech at West Point last February saying that the Army is going to be increasingly challenged to justify the number, size, and cost of its heavy formations. And the first major challenge will be how to structure itself, how to train and equip for the extraordinarily diverse range of missions that it's going to face in the future.

Now, there were a number of other assertions by Secretary Gates, and I think you are familiar with them. But basically, how would you react to his statement that the Army is going to have difficulty justifying size, structure, and cost to the leadership of Congress and to the country?

General ODIERNO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I have actually had several conversations with Secretary Gates about this. And what I believe he was doing was challenging all of us as leaders to make sure that we are looking ahead, that we understand the future of conflict by being informed by the past, the lessons we have learned in conflict. And that because of that, we must make sure we shape our Army for the future to meet what we believe will be our future requirements. So, it is about identifying the right capabilities and characteristics that we need.

And I think what we have to do is become agile. We have to become more adaptable. And we have to be able to respond to a wide variety of potential capabilities that national command authority will lead the Army to do. And he is challenging us to make sure we do that as we conduct our assessments. And I am confident that the Army, as we are looking both at today and into the future, are conducting detailed assessments to decide what we should look like as we move forward. And I will report this out as we review and make progress in this effort.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

Let me ask you, Admiral, a couple of questions about Afghanistan and Pakistan as you undertake these major responsibilities. How important is it in your judgment to the success of our counterinsurgency campaign in Afghanistan that we maintain the process of transitioning more and more responsibility to the Afghan security forces for their country's security?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I think it is fundamental to the entire campaign that we transition responsibility for security to the Afghan national security forces. The ultimate goal in Afghanistan is establishing adequate stability so that Al-Qaeda and other extremist groups cannot return there and have a position from which to attack this country. And ultimately, the Afghans are going to have to step up and take that kind of responsibility for themselves. So, I think it is fundamental to the campaign.

Chairman LEVIN. One of the challenges to that campaign is Pakistanis' remaining reluctance to take on the Haqqani network. Do you have an assessment as to why they are refusing to take them on?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Of course, Pakistan is a very, very difficult partner, and we all know that. We do not always share the same

world view or the same opinions or the same national interests. I believe it is very unfortunate that Pakistan years ago made a decision to go down a very risky road of using proxy groups to carry out some of its desires to protect what it views as its own national interests. And among those groups has been the Haqqani network.

I think we need to keep continued pressure on Pakistan using all elements of pressure that we are able to apply to what really should be a friend, to get them to realize that the Haqqani network poses a threat to their own country, and to take the steps that we have asked to take and that they need to take in order to eliminate that as a threat, not only inside Pakistan, but equally importantly for us in Afghanistan.

Chairman LEVIN. Relative to Pakistan, we have got a real problem of resupplying our forces in Afghanistan, particularly as the Pakistan lines of communication are degraded or threatened or interrupted.

When we met, General Fraser, earlier, you indicated that we might have to reply—to rely more heavily on sealift with intra-theater airlift as the last leg of support for Afghanistan operations. Can you tell us about that, and what would be the problems associated with relying more heavily on that combination of sealift and intra-theater airlift if we have to resort to that?

General FRASER. One of the things that in preparation for this that I have taken a hard look at is the expansion that we have had through the Northern Distribution Network. And we have made progress there. And if confirmed, I will continue to work that very aggressively to expand the opportunities there as an alternative mode for getting goods into the theater.

We understand the challenges that may be presented with Pakistan if it was to shut down, and, therefore, that is why we are working hard to expand the network through the use of inter-theater lift, but once getting the supplies through the ports. Working with the countries in the Persian Gulf to have access to ports will allow us in to bring goods into the ports and then move them on from there with intra-theater lift.

If it shuts down, I am confident that we will be able to satisfy the requirements in the theater.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

General Odierno, what is the operational urgency to field a new ground combat vehicle in seven years? And how do you propose to manage the program risk which is associated with that kind of a fairly aggressive schedule through technology development or otherwise?

General ODIERNO. Excuse me, Chairman. Thank you very much.

The Army for almost 10 years now has been on a path of a developing capability for light forces, medium force with the Stryker and sustain our heavy forces with the Abrams battle tank and the Bradley fighting vehicle. And there was a plan at one time for us to then in the future—2020, 2025—to convert all that to FCS.

We all know that the probing of FCS to vehicle probe specifically was not successful. And so, we have to constantly look now at what is going to be the vehicle that the Army uses as we bring our force together for the future?

And one of the potential vehicles is the ground combat vehicle. And so, what we have to do is continue to assess, look at the re-

quirements that we have established for the ground combat vehicle to see if it will meet the future requirements that we see for our Army in the future.

And we are constantly assessing and working that, and we will continue to work with the committee on that.

Chairman LEVIN. Okay. Thank you all.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Fraser, to follow up on Chairman Levin's question about what would happen if Pakistan cut off its supply routes, what percent of our logistics now goes through Pakistan?

General FRASER. Sir, it is my understanding that approximately 35 percent moves through the ground, and the other is moving through the Northern Distribution Network, coupled with also the lift as we bring in supplies by air.

Senator MCCAIN. How long would it take you to make up for that 35 percent? Suppose tomorrow Pakistan shut off those supply routes. How long would it take you to adjust to keep the same level of logistics into Afghanistan?

General FRASER. If confirmed, I will certainly delve deeply into that.

Senator MCCAIN. You do not know.

General FRASER. I have not gotten the details of that—

Senator MCCAIN. It cannot be right away, you know that much about it.

General FRASER. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. So, there would be a period of time where we would not have the normal logistic supply.

General FRASER. Sir, in my visits to the theater, I see the—

Senator MCCAIN. Is that true or false?

General FRASER. I'm sorry, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. True or false. It would be a period where we would not be able to maintain the same level of supply.

General FRASER. That is true, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. And if we have to use airlift, airlift is approximately four or five times as expensive as the present mode of ground transportation, right?

General FRASER. Sir, we are doing everything we can to reduce the costs through the mobile—

Senator MCCAIN. Is it true that it is three or four or five times more expensive to use air to carry these logistics than the present mode of overland?

General FRASER. Sir, I will delve deeply into those cost figures. I do not have them off of the top of my head. It is more expensive to go by air.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you.

Admiral Winnefeld, do you believe that—how big a threat do the drug cartels in Mexico pose to the very government of—and the country of Mexico?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I do not think they pose an existential threat to the central government of Mexico, but it is very clear that in particular regions of Mexico, that they have coopted elements of the government, and that the Mexican government is facing a very, very serious challenge in those areas. But in terms of the viability

of the democracy of the central government of Mexico, I am not overly concerned about that.

Senator MCCAIN. Do you believe that there's any law enforcement institution in Mexico that is untainted by corruption?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I think that the higher you go in the Mexican law enforcement realm, the less tainted they are. I have more confidence certainly in the SSP, which is the Federal police. They have made tremendous strides. They are working very hard. As you get down closer to the municipal level, there is a great deal of corruption, yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. Do you agree with the Government Accounting Office assessment that our border is about 44 percent "operationally secure?"

Admiral WINNEFELD. I do not have any facts that would dispute that conclusion.

Senator MCCAIN. Is it your view that there are some parts of our border that are still not operationally secure?

Admiral WINNEFELD. In terms of operationally secure, meaning being able to completely shut off the flow of illegal immigration, I would agree with you.

Senator MCCAIN. Maybe not completely, but operational control, I think you and I both share the same definition.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. So, there are parts of our border that you agree are not operationally secure?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I would say that there are definitely parts that are very challenged in terms of their operational security. But I would hasten to add that there has been a lot of progress made over the last few years. And I would defer to the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security to give you the real details on that.

Senator MCCAIN. General Odierno, today there is a report that a senior broad base analyst says that Al-Qaeda is expanding in Yemen and Somalia, posing a new threat to U.S. military planning. The tactic could be part of the outfit's strategy of energizing its franchise with an objective of widening the areas of conflict, and hitting at its enemy, the U.S., in places where such attacks are the least expected. Do you agree with that assessment, particularly in regards to Yemen and Somalia?

General ODIERNO. I think for years we have been tracking the fact that Al-Qaeda has been trying to establish significant capability in Yemen. They are, I believe, starting to join other terrorist elements within Somalia, building a relationship with them in order for them to expand their organization as we continue to challenge them in other places.

Senator MCCAIN. In your view and most experts say that it is a growing threat, both Somalia and Yemen, particularly given the unrest in both those countries.

General ODIERNO. It is a very big concern, Senator.

Senator MCCAIN. And should we not take that into consideration as we talk about massive cuts in defense?

General ODIERNO. Well, as I said in my opening statement, Senator, I believe the transnational and regional terrorist threat is a huge issue for us as we look forward. And we have to consider that

as we move forward with any reductions and what our policies and strategies are to go after these threats.

Senator MCCAIN. Let me ask you about a continuing presence in Iraq. You obviously have been disturbed by hearing about the published reports of increased weapons from Iran coming into Iraq and Afghanistan as well, increased Iranian influence in southern Iraq. How important do you think it would be for us to maintain, with the agreement of the Iraqi government, maintain a troop presence, say, of about 10,000 people in Iraq, air defense, the Tikrit, the areas under dispute on the Kurdish border, and also for air defenses?

General ODIERNO. I think that if the government of Iraq were to request, as you said, I think it is important that we provide them with the support they think is necessary. It is clear that Iran is attempting to influence this decision with the actions they have taken, specifically over the last several months, in continuing to support, fund, train, equip surrogates in southern Iraq and central Iraq, specifically going after the remnants of our U.S. presence inside of Iraq.

It is important that we continue to support Iraq for their external security, both for air sovereignty, and also to help them in some of their security challenges, to include potentially some of the Kurdish areas. Those will be decisions that will be made General Austin, the ambassador, and General Mattis as they move forward.

Senator MCCAIN. And you do agree that there is clear evidence of increased Iranian activity in Iraq in a broad variety of areas, including the supply of weapons.

General ODIERNO. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator MCCAIN. Which makes one wonder that the Iranians believe that we are totally evacuating the area.

Let me just mention again, you and I have talked about it a lot, but it is those of who are deeply concerned about continued cuts in defense. And I would like to have your views of the effects of significant cuts in defense, particularly in personnel areas.

Again, a group chartered by the Secretary of the Army to look into how the Army procures major weapons system found that every year since 1996, the Army has spent more than \$1 billion annually on programs that were ultimately cancelled. Since 2004, \$3.3 billion to \$3.8 billion per year of Army developmental and testing evaluation funding has been lost due to cancelled programs, including the now cancelled Future Combat Systems Program. It goes on and on. And you are very aware of it.

Does that not have to be one of your highest priorities of trying to get this procurement situation under control? And would it not be helpful if we gave legislative authority to the service chiefs to be more involved in the whole acquisition process?

General ODIERNO. Well, first off, I will work very closely with the Secretary of the Army on these issues. We have identified several issues. First, it takes us too long to develop programs, and as the length of time increases, we change the requirements, so it becomes more expensive. We have not been good at predicting the technologies that are available. So we have to work at all this so we are not wasting money, and we are putting money in places that will be essential to us in meeting the future.

I will have to think about the legislation about giving the chiefs more authority, and I will certainly get back to you, Senator, on that.

Senator MCCAIN. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. On the whole issue of defense cuts and its effect on personnel, I would like your comments.

General ODIERNO. Well, first off, in the Army, the Army is about soldiers. And so, when we talk about defense cuts, you are talking about structure. You are talking about end strength of the Army. Forty-two percent of the budget is to personnel costs in the Army budget. So, as we look at reductions, it will be about for structure and personnel.

So, it is important for us that we understand that as we go forward we understand we are in a supply and demand business. And so, it will be depending on what the demand is for the use of our soldiers so we can continue to sustain our all-volunteer force, we are able to continue to meet the commitments around the world. That must all be considered as we look at the characteristics and capabilities you want the future force to look at it, because the Army will pay a force structure because that is what we are, and that is what we provide to the joint force.

Senator MCCAIN. All right, thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank all the witnesses for their service. I would just like to add, again, I have had the honor of watching General Odierno lead the brave men and women under his command in Iraq, and there is no one that I think is a finer leader that I have encountered in the team of Odierno and Petraeus, and Crocker as instrumental in our success in implementing the surge in Iraq.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank the witnesses.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator McCain.

Senator Reed.

Senator REED. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and, gentlemen, thank you for your service to the country. And to the families that have supported you, thank you very much.

Admiral Winnefeld, one of your principle responsibilities will be in the requirements process, and ultimately that transitions into procurement. The former Secretary of the Navy, Gordon England, who I greatly admire and has great insights, suggested a procurement sort of holiday, if you will, as we face a great deal of uncertainty in terms of what systems are going forward and how much money you will have.

In the context of that proposal, how do you propose to get your hands around sort of the reset that is necessary, the new innovative technologies that have to be incorporated, and a budget that is going to be extremely challenging, more so I think than I believe today.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Well, sir, I do not have the details of the proposal that you referred to regarding a procurement holiday. I think that would probably be unwise. We have future challenges in the world we need to continue to address and prepare ourselves for as a military, even as we resolve the conflicts that we have going on today.

I think this is a big ship in terms of the acquisition programs and the processes and the embedded requirements process, that we

need to turn into a much more favorable direction for the taxpayers. And I will be the first one to agree with that.

I think that we have a confluence of tools that are going to work for us. I think beginning with the Weapon System Acquisition Reform Act, which I think is good legislation, but it is going to take time for that to have its effect. I believe that Undersecretary Cartwright has a very good approach in better buying power that he is imposing on the Department to get more cost efficiencies, to provide incentives for industry, to provide more for competition and the like. And then I think that General Cartwright, if I am confirmed, has set me up for success to further improve the requirements process.

And I think those three things working together are going to get this ship turned in the right direction. And then we are going to be doing that, as you point out, sir inside a very challenging budget environment.

Senator REED. Again, I do not want to presume to argue Secretary England's case, but what it suggested to me is at least the possibility of stepping back, and instead of continuing to procure what is in the pipeline of looking out strategically to what we might really want 10 years from now or 15 years from now.

Again, we have had the discussion with all three gentlemen privately that in times like this, we would like to think strategy drives the budget, the decisions, but most times it is the budget that drives things. And given this tight budget, this notion of looking ahead and maybe not simply doing what we're doing today, but a little less and a little less and a little less might be the appropriate approach. I do not know if you would consider that.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Well, I think that the old adage, if you keep on doing the same thing you have been doing, you know, that is the definition of insanity, right? I think that we are going to have to take a very close look, especially in a very difficult budget environment. And there are probably some of these programs, depending on the pressures, depending on the decisions that are made by the senior leadership of the Department based on ongoing comprehensive review, that may end up falling by the wayside.

But I hope that those decisions can be made with a strategy in mind. And that strategy, of course, lives in an environment with a changing world, with threats that are out in the world, but also budget realities that we have to live with. And we have got to get the balance just right.

Senator REED. Let me switch to General Odierno. First, again, I join my colleagues in commending all of you, but I have had the privilege to work with General Odierno for many years now. I personally commend him for his incredible service to the Nation, to the Army, and, most importantly, the troops he leads. Thank you, sir.

One of the challenges you had, you talked about end strength. You talked about budgets. But one of the challenges you have is, how do you continue to maintain, develop, the talent, the enthusiasm, the energy of the superb officers and non-commissioned officers that are the heart and soul of what you do, not the equipment, not the force structure, at a time they have been in combat, many

of them, their entire careers, which no generation of American soldiers has ever experienced.

That creates psychological pressures. It creates family pressures. It creates real, profound questioning within the profession. And I think the profession is where these questions have to be addressed initially before they come to us about what do we do? What changes do we make?

I know you have thought about this, but your comments today would be appreciated.

General ODIERNO. Thank you, Senator Reed. I think one of my number one priorities is to first view leader development and how we are going to do leader development.

One of the things we have learned over the last 10 years is the requirement that we have on our leaders has changes significantly and grown frankly—what we expect them to be able to do, how we expect them to adapt, how we expect them to be agile. And so, we now have to infuse in our leader development program, how do we develop this from the time they start at ROTC or West Point to their time as they develop as young officers to senior officers, and as well as non-commissioned officers.

And we have to dedicate ourselves as look at new ways, broaden their horizons so they are able to better react and better be prepared for the world situations that they will be placed.

And, second, we have to understand that we have a force that is very different now. We have majors today and captains say that all they have experienced is war. And we have to help and understand and make sure they understand the profession of arms and reinvigorate our thoughts on the profession of arms, and reinvigorate how we are going to continue to move forward with trust within our system to understand how we operate as professionals. And we are going to reinvigorate this as we move forward. And I think these are important.

We also have to understand we have to challenge them. This is about challenging these leaders who have had so many challenges and been so successful, that we have to be able to continue to challenge them because we are going to need them as we move forward in the future. And if confirmed, I will dedicate myself and the Army leadership to putting programs in place that allow us to do this.

Senator REED. Let me ask a question for both you and Admiral Winnefeld. One would love to be able to conduct kind of a full spectrum, sort of panoply of training, and operations, and anticipation. But in thinking back 40 years now, when I entered the Army in '67, it was all about counter guerilla training and et cetera. And when I left it in '79, it was all about the major land air attack battle in Europe.

It raises the question of, not only in terms of reaction to what we have been through, but in terms of resources, are you both going to emphasize full spectrum capabilities, or are you going to drive to sort of shift one way or the other, presumably away from some of the recent activities and more to other activities?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, I would say it is a very, very good question that speaks to reset for what? And that is going to depend on the strategic environment. And I think as we look out ahead of

us in that environment, we are going to have to be ready for a very broad spectrum of potential conflicts.

If you look at what a conflict might be like in a place like Korea as opposed to other places, we are going to need to be prepared for that full spectrum of operations. And that is going to be a big challenge, not only resetting the equipment for that, but also resetting our people for that, and making sure that we don't myopically focus on one type of conflict over another, but that we are prepared as well as we can be for whatever comes across the plate, but as General Odierno pointed out earlier, we do not have a very good track record of predicting what comes next.

Senator REED. General Odierno?

General ODIERNO. Senator, as we look to the future, we are determining which someone else called hybrid threat. And I think this is the basis to how we want to move forward. Hybrid threat is one of irregular terrorists and criminality. And we have to understand that that is going to be more and more part of what we face no matter where we go.

And what we have to do is then develop the programs and the capabilities that allow our formations to adapt depending on where they will have to operate.

And so, I think that is what we have to focus on. And I think there are some basic fundamentals that we must always train on. They must always be able to understand their weapons systems and be able to execute with their weapons systems with lethality any time. But they also must understand that the environment that they are going to operate is going to be very different, and they have to be able to adapt and adjust. And that is why we talk about leader development as well as part of this.

Senator REED. General Fraser, we had a chance to talk in the office, and you have, I think, a central role because without TRANSCOM, these folks do not have soldiers, sailors, Marines, and ammo to do the job. So, I appreciate what you are doing.

The challenges ahead I think are similar, which is in a tight budget to manage your resources very well. And I think, you know, you are inheriting from General McNabb a quite effective organization, and I know you are going to carry on in that tradition. Let me just commend you for your service.

Just to simply ask, because we have had a discussion about strategy, budgets, et cetera, any comments you might have on this issue as it affects TRANSCOM.

General FRASER. Sir, if confirmed for the position, I will certainly work as hard as I can to continue to ensure that we not only effectively support the war fighter in the field, but do it in the most efficient manner. That is going to be partnering with our commercial partners, international partners, and working through other agencies. And I look forward to that opportunity should I be confirmed.

Senator REED. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Reed.

Senator Brown.

Senator BROWN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Fraser, I agree with Senator McCain's concerns about the logistic network through Pakistan. Do we have other options that you are aware of that we can rely on?

General FRASER. Sir, I have not delved deeply into the plan. I know I ongoing planning is happening. I know there would be a disruption. But if confirmed, I would delve deeply into that plan to ensure that any disruption that we have is minimal, to ensure that we continue to provide that effective, yet efficient, support for the war fighter.

We would also have the ability to tap into Strat Airlift from the United States, too. So, it is not just intra-theater, but it is also inter-theater. Intra-theater, it is also using ships. And so, it would be a holistic look that we would have to address, sir. And I will delve deeply into that.

Senator BROWN. Based on Senator McCain's initial foray, I would suggest that you do that probably sooner rather than later. And I know you are at a disadvantage, so I am sure you are going to assess what the risks of those other logistical avenues will be. And I look forward to maybe offline touching base when you get settled. I think it is an important issue.

And, General Odierno, I met with you yesterday, and you failed to include your Yankees connection as you were looking at my Red SOX memorabilia in the room.

[Laughter.]

Senator BROWN. But it is okay. It is okay.

Chairman LEVIN. You are speaking for yourself when you say it is okay, by the way. [Laughter.]

Senator BROWN. I am speaking for two people actually, sir.

Chairman LEVIN. When you say it is okay, you are speaking for—

Senator BROWN. Sir, obviously I asked a lot of questions yesterday and was obviously satisfied with those answers. I was just wanting to take a further question.

The Army recently requested to reprogram procurement dollars away from the modular handgun system into the lightweight 50 cal machine gun. It was based upon a decision to delay the procurement of the Army pistol to the fiscal year 2014, as well as changes to the requirement documents. Do you have any comments on that at all?

General ODIERNO. I do not know the specifics of the reprogramming, but what I would say is that I think we are fairly happy with the handgun, and we think that we can continue to work and be satisfied at least through 2014. I think that we feel it is more of a need for the light machine gun, and that is why that was done.

Senator BROWN. Okay. And, Admiral, if I could shift over to you, one of the challenges facing the National Guard in its homeland mission while at the same it continues its obligations as operational Reserve that will continue to experience the stresses and strains resulting from today's global threat. So, if you could comment on that.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Thank you, Senator. First of all, I think it goes without saying that the National Guard has been absolutely fantastic over the last decade in stepping up to support operations overseas in places like Iraq and Afghanistan at the same time they

continue to maintain their homeland security disaster relief type responsibilities. And they have just done a magnificent job.

And the process over the last year, I have grown very close to the Guard. I think I understand them better than I ever did as naval officer certainly. And they do face challenges.

We are doing a much better job of equipping them, I think, that former Secretary Gates quoted going from 40 to 70-something percent. And I think we need to continue that progress to equip the Guard.

I think that we need to make sure that we account for the same challenges that a guardsman has when he or she deploys regarding being a wounded warrior, regarding their families, and making sure that we support those people who tend to be dispersed obviously around the country. And we cannot lose sight of their family needs as we try to do the best we can to take care of the active forces' need, which tends to be, as hard as it is, a little bit easier.

So, I think are our challenges, and I think we just need to make sure that we continue to strike the right balance between the homeland mission and maintaining the Guard as an operational Reserve.

Senator BROWN. General Odierno, I was going to submit that question for the record. I apologize for asking that first question. But I did have a question, one that I forgot to ask yesterday about the—I understand that the Humvee obviously will serve as the majority of the Army and Marine Corps' light tactical vehicle fleet for the next 20 or 30 years with nearly 100,000 vehicles slated for recapitalization and modernization.

However, it fails to include scalable solutions and provide light-weight and affordable protection capabilities. Nonetheless, these scalable solutions seem to be a key design feature for both the ground combat vehicle and the JLTV.

Do you think the Humvee recapitalization program should also incorporate scalable protection solutions and rocket propelled grenade protection similar to the GCV and the JLTV programs?

General ODIERNO. I think we constantly have to conduct these assessments—obviously the protection of our troops and how we use these vehicles is important. And so, we always try to include the most protection that we can, either in the original design or some sort of armor that can be attached later on to protect them.

Now, I will get back with you, Senator, on this to give you a more specific answer than that.

Senator BROWN. Thank you. And, Admiral Winnefeld, sir, initially there was a conversation where Secretary Gates ordered us to find \$100 billion, and then several months ago the President advocated a plan to cut \$400 billion. And then there is a potential plan to cut \$800, and there is another senator who said, well, let us do a trillion.

Sir, at what point do these cuts affect our operational readiness and then prohibit our men and women from not only getting the equipment and tools and resources they need to do their job, but in fact do it safely and come home. Is there a number that you have a feeling is a good number? I just wanted to kind of explore that a little bit.

Admiral WINNEFELD. From my current vantage point as the commander of NORTHCOM and NORAD, I do not have a specific number in mind.

Senator BROWN. Well, how would those cuts affect you and your present command position?

Admiral WINNEFELD. It depends on how they were applied. And I think that your question is a very good one, and it highlights the importance of doing this in a strategy-based manner rather than just driving into individual programs and cutting out the ones that people like or do not like.

And as we get to a higher and higher number, we are going to find that the strategies that currently have are going to reach inflection points where we are just going to have to stop doing some of the things that we are currently able to do, because what we cannot afford is to have any kind of a cut result in a hollow force. We cannot afford to have a cut result in irreversible damage to our industrial base. And we have got to make sure that the all-volunteer force remains viable and we take care of these young men and women.

So, I think we are going to find strategic inflection points. I do not have an exact number for you, Senator.

Senator BROWN. Of course not.

Admiral WINNEFELD. But we are going to have to explore that very carefully and articulate it very carefully as these decisions come forward.

Senator BROWN. No, and I would ask that you do articulate it to the chairman and us so we can advocate and/or criticize, depending on what it is, and then help in that effort. We would be happy to do what we can certainly to provide that safety and security for our troops.

And just one final question. General Fraser, the Guard and Reserve airlift and transport capabilities, how does that figure into your overall strategy?

General FRASER. Sir, the total force is a key and integral part of our accomplishment of this mission, not only as they look forward towards TRANSCOM, but also in my current position as air combatant commander. It takes a total force to get the job done. There are men and women who are on a day-to-day basis making tremendous contributions. And I am very appreciative of that, and I thank them for their service.

Senator BROWN. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Brown.

Senator AKAKA.

Senator AKAKA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to add my welcome to our witnesses this morning and want to wish them well, and especially their families as well, too, because we know their families really make a difference in helping our witnesses in their work and also our country.

Admiral Winnefeld, the Air Force and Navy predict that significant savings can be achieved by leveraging research efforts in the Globalhawk and BAMS program. There are other examples of the services working jointly to take advantage of efficiencies. And you have been working on that as well.

Admiral, do you see additional opportunities for efficiencies and eliminating duplication?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, thank you. I believe this speaks to what former Secretary Gates spoke as the different bins where we approach the problem of decreasing potentially our budget. And one of those reducing redundancies and programs that just aren't working for us. And the example you point of the Globalhawk and the BAMS is a very, very good one.

I do not have any specific instances in mind, but if confirmed, I can promise you that I will be doing my part to look for those because there may be some fertile ground there for us find greater efficiencies. Absolutely.

Senator AKAKA. Well, thank you. I am glad you are looking forward to that.

General Odierno, as the Department continues to look for efficiencies and savings, I want to ensure that our troops have the necessary equipment and training to accomplish their missions.

General, while I think the active duty will continue to fare well, I have some concern about resources for the Guard and Reserves. What will you do to ensure that they receive the training and equipment needed so that they can be ready whenever they are called upon?

General ODIERNO. Thank you very much, Senator. As you are well aware, over the last 10 years, the National Guard and Reserve component have played such an integral role in all of our war efforts in Iraq, Afghanistan, other places around the world. They are a part of what we do. And as we get into budget decisions, they will become more of a part of what we have to do.

And the operationalization of the National Guard and Reserve component in my mind has had a significant impact on our capability and the depth that we need to execute operations. So, based on this, it is important that we keep them equipped.

And part of the things we have to look is in the future as we come out of Iraq and Afghanistan, we believe we still need to have an operational capability within the National Guard and the Reserve component. And we have to identify what that will look like. We have to ensure we have access to the National Guard and Reserve component.

And all of this will enable us then to ensure that they get the training and equipment necessary to meet the requirements that we will place on them as we move forward. And this is critical to us in our success.

So, I promise you that if confirmed, we will constantly assess, study, work very closely with the National Guard Bureau, with the Reserve component leaders in order to deal with these issues.

Senator AKAKA. Thank you very much, General.

General Fraser, in April, General McNabb testified that the Civil Reserve Air Fleet is a critical component to rapidly deployed forces and equipment with response times between 24 and 48 hours after the mission is assigned.

What are your thoughts on the future of this partnership with the civilian sector?

General FRASER. Thank you, Senator. And I agree with General McNabb that the craft, as it is called, is a significant part of what

we have in our capabilities that are available to us. And if confirmed, I will work my hardest to make sure that it stays viable, and that means reaching out and working with our commercial partners, and doing everything I can in working with this committee and Congress along those lines to keep it viable.

Senator AKAKA. Thank you very much.

General Odierno, the Military Leadership Diversity Commission was formed to look at the policies and practices that shape diversity among military leaders. What of the recommendations was that senior leadership within the services and DOD personally commit to making diversity an institutional priority.

General, can you share your thoughts on this topic as well as potential efforts you would undertake should you be confirmed?

General ODIERNO. Well, Senator, first off, I will tell you that I believe the strength of our offices, and I will speak to the Army specifically, is its diversity. That is what gives us the strength. It gives us people from all backgrounds, all capabilities that enables us to be very successful.

And in my mind, we become stronger the more diverse that we become. So, it is important that we have programs in place, both in our recruiting, in our ROTC programs, in our military academies, that then gets carried on as we continue to develop our leaders through our training programs.

Now, we have to monitor this. We have to make sure that everyone is being fairly treated. But most important, we have to make sure everybody is given the opportunities to do the jobs that are career enhancing. And we have to track this regularly to ensure that that happens.

And so, I will be dedicated to that if confirmed to ensure that we understand the importance of diversity, include that in all of our developmental programs both for our leaders and all the soldiers within the Army.

Senator AKAKA. Thank you.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

Senator Ayotte, I believe, let me double check, is next. Yes.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank all of you for your outstanding service to our country. The three of you are incredible leaders, and we are so fortunate to have you, and particularly want to thank all of the soldiers and sailors, our service men and women who serve underneath you for what they do for our country to keep us safe.

Admiral Winnefeld, if confirmed to be the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, you will have a very important role in advising the chairman, the Secretary of Defense, and the President regarding a variety of the Department of Defense policies.

In your written testimony, you discussed Al-Qaeda and the Arabian Peninsula, as well as Al Shabbab, and you called Al-Qaeda a growing threat to our homeland, and noted that Al Shabbab is planning to conduct attacks against United States' interests in East Africa.

During the hearing on June 28th, I had the opportunity to ask Vice Admiral McCraven if it would be helpful 10 years into the War on Terror to have a designated long-term detention and inter-

rogation facility for terrorists from groups like Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and Al Shabbab. He said that he thought it would be very helpful. What is your opinion about that?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I would share, I think, both Secretary Pannetta's and Bill's opinion on that that it would be helpful to have a long-term detention facility. For now, we are making due, as Bill pointed out. We recently, as you know, apprehended somebody, got pretty good interrogation of that person, and I think we got the information we needed. But it would be much better for us to have a longer term solution.

Senator AYOTTE. And I believe, Admiral, you were referring to Orsami, who was held on a ship for nearly two months and was interrogated on the ship, and then has been brought for trial within the United States.

I remain concerned about the fact that we could have put an individual like that in Guantanamo versus having to rely on keeping individuals on ships because if we get to a situation where we need longer than a couple of months to interrogate someone, a ship does not become a viable option. Would you agree with me?

Admiral WINNEFELD. It is a lot less convenient to put them on a ship. It is a burden on the ship. But we did just fine with Orsami, and we may have to do that from time to time in the future. I do agree that would be a good idea to have a longer term solution if we can find one. And if I am confirmed, I will drill into that more obviously and work with the committee as required to see what the options are.

Senator AYOTTE. Can I ask you a question? There was an Associated Press report about a man named Ali Mousa Dakdoud, who is a senior Hezbollah operative, who has been held by the United States in Baghdad as a top threat to American troops. He has been accused of working with Iranian agents, basically with their Shi'ite militias, to fight Americans.

And the article noted that this dangerous Hezbollah terrorist could be turned over to the Iraqi authorities within days, and within the article, if it is purported to be true, U.S. security officials are worrying that he could escape or even be freed from the Iraqis.

Admiral, are you familiar with this situation?

Admiral WINNEFELD. No, ma'am, I am not familiar with that specific situation.

Senator AYOTTE. Well, I would ask you to follow up either here or in a classified setting an answer to what is the situation with this individual. And it brings to mind to me, again, the concern with the lack of a long-term detention facility for individuals that remain dangerous to us.

[The information referred to follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

Senator AYOTTE. I firmly believe that Guantanamo is a top rate facility having visited it and should be that facility. We end up making decisions, like turning over people to other countries that are not prepared to assure their security, and then they end up in the battle against us again. It is one of the reasons I would like a follow-up on this particular individual. But, again, why I think it is so important that we establish this. I think we have got a facility. It works well.

I hope as you go forward in this role that you will be focused on this as you advise the President.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, I will provide an answer for the record on that.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you very much.

I also wanted to ask both General Odierno and you, Admiral, as well about the President's recommendations in terms of withdrawal from Afghanistan, and his plan that he has brought forth.

I know a number of us have shared—I am deeply concerned about one particular aspect of it, and that is the plan to fully remove the surge troops during September of 2012 as opposed to at end of the fighting season. The fighting season, as I am sure both of you know is generally from April through October. So, we are going to be withdrawing troops during July and August as we are in the middle of the fighting season. And as far as I can see, there does not appear to be a strategic or operational reason to do it at that particular time.

As we go forward towards 2012, Admiral, if it becomes apparent to you that based on the recommendations of General Allen and General Mattis that it is necessary to change that recommendation, or to stop the Afghanistan troop withdrawal in terms of the timing given that we are going to be in the middle of the fighting season, would you be willing to recommend to the President and the chain of command a change in that deadline based on conditions on the ground?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, throughout the nomination process, it has been made very clear to me from the senior leadership of the Department and the Nation that they expect candor from me, and I intend to provide that candor. And I do, in consultation certainly with the theater commander and with the combatant commander, if it becomes apparent that conditions on the ground warrant some sort of a shift, I would not hesitate to make a different recommendation.

Senator AYOTTE. General Odierno, I appreciate your leadership in Iraq, and obviously the key leadership that you provided working with General Petraeus and a successful surge in Iraq.

And I first wanted to get your view. Do you have an opinion whether there was any strategic, operational, or tactical advantages to the September withdrawal versus at the end of the fighting season?

General ODIERNO. I am not privy to conversations that went on and what General Petraeus' recommendations, General Mattis', and now General Allen's recommendation had been. I am not privy to that.

What I would say, though, is that this does remind me a bit of where we were in Iraq in 2008. Although Iraq and Afghanistan are different, the situations are somewhat the same.

In 2008, we still had some violence. Although the surge had started to bring violence, we still had violence in Iraq. But we did have to begin to withdraw the surge forces for no other reason that we could no longer continue to supply the surge force because we did not have the capability to back fill surge forces.

But what this does, I believe the most important thing in this plan is it provides flexibility now to General Allen to decide how

he withdraws those forces, when he withdraws them. And I think that is what is most important because that enables us to buy down risk. This is about risk. And it is about how some people are concerned that we are assuming high risk at the end of the fighting season, August/September/October potentially as we withdraw. But at least the President and the Secretary of Defense and General Mattis have given him the flexibility of when he will bring these troops out.

And I would just say a year is a long time, so I think we have to wait. I think we have to see how he is able to execute this. I think it is doable, but he will be the one who has to determine the risk and then provide us input as it moves forward.

Senator AYOTTE. And General Odierno, just a follow-up. Given your experience in Iraq, would you agree with me that General Allen's recommendations about the conditions on the ground are really what should determine the timing there?

General ODIERNO. Well, I think, again, yeah. I think how he withdraws with what he has been given I think will be based on conditions. And if he believes at some time the conditions do not warrant it, it is incumbent on him to bring that forward through General Mattis.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you. I appreciate it.

My time is up, but if I could ask just one quick question, General. Thank you.

General Fraser, I just wanted to follow up. Ranking Member McCain asked you about the strategic airlift capacity level. And we just recently had a hearing before the subcommittee on sea power. And General McNabb, do you fully agree with his recommendations that we can meet our capacity at approximately 300?

General FRASER. Thank you, Senator. I have taken a look at MCRS-16, and discussed with General McNabb and others, and I do support it.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Ayotte.

Senator Udall.

Senator UDALL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Good morning, gentlemen. Thank you for your service and willingness to take on even additional responsibility.

If I might indulge in a bit of personal commentary, Admiral Winnefeld, it has been terrific to have you in Colorado heading NORTHCOM. You are going to be missed, but you are going to add an enormously capable voice, presence to the Joint Chiefs, and you will always have a home in Colorado. I hope you know that.

General Odierno, we have phenomenal presence with the Army at Fort Carson. As you know, we are really proud of our soldiers. We are looking forward to the arrival of the combat aviation brigade. And I also wanted to point out that General Dave Perkins, who is deployed right now, and along with General Doherty, who has taken his place, and Colonel McLaughlin. The Army has been very well represented.

You and I talked about the Pinon Canyon situation, and I know that we are committed to working with you and the ranching community to see if we can put that issue to rest.

And, General Fraser, I do not know you as well, but I am reminded of an adage I have heard, at least quietly shared among the ranks of military leaders, and that is as follows: "Tactics are for amateurs. Strategy is rank amateurs. But logistics is for the true professional." So, we are excited to have you on the verge of taking the helm of this important command.

General Odierno, if I could turn to the dwell time question. I understand in the current Army force generation cycle, we are just not going to be able to provide that optimal ratio of two years at home for every year deployed. So, my question is, we know that the quantity of time at home station will be limited. What steps might you be able to take as chief to improve the quality of that time at home?

General ODIERNO. Thank you, Senator.

First off, we are moving closer and closer to that goal. We are not there yet as you stated. And as we stay engaged in Iraq and Afghanistan, we will work towards trying to achieve that goal because we know that that is one of the key factors of ensuring that we sustain our soldiers and their families as we continue to ask them to sacrifice.

There are other things that we can do. What we have to do first is we have to be more predictable to them while they are home, predictable where they will be stationed, predictable on what kind of training cycle they are in as they are preparing to redeploy in two years, so they can have more predictability with their families.

And that is an area we have to focus. It is about having resiliency centers that allow them to go and discuss issues and their families to discuss issues as they work with the reintegration and the stresses of repeated deployments. So, it is things like this that we have to continue to do that helps us to improve the quality of life of our soldiers and families, as well as continue to work towards increasing our dwell time home. Those are things we have to continue to focus on as we move forward, sir.

Senator UDALL. I look forward to working with you in that area, and I know how important it is, and I know you know that.

Admiral Winnefeld, in your capacity as the NORTHCOM commander, you have a unique understanding of the capabilities and the contributions of the military's Reserve components. We all know since 9/11, the Guard and the Reserves have played a vital role here at home and overseas.

As we begin to transition out of Iraq and Afghanistan, do you anticipate there will be a need to adjust Reserve component force structure or the missions they currently perform?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I have not had a chance to really participate in the comprehensive, Senator, that is going on right now that will consider that very question. So, I wouldn't want to get out in front of that or pre-judge it. We are going to have to take a closer look at it, but I really do believe that we need to strike the right balance between maintaining the Guard as an operational Reserve, as well as maintaining their capability to conduct the day in and day out work that they do so well inside the States.

And there is an overlap there in terms of equipment and training, but there also is uniqueness there. And we are going to need to strike the right balance as they come home.

Senator UDALL. If I could, let me add a question for the record as you undertake that survey. And the question is as follows, if the current budget constraints and the reduced number of deployed troops would cause DOD to either cut into the Reserve or additional missions in order to maintain Active-Duty Force structure and capabilities, how would you end up answering that question? I'll ask for the record.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Yes, sir, I will take that for the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

[COMMITTEE INSERT]

Senator UDALL. That would be terrific.

Let me turn to cyber. You and I talked about this the other day, and, again, your responsibilities at NORTHCOM have linked you to that very important and new concern we all have.

The Comprehensive National Cyber Security Initiative that the President initiated has identified cyber as one of the most serious economic and national security challenges that we face.

I know there is a limit to what we can discuss here, but can you discuss what you believe the DOD's role should be in defending the U.S. and our vital assets against cyber attack? And then would you talk, if you think you can, about where a kinetic military response might be justified?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Clearly, DOD has a role in cyber defense of the country. The first and easiest thing to talk about is defense of our own networks within the dot.mil domain.

We also have a role, I believe, in supporting the Department of Homeland Security in their role of helping defend the rest of government and the rest of the country. And that is a complex relationship. I believe that previous Secretary Gates and Secretary Napolitano struck a very good, solid agreement. And General Alexander, my counterpart over at CYBERCOM, is doing a very good job, I believe, of working with the Department of Homeland Security to construct how that support would work to include making sure that we have respect for civil liberties as we do that.

So, that is a growth industry, to be sure, that we need to pay very, very close attention to.

Regarding your question on offensive capability, it is very clear that an element of deterrence, one of the several elements of deterrence, is the ability to respond to an attack, and to make that attack so costly for an attacker that they are unwilling to conduct it. And I believe that we have to consider the full range of potential responses to an attack, not only, by the way, military responses, but also the full range of diplomatic and using force as a last resort, as it were. But I would never want to rule anything out in responding to a serious cyber attack on this country offensively. And it could be a cyber response or it could be a kinetic response, depending on the nature of the attack and the circumstances that surround it.

Senator UDALL. I would like to acknowledge the tremendous work that General Cartwright has done in this area. I know you will build on what he has learned and what he has proposed. This committee is an opportunity to sit in secured settings and learn more and more about the threats and also the responses that we have available to us.

Before my time runs out, I want to turn to energy. I visited with all three of you about the opportunities and also the challenges we have in the energy space. And Admiral Mullen, I think, put it quite well recently when he said, energy needs to be the first thing we think about before we deploy another soldier and before we build another ship or plane. He also said saving energy saves lives. And I know you all three know that acutely.

General Fraser, would you care to just to comment on any thoughts you have in regards to how we can do a better job and enhance our National security, and perhaps also develop some technologies that will have great application in the civilian sector.

General FRASER. Thank you, Senator. I appreciate it.

As you know, the Air Force is doing a lot in the area to certify our aviation assets to alternative fuels. In fact, we continue to move forward in a number of different platforms. In fact, just this year, at the Andrews air show, the F-16s that flew as a part of the Thunderbirds, we had an aircraft that was on alternative fuel. So, I think that we need to continue to move forward in that area.

Right now, we also need to see about making it more economical. It is very costly, and so I think as more get in line and we find out that there are opportunities there, there is a competition for it that will drive costs down, and it may be an opportunity to look forward into the future to using these blends and these mixes or biofuels.

I also feel that there are some technologies that we need to continue to explore with respect to our engines. Alternative engines, as we look to the future, are there things from an engineering and design perspective that we can get more efficient out of our engines in the future? And so, that ought to be something that is taken into consideration as we move forward to the future in everything that we do.

Energy is an integral part of our analysis, and I look forward as we move into this position, if confirmed, to continue to move forward, ensure that we are doing things in a most efficient and effective manner.

A couple of things that I have already been made aware of that we are doing is utilizing some tools to maximize the assets that we have. There is a route planning tool that is used that has actually increased the efficiency along routes by upwards of 15 percent. There is an air optimization tool that has also been used to increase our ability by up to about 10 percent.

So, it is these types of things I look forward to delving into even greater if confirmed and moving into my next position. Thank you very much, sir.

Senator UDALL. Thank you for that update. And, again, I look forward to working with all of you on this important opportunity when it comes to saving energy and developing new energy technologies.

Thanks again for your service.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Udall.

Senator Graham.

Senator GRAHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you all for your service. I am sure you will be confirmed, and congratulations on being nominated by the President to very important jobs at a critical time.

General Winnefeld, whatever number of transport aircraft we have available as a Nation, do you agree with me that over the last decade we have been flying the wings off these things?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Sir, did you mean that for General Fraser?

Senator GRAHAM. Yeah, General Fraser, I am sorry. I apologize.

General FRASER. Sir, we are indeed flying at a higher rate with respect to a large number of our platforms, whether it is tactical air, strategic air. Our assets have been deeply engaged in today's fight.

Senator GRAHAM. As a matter of fact, the operational tempo is probably unheard of maybe since World War II. Is that correct?

General FRASER. Sir, it is a high ops tempo across all of our platforms.

Senator GRAHAM. So, when we look at numbers, we all need to understand from the committee's point of view, I believe, that we are really aging these airplanes pretty quickly because of the demands.

Admiral, as vice chairman, do you believe that the term "War on Terror" is a correct term for the threats we are facing?

Admiral WINNEFELD. That is a very good question. I think that that term has passed out of vogue with a number of people, but I think we are still so much in a fight with Al-Qaeda and their related extremist groups that it sure feels like a war, yes, sir.

Senator GRAHAM. That is a good response I think. What do you tell the public? Is it close to being over? Is it just beginning? Are we in the middle? Or we don't know?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I think I would echo Secretary Panetta when he was asked a question about this, and he said we are close to being able to strategically defeat Al-Qaeda. And to me, that means their message being bankrupt, a lack of financial support that enables them to conduct operations and the like, that ultimately causes them to unravel from their internal contradictions, much the same way the Soviet Union.

But that said, Al-Qaeda is morphing. It is less of a centrally-controlled organization. There are more home grown terrorists out there that are ascribing to the ideology in some cases.

So, this not yet over. It is not even close. We still have a fight on our hands in places like Yemen and Somalia, and even ensuring, with the cooperation of our law enforcement partners, that of course we manage this at home.

So, it is going to be a long struggle.

Senator GRAHAM. What would you call the potential threat we face from a nuclear armed Iran? Is that part of the War on Terror, or is that a different threat all together?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Unless Iran were to hand a nuclear weapon over to an extremist, then I would consider it a completely different animal.

Senator GRAHAM. What do you think the odds are that if the Iranians developed a nuclear capability they would indeed hand it to an extremist group?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I think the Iranians understand that if they handed it to an extremist group, it probably would not be very difficult for us attribute any use of that weapon to Iran. And I think they know that they would suffer grave consequences if that occurred.

Senator GRAHAM. Do you think they believe they would suffer grave consequences if they developed one at all?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I believe that they are going to understand that they are going to feel the effects of all elements of national and international power applied to them as required if and when they continue this development.

Senator GRAHAM. Do you believe that all the efforts of international power being applied is deterring the Iranians from obtaining a nuclear weapon?

Admiral WINNEFELD. It remains to be seen, Senator. It is a very good question. It certainly, I believe, slowed them down, but there is more pressure, I think, that could be and probably should be applied eventually.

Senator GRAHAM. In terms of the threats we face in the future, if Iran acquired a nuclear capability, what kind of threat and what would be the likely consequences of that event to our National security?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I think it would be grave if they acquired a nuclear weapon and the ability to deliver it.

Senator GRAHAM. Right.

Admiral WINNEFELD. And, of course, we need to watch that very, very carefully and pace that so that we can—

Senator GRAHAM. And that takes us to missile defense and other. And to suppress the Iranian nuclear threat could require some pretty sophisticated military capability. Do you agree with that?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Yes, sir.

Senator GRAHAM. That the idea of attacking Iran with a single strike and neutering their nuclear capability if the President chose to do that is probably not going to happen. It would be a more sustained effort if we went down that road?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I would not want to rule anything out, Senator, at this point.

Senator GRAHAM. That is why F-35s and F-22s have become important, is that correct?

Admiral WINNEFELD. The F-35 and the F-22 certainly represent a very important capability.

Senator GRAHAM. That is why air refueling capability becomes important. That is why bases in the region become important.

So, the reason I ask these questions is to get to what kind of threats the Nation faces. And I would argue that the fight against Al-Qaeda has been successful, but not nearly over. It is morphing, that the Pakistani border is more unstable than it has been in the past. And that when you look at the amount of money which we spend to defend the Nation, you have to look at the threats. And we have not even gotten to North Korea yet.

So, my question for all of you, is it fair to use GDP spending on defense as a guide to what is sufficient? Is that a good measuring device?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, I think it is an indicator, a comparative indicator. But it is also very often comparing apples to oranges. I mean, if you look at what we spend as a percentage of GDP in World War II, it does not even compare to what we are spending now.

Senator GRAHAM. Right. And Secretary Gates identified GDP as a benchmark for defense spending. I associate myself with that. And when you look at World War II spending, you are right. We went up to 42 percent at the height of the war of GDP. Korea was 8.23 to 13; Vietnam was 7.65 to 10.8. In 2010, we are spending 5.78 percent of our GDP on defense.

So, if you believe it is a benchmark, would you agree that it is on the low end of conflicts in recent memory?

Admiral WINNEFELD. I would say factually it is on the low end GDP wise, yes, sir.

Senator GRAHAM. General, can the Army withstand 49,000 troop reductions and deal with some of the threats we have just talked about?

General ODIERNO. The 49,000 troop reduction depends on our commitments, and I think the assumption in that reduction is our commitments to Afghanistan will go away. Our commitments in Iraq will go away. And there will be no new more commitments generated.

Senator GRAHAM. Do you think it is logical for this country to assume in the future that we are not going to have to use the Army in some kind of role in the future operations in the War on Terror?

General ODIERNO. Well, I think, you know, as I said earlier, we have never been good at predicting the future. And we must have an Army that is capable of responding to worldwide issues.

Senator GRAHAM. And when we respond, we want to respond with overwhelming force. We are not looking for a fair fight here, right?

General ODIERNO. We are not looking for a fair fight, no, Senator.

Senator GRAHAM. Now, you mentioned to Senator Ayotte's questions that you believe that General Allen had flexibility in terms of withdrawal. Are you suggesting to the committee the President's dictate that we will remove all surge forces out of Afghanistan by September of 2012 is condition spaced?

General ODIERNO. What I was suggesting is that he has flexibility within the timeline that was set for him by the President.

Senator GRAHAM. But my question is, it is not condition spaced. As I understand the policy, all troops will be removed by the end of September.

General ODIERNO. What I was discussing was the flexibility he has within those dates of removing troops.

Senator GRAHAM. I guess he could bring 30,000 out on the 15th of September—

General ODIERNO. He could.

Senator GRAHAM.—but that would be pretty hard to do.

I just want to thank you all. And as the committee inquires into what is enough to defend America, we are going to need your counsel and advice. There is a budget problem we are all facing. De-

fense spending has to be on the table. But I do not want to America to lose sight, Mr. Chairman, of the threats we are facing.

This is not a time to seek a peace dividend because we are nowhere near peace. And the way to avoid war is to be able to deter it. And when you go into it, end it quickly. And we need capability as far as the eye can see.

So, thank you all and God bless.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Graham.

Senator Begich.

Senator BEGICH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all for your service and your willingness to serve. And thank all of you for most recently and some over the last few months having conversations about what is important to Alaska.

Let me, if I can, to Admiral Winnefeld. Again, thank you for moving to this level. And, again, as Senator Udall said, we will miss you in regards to your role in Northern Command. And I know I owed you a call back from your call to me, but thank you for figuring out who is in charge in the Arctic. And we appreciate that more than you can imagine, as our conversation that we had.

And on that issue, if I can walk through a concern, and we have talked about this before. In dealing with the Arctic, which is now becoming more and more apparent to almost all aspects, it does not matter if it is military, industry, environmentalists, you name it, the Arctic is becoming a pretty important piece of the puzzle for our country. And, of course, for Alaska, it is a critical piece.

And one of the pieces of this puzzle is the Law of the Sea that has been delayed or we are one of the few countries that have not signed on. One, I would be interested in your thoughts on that. And, two, the concerns that we hear from people, and a very, very small amount of people, as we have talked about before, is it that somehow we will lose our sovereignty by signing on to the Law of the Sea.

So, first, can you respond to the importance of the Law of the Sea from your perspective? And then this whole issue of sovereignty and that we would be giving up our role? Admiral?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Sir, I think the Law of the Sea Treaty is important to us, both from a strategic perspective, and also inside the military perspective. And from the strategic perspective, specifically to the Arctic, it gives you a seat at the table when other nations are starting to step forward and assert their claims in the Arctic. And we want to be there as part of the international community to participate in that process to make sure that that is adjudicated properly.

Senator BEGICH. Can I hold you there for a second? Could I just read to you, and it might have been over the last month that, I mean, Russia is moving aggressively with military operations potentially in the Arctic. Did I read that correctly?

Admiral WINNEFELD. They have made a number of statements, for example, putting a couple of brigades up in the Arctic. It remains to be seen where they go, what they do, and how they are configured. So, I am withholding judgment on that a little bit. But it is a significant statement on their part.

Regarding the military piece of the Law of the Sea, there is nothing in the Law of the Sea that prevents us from exercising any of

the standard operations that we need to be able to do—straights passages, freedom of navigation, and that sort of thing. And if anything, it more formally codifies it and gives us a seat at the table as they might be modified in the future.

So, I fully support accession to the Law of the Sea Treaty.

Senator BEGICH. And it does not, again, to the main question, it does not limit or reduce our rights and sovereignty in the areas that we control.

Admiral WINNEFELD. As far as I can tell, and reading the treaty and consulting with our people, it does not. And there are mechanisms that we have in place where if that were attempted, we would be able to avoid any kind of a limitation on our freedoms or sovereignty.

Senator BEGICH. And the military supports the effort to get the Law of the Sea Treaty resolved.

Admiral WINNEFELD. I do not know of anybody in the Defense Department, including the Navy, that is not in favor of acceding to it.

Senator BEGICH. Thank you very much. I just wanted to make sure that is, again, on the record. I know we talked about it several months ago, and I just wanted to make sure.

The second is, if I can shift here to, I sit also on the Veterans Committee, and one of the big issues is transition from DOD, Department of Defense, military operations, individuals, and then going into veterans' programs, and that transition. And I can only speak for the last two and a half, three years that I have been here, but I know there was concerns in the past that that transition was not as smooth as it could have been. And can you give me some general comments of what you think, and how that is improving? And the reason I ask, I come to the Armed Services Committee here, talk to active duty and hear pieces. And then I go to the Veterans Committee, hear pieces. And not all the time do they meet. But I am seeing some progress, at least in my three years. But maybe you could respond to that and tell me what you think, and is there some areas of room for improvement in that arena.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, it is a very good question. It is something that I would need to dive into deeply if confirmed.

I do know that there have been, as you point out correctly, problems in the past where we have not stitched together those two systems as we well we probably should have. I also know cursorily that the Department is determined to work with the Department of Veterans Affairs and stitch that together the way it should be. And I can assure you that if I am confirmed, I will look into that.

Senator BEGICH. I appreciate that. I know as we talked about what the future is and strength, there will be less inactive and more in the veteran end. And we want to make sure that that transition works very smoothly.

Very parochial, but yet more broad sweep. And that is, how the Defense Department will work with non-profit organizations, organizations that are important to family support. And what I mean by that is I know in Alaska we have a program, Alaska Assistance Dogs, that are important for many of our veterans and wounded warriors. And it is basically run by a non-profit organization. And

I know sometimes the Defense Department is very rigid in their access or allowability of access from non-profits.

One, do you see these organizations as important for the long term, especially with our wounded warriors? And then, two, can you obviously make a commitment here that you will aggressively look at how we ensure these non-profit organizations really do integrate their services or provide these services that the military just cannot?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Sir, I think that General Mullen has done an exceptional job of outreach into the country through his conversations with the country and a number of other initiatives that he has had in place to reach out and leverage every capability that the Nation can muster to try to help our families and our wounded warriors.

And I would be committed to continuing that. I think it involves a number of different bins, if you will, of awareness within the population and certainly businesses and schools in the country of what military families' needs are. It includes employment. It includes education. It includes wellness. It includes what I believe are quality of services that we provide to our military individuals. And I think that non-profits can have a key role to play in that.

I do not know the exact details, whether there are any particular limitations on non-profits being able to participate in that. But if confirmed, I will make it a matter of priority to continue to support Chairman Mullen's program in that regard.

Senator BEGICH. And if you see areas that, just because of regulatory or old systems that we put in place through legislation, that limits their ability, even though it sounds like a good idea to include them, please let me know or let others know, because I think we want to engage the community because I think the community is very interested and want to help as much as possible.

Admiral WINNEFELD. Senator, I relish cutting through red tape like that. As long as I can do it legally and ethically, I will be all over it.

Senator BROWN. On the legal end, if you see laws that need to be changed, that is our job, so please feel free to—it may take longer than we want, but let us see what we can do.

Thank you very much. And let me, if I can, to General Odierno. Let me ask you a couple of questions.

I know we had a great conversation regarding family support and the need to ensure. And there is no question in my mind after our conversation, your strong interest to have a strong Army, you need to have a strong family component to it.

And one area we talked about a little bit was education and how and what we need to do. And can you just give me your thoughts of the importance—and I know I talked to you about ensure that our DOD facilities are properly maintained, but I thought it was very interesting your conversation about the community part of it and how you can kind of see this balance. So, could you respond a little bit?

General ODIERNO. As I have my three children here who all grew up in DOD schools as well as community schools, I think the important part about this is there is places where there is no other choice, but you have to have DOD schools. So, I think in those

places, it is important that we support the infrastructure in order so our children can continue to be educated.

But there are many programs around in many places, and I will use Queen, Texas, as an example, out of Fort Hood where there is a partnership where the Queen school district is taking over the infrastructure on post in order to have our kids get a good education. I think these partnerships are important.

And my personal opinion is inside the United States, we should really continue to build these partnerships, and that should be the way ahead for our education. So, I think it brings more resources. It brings more capability to our children.

So, if you could just indulge me. If I could just comment on the question you just asked. It is absolutely critical that we have the opportunity for non-profit organizations to supplement our support to our soldiers and families, wounded warriors. There are so many of them out there who do so many great things for our soldiers. It is important. We have to have that. And it so important. And sometimes it is difficult for us to reach out them, and I think we have to look at ways at how we can do this legally and ethically in such a way where they can provide more support to our soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines, and their families in order to provide them what they need as we go through this time of war. So, I think that is a very important effort, and I would like to work with you and the committee on that if confirmed.

Senator BEGICH. Thank you very much. And thanks for those comments. I will just throw an idea, and then my time is up here, and that is, it just dawned on me as you were talking. I wonder if the military when the school board associations meet on an annual basis, they meet, I think, a couple of times a year, all the school boards from across the country. If the military actually participates in those meetings, and—

General ODIERNO. I would tell you in a couple of ways. First, in the community I was involved with, there are four or five communities. And frankly I met once a month with all the superintendents.

Senator BEGICH. Excellent.

General ODIERNO. And they would come in together, and we had a program where I met personally with them. And those are the kind of relationships I think we have to have. But I think in many places that is in fact the case, but we have to continue at things like that.

Senator BEGICH. Thank you very much. And, General Fraser, we had a great conversation. I have run out of time. But I would say I know you have been ragged a little bit on logistics in Afghanistan and Pakistan and what could happen there. But from our conversation, I have faith that you are not going to leave the troops hanging out there without the right logistic support they will need to do their job. So, I just want to put that on the record.

I know we talked about a little bit about a kind of a plan B. And as you get confirmed, you will be engaging in that in an aggressive level. And I want to at least reassure people who might be watching us that there may be slight gaps, but it is not about a total gap. And the goal is to have a full plan to make sure all logistics are dealt with wherever our troops are, Afghanistan being one of the

places obviously now. You do not have to respond. I just want to put that out there.

Thank you very much to all three of you, and to the families that are behind you, thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Begich. And, Senator, if you will look into the issue that you raised about the National Association of School Boards and whether or not there is a connection at those national meetings, I would be happy to join with you. And perhaps the committee could even, if it is not already the case, suggest to them that it be the case.

Senator BEGICH. I think that is a great idea, Mr. Chairman. Why it dawned on me when I was U.S. Conference of Mayors, they never one, and we created one because it was critical that mayors have that connection, so it just dawned on me. So, I will do that.

Chairman LEVIN. No, it was a good idea.

Senator BEGICH. We will do it.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

Senator Sessions.

Senator SESSIONS. Thank you. Thank all of you, and congratulations on your appointments and nominations. I expect to support you and continue to support after confirmation, which I am certain will happen.

I truly believe we have the greatest military the world has ever known. It is large. It is mobile. It is courageous. It is well led by the finest operations corps we have ever had, and I believe the finest NCO corps. And it is just a remarkable thing.

And as the ranking member of the budget committee, things are going to be tighter in the years to come. And I would just say that we have got to tighten our belts, but do it in a way that does not damage this fabulous morale and spirit and capability that the military has accomplished. And I just would say that in opening comments.

General Odierno, Senator Ayotte, former prosecutor like I have been, asked you about prisoners and prosecutions and jails. Those are fundamental things. I truly think we are going to have to examine how we are detaining dangerous individuals.

And I am aware that there are problems in Afghanistan now with some very dangerous individuals being arrested and being detained and then being released rather rapidly. Are you aware of that? And is it a concern? And if you need assistance in bringing that to the right level, let us know.

General ODIERNO. I am not aware of any of the specifics in Afghanistan, specific cases, but I would make a general comment on this.

What we have learned over the last five to six years specifically is that the ability to detain those dangerous individuals for long-term detention is critical to us in getting the information we need to prosecute our campaigns. And it was the case in Iraq. It was the case in Afghanistan. And we found that to be important.

And so, I think it is important that we take a look at this. I clearly agree with Vice Admiral—no, Admiral McCraven's assessment of this, that it is important that we take a hard look at this because it does have a significant impact in us getting the informa-

tion necessary to continue to prosecute our operations around the world against terrorism.

Senator SESSIONS. I just agree. I think policies in Iraq changed. I think we did a better job of identifying using normal police techniques, fingerprints, biometrics, and bomb characteristics to identify people. And they have got to be detained. It is very, very demoralizing and dangerous to release someone who is going to go back to the war and kill people. We would not do that in the United States.

And my observation is that undeveloped nations are consistently deficient in being able to detain people in prison for long periods of time. I suppose that is one reason they had a death penalty so much. They did not have the ability. So, my observation is that people tend to get out. They either pretend to talk. They either bribe their way out. They either escape, or they are released because there is not room for them.

So, anyway, I do think that you should give attention to that, and if we need more resources, I hope you would call on us.

With regard to our forces in Europe, the original plan was to bring back two Army brigades, General Odierno, from Europe. I understand those plans are now on hold. According to the Stars and Stripes, in April, the Army will return only one brigade, and that only represents 5,000 soldiers out of 80,000 U.S. troops in Europe.

I think it is time for us to have a serious heart-to-heart with the Europeans on their defense expenditures. In Germany I understand they are about 1.2 percent of GDP. Other countries are at that level in Europe. Very few are meeting their goal of two percent of GDP on defense as a NATO obligation, while we are at about four to five percent of GDP on defense.

And are you aware of this discussion? Maybe Admiral Winnefeld would be. And I just have to say it means a lot economically to Germany or other places where we have people spending money in their economy. It means a lot to our Nation when our people are at home spending money in our economy, number one. Number two, if they do not need to be there for serious strategic reasons, I think we should look to bring more home and reduce our presence.

General ODIERNO. Senator, my understanding of that decision is similar to yours, the most recent decision.

I would just say as we go through these budget reductions potentially, we have to review all of this again. In my opinion, it will have to be reassessed. Where this will all be part of where we put Army force structure, where we most need it depending on what is left based on the budget realities that we are facing over the next 10 years. So, that will have to be part of the discussion.

So, I am assuming we will have to continue to look at this, continue to look at strategically what is best in order for us to execute our policies. And we certainly will continuously review this as we move forward over the next several years.

Senator SESSIONS. I was in a security conference some months ago, and the British told us they were reducing their defense spending eight percent. Frankly, they are not spending enough now. And I responded, well, I guess you feel okay because the

United States will be there to take care of you. But we need to have this kind of conversation with our allies. And they have got to participate more.

I see Senator Lieberman re-looking at the budget numbers. A lot of people have complained that our deficit is a result of our military efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Looking at the numbers, that is not really so. We have spent a tremendous amount of money on those two efforts, about \$1.5 trillion, maybe a little less. And the deficit has increased about \$15 trillion during this time.

And at this point, we are projected, this year we are spending about \$150 billion on the military effort, \$158 maybe, this fiscal year, going to \$118 next fiscal year. But our deficit this year is \$1,500,000 billion, \$1,500 billion. And those numbers would come down to \$118 billion and continue to drop under the plan that we have seen and I am hopeful that we can adhere to.

But I just want to say that while every dollar has to be managed carefully, the reason we have a severe financial crisis in America is not because of our military effort. It may be a part of it, but it is about 10 percent. And we will have to look at it.

You do represent about half of the non-defense discretionary spending. In the last two years, non-defense discretionary spending has increased 24 percent. Military spending is about two or so percent, maybe three. It is projected to stay at two or two and a half percent the next decade, and I do not think it will. I do not think we can have that big an increase frankly. But we have had much, much larger surges in non-defense spending than defense spending, and certainly in recent years.

How we work our way through that, I do not know, but I call on all of you to realize that we are at a level of spending, borrowing 40 cents of every dollar we spend, that cannot be sustained. And you represent about half of the discretionary spending budget of the United States, separate from social security and Medicare. And so, you will have to be part of the belt tightening, there is just no doubt about it.

General Odierno, you have had such tremendous on the ground experience in Iraq and in that area. I know you are fully aware of the requirement to give your honest and best judgment to the Congress when you are called upon to do so. And you have to respect the Commander in Chief and the civilian defense officials. But you have led those men and women in combat. Many of them have lost limbs. Many of them have lost their lives. I am sure you feel an obligation to speak for them to avoid unwise decisions that could inadvertently give away the things they fought and too many of them have died for.

Will you share with us that first and foremost that you will give us your best military advice regardless of the consequences, that you will just give us your best leadership, because I think uniquely as the chief of staff have the kind of experience that could help us make the difficult decisions that we will be facing.

General ODIERNO. Senator, I absolutely always give my honest and frank opinion, especially when it comes to taking care of our soldiers and their families, but on all issues when asked. And I will continue to do that.

Many of the issues that we deal with are not black and white; they are very, very gray, as you are well aware. And there are many second, third order effects that impact decisions as well as opinions on issues. And it is my job, I believe, from a military perspective to always identify the issues, identify what the risks are, and give my opinion how to mitigate those risks and be successful in accomplishing our missions. And I will always do that when I am in front of the committee or any other forum that I participate in within the government.

Senator SESSIONS. I know our soldiers and their families and Americans are happy that we can draw down our force presence as rapidly as possible. But what impact would it have, in your opinion, if we drew down too fast and ended up undermining the success that we have gained, and maybe suffering a strategic loss that was not necessary as a result? What impact would that have on our morale of our men and women, as well as strategically?

General ODIERNO. Senator, my assessment is, it obviously would have a huge impact. But I would just say I do not think there is anybody who believes that that is the case.

Senator SESSIONS. I understand. My question to you is, but if we did so, if events occurred unlike something you expect this moment, and we unwisely did not handle the situation based on a goal just to reduce troop levels regardless, it would have an adverse impact on the men and women who put their lives at risk for us, would it not?

General ODIERNO. I would just say obviously that for many who have participated in the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and other places around the world, obviously they believe in what they are doing. That's why they continue to reenlist. That is why they continue to go back on multiple, multiple deployments.

So, it is our duty as leaders to ensure that we do everything we can to ensure their success and safety. And we will never stop from doing that. And if that becomes the case, it would obviously have an impact on morale as we move forward.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Sessions.

Senator Blumenthal.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I want to begin by thanking each of you for your extraordinary service to our Nation, and thank your families as well as others have done who share in the sacrifice that you have made. And I know some of them are here today, and I would just like to assure them that we share in the gratitude of the country for their as well as your service.

General Odierno, you have talked very eloquently and powerful about your caring and attention to all of our warriors, our wounded warriors and those who are serving now in theater. And most especially to the need for better care when it comes to traumatic brain injury, post-traumatic stress. And I understand from your testimony and our conversations that you will continue to seek to upgrade and improve the kind of care that the military provides to those warriors. Am I correct I that assumption?

General ODIERNO. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. And so far as particularly the problem of suicide, which you again have spoken to very eloquently and pow-

erfully in your written testimony, and I was very impressed by it. Would you have plans to try to upgrade the kind of preventive care that is provided to our warriors?

General ODIERNO. The work that General Pete Chiarelli has done, the vice chief of staff for the Army, has been tremendous, but it is not done. There is much more that we have to do. We have identified factors, but now we have to figure out how we mitigate those factors that we believe are responsible for suicides and all the components of the Army and the armed forces themselves. So, we still have a lot of work to do, and we are dedicated to doing all we can to reduce this terrible risk that we have today.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. And do you have any thoughts that you could share with us about potentially the causes of those increased rates of suicide, the stress factors and so forth?

General ODIERNO. Senator, it is combination of things. It has to do with dwell time, number of deployments. It has to do with family stress. It has to do with uncertainty. It has to do with many other issues that we deal with. It has to do with physical injuries that affect individuals mentally. It has to do with sometimes the home environment that they are involved with. So, it is all of these things.

The main thing is we have to understand what those risk factors are, how many are applying, and when does it become critical. It is about us training our young leaders to understand and understand the signs, to understand the factors. And the Army specifically, I will talk to, has done a lot of work in helping our leaders to understand these issues.

But then it is about the individuals themselves feel comfortable in identifying that they do have their own issues, and they do come forward, and they do ask for assistance and help. And that is so important in this part of this process is that they feel comfortable doing that. So, we have to create an environment that allows them to do this, and that is the key that we want to continue to move forward in and accomplish, sir.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. And I do not mean to put you on the spot here, but part of the popular view of making a frank and candid self-reporting of problems more effective and more frequent, and making it more acceptable many people have debated might involve the condolence letters that are sent by the President. And I wonder if you could share with the committee your view as to whether those letters should be provided more broadly, more frequently, to the families of individuals who might be affected?

General ODIERNO. I will not comment specifically on the President, but I will comment that as a commander in Iraq at the division, corps, and theater level, I sent letters to all to include those who committed suicide because they were such an integral part of our force. They are a part of our family, our Army family, and they are our comrades. And although they might have struggled with the situation they were in, we still owe them the utmost respect and honor for their service.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you. You also have commented in your written testimony, and again, in other forums about the need for better transition for our wounded warriors to the VA. And maybe you could expand on that point.

General ODIERNO. First off, the Army has done some good work, and they have 70 teams out around the country, specifically located with VA centers. They are helping us to do a better transition as they transition out of the Army into the Veterans Affairs.

From anecdotal discussions that I have had actually recently with several wounded warriors who are getting ready to transition, one of the things we have to continue to work is the discussion between treatment of an active duty doctor—excuse me, a military doctor to a Veterans Affairs doctor, because one of the things that bother them and sometimes becomes traumatic is that they use different treatment regimens, and it makes them feel uncomfortable. So, we have to work this piece.

I think we have the administration piece taken care of. We now have to look at the medical transition itself as they transition from military medical care to Veterans Affairs medical care.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. I thank you and commend you and welcome your attention to this problem. I know it comes from a genuine caring, and I think that is extraordinarily impressive. And any that I can be helpful or I am sure members of the committee, we will be there.

General Fraser, I wanted to follow up, if I could, on a couple of the questions that Senator Udall mentioned, and some of the comments in your testimony about cyber security, and your comment in your testimony that you move lots of information. I think the American public does not appreciate how much information is part of what you transport, so to speak.

And I wonder if you could share with the committee your view as to whether more does need to be done of an offensive or deterrent nature to make invasions or intrusions more costly, as Admiral Winnefeld, for any enemy that has an intention to do so.

General FRASER. Thank you, Senator. The cyber domain and protection of our data is a high focus area, certainly of mine in my current position, but as I look forward and moving possibly, if confirmed, into TRANSCOM's realm in which they deal not only in the .mil, but also the .com domain. And the reason I mention that is because there is a seam there, and there has got to be a partnership to ensure that the right data is getting to the right place with the information at the right time. And so, protection of that data is something that I will certainly be focused on if confirmed and move to TRANSCOM.

I think behind the defense and the .mil domain and the active defense that we have, that we are doing a lot. And what I would be doing is then going out and engaging our commercial partners to ensure that they are protecting their data as much as possible. And that is going to have to be a collaborative effort that we will have to work together to ensure that we are able still to accomplish the mission. So, cyber will be very high, if I move into this position, to ensure the protection of that data.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you. My time has expired, but I would just like to suggest in closing that at some point these attacks obviously have to be viewed as an act of war on this country, whether it is on .mil or .com, if the attacks on the .com area so impact our infrastructure, our utilities, our banking system that they in effect constitute an act of hostility toward this country. And so,

I welcome your thinking about that topic, as you have indicated you are doing, and look forward to working with you.

I am sure you will be confirmed. You certainly have earned it, and the country deserves and will need your service. And I want to thank you in advance. Thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.

Senator LIEBERMAN.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Thanks, Mr. Chairman. I am really sorry I could not get here earlier this morning, but I am glad I could get here while we are still in session to welcome the three nominees, to thank you for your extraordinary service to our country, and to say that I think President Obama could not have made better selections.

I have known the three of you in your previous positions, particularly in the case of General Odierno and Iraq, and Admiral Winnefeld at NORTHCOM. And I know you have done really, not just good work, but great work, really transformational work, and I appreciate it. So, we are lucky to have you in our service.

In the case of General Odierno, getting here while you are still in session gives me the opportunity to welcome his family, at least one of whom had the wisdom to marry a woman from Connecticut and to become my constituent. And he also is living out my childhood fantasy of working for the greatest sports franchise in the history of American sports, that is the New York Yankees.

[Laughter.]

Senator LIEBERMAN. And with Senator Blumenthal and me here, I think we have a majority on the committee to support that conclusion.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. I would second that observation. [Laughter.]

Senator LIEBERMAN. The quality of our dismay outweighs the quantity of your support. [Laughter.]

Okay, enough of that.

I know that many of my colleagues earlier have talked about the impact of budget cuts on the military. And this is a real serious challenge.

We are the Armed Services Committee, so I suppose we understandably feel a special protectiveness of the military budget, but we should. To me, it is, after all is said and done, the first responsibility of our National government, which is to protect our security. If we do not have security, the American people do not have anything else that matters. We do not have our freedom, and nor we do have the economic opportunity that has been part of what it has meant to be an American.

So, everybody has to give in this crisis. As Admiral Mullen said a while ago, our National debt has become a national security problem, and, therefore, we have got to work together to cut it down. But we have got to be really careful about the impact of these cuts on our military.

We all have to understand that the classic sort of members' district advocacy has to be tempered by the National interests of getting our government back into fiscal balance. But beyond that, I think, and this is what I want to focus on in my questions, how we treat the military personnel, the men and women in uniform,

and the numbers we have, are critically important, and are beyond parochial sort of district level or State level concerns. And these are what I want to focus on.

A lot of us on this committee, including myself, spent a fair amount of time in recent years trying to make sure that the two services that have been most stressed, under most demand in Iraq and Afghanistan, namely the Army and the Marines, had end strength increase in recent years, and fortunately that happened.

Now, the Army has been directed to carry out a reduction from the 570,000 essentially that we reached in active Army numbers down to 520,000 or 521,000 over the next five years. And I know the army, General Odierno, has said they will do that. I think we got to be really careful about going beyond that.

But you said something, sir, in your answers to the questions that the committee asked, written answers, that when I read, I was so glad to see you say it, and I agree 100 percent. And here is the quote: "End strength reductions should not be automatic. They are conditions based and will require periodic assessment." We are not operating in a static universe. Things are changing all the time with regard to our National security.

So, I wanted to ask you, General, if you would discuss what are some of the conditions that as chief of army you will ask be weighed before these end strength reductions are carried out?

General ODIERNO. Well, thank you, Senator.

As I look at this, I believe that the reduction down to 520 has been based on the temporary end strength increase of 22,000, which was put into place to account for frankly many of the wounded warriors and other non-availables that we have had that has taken away from meeting our requirements, of filling our units.

And then the other 27 is based on the fact that the assumption that we will continue to come out of Afghanistan on time by 2014. And because of that, we will be able to maintain a dwell time deployment ratio that is something that we can sustain over a long period of time.

So, if those conditions change, if we decide to stay in Afghanistan longer or if another contingency comes up that requires deployment of Army units, then that would be something that could impact that force reduction, because what it could then do is significantly again increase and go after the dwell time, and put even more pressure on the Army itself.

So, those are the kind of things that we have to understand, and those are the kind of things that we have to constantly reassess based on reality and what is going on around the world?

Senator LIEBERMAN. Okay. I appreciate that answer. And just one follow-up on it.

Am I right that the 22,000 number of non-deployables, including wounded warriors, has not gone down since—

General ODIERNO. And in fact, it continues to go up.

Senator LIEBERMAN. It goes up. So, that also puts stress on you as you try to go down.

General ODIERNO. It does.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Yeah. And I think we have got to follow that carefully, and I hope there may be a way, and I will work with the chairman on this, to see if in the defense authorization bill when

it comes to the floor, we can state some of these conditions, because just as we say, our drawdowns in Iraq and Afghanistan have been conditions based. It seems to me it is fair to say that the drawdown of our end strength, how many people we have in uniform, ought to be conditions based as well.

I wanted to ask about Iran. I do not believe this has been asked before. As you know, General Odierno, because we have talked about this when you were in Iraq, army personnel and others in Iraq at different times over the last years have come out and specifically said that we—publicly. I am not revealing anything classified. We know that Iran has been training and equipping Shia extremists who have then gone back into Iraq and are responsible really for the murders, for the death of hundreds of American soldiers

And I guess people could argue about whether it is hundreds. I believe it is, but it is certainly some, and the wounding of a lot of others, and the killing of thousands of other Iraqi soldiers and civilians.

I was really encouraged by that. And I know a lot was going on. I mean, in a sense you would say that if a far nation is training people to come in and kill our soldiers, classically it is a *causus belli*. It is cause for war. But I understand there was a lot going on.

I was very encouraged about a week ago, both Secretary Panetta and Admiral Mullen made statements. Admiral Mullen said, "Iran is very directly supporting extremist Shia groups which are killing our troops." Secretary Panetta said, "We are very concerned about Iran and the weapons they are providing to extremist in Iraq."

We cannot simply stand back and allow this to continue to happen. This is not something we are going to walk away from. It is something we are going to take on head on.

So, Admiral Winnefeld, as you begin a new chapter in your career as vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs, I wanted to ask you to comment on, do you agree with Secretary Panetta and Admiral Mullen about this behavior by Iran?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Sir, I absolutely agree with it. And I would not want to take away any options or anything like that, but I would say that they are testing our patience to be sure. And we always would use force as a last resort. There are plenty of instruments of national power that can be applied. But it is a very serious problem, and I fully support what Secretary Panetta and Chairman Mullen said about it.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Well, I thank you for your statement. And I do not have to say to any of you because you have been on the battlefield, and you know how important it is. But we have now escalated our identification of what the Iranians are doing. And I think if they do not stop, our credibility with them and a lot of others in the region, if not the world, is going to go down if we do not do something about it. So, I appreciate your statement, and I am encouraged by the others. And none of us want to have more conflict, but we are not asking for it by our behavior. In this case, they clearly are.

Anyway, I thank the three of you. I look forward to working with you. I would say that, if I may paraphrase an old political slogan.

The great to say is that not only are the three of you extraordinary, but you are extraordinary as the people you are leading. In other words, this is a bottom up, top rate, high quality military we have. To me, it is the one institution in our country that I always say look at it when people tell me that America's best are behind us.

I wish I could say as you look at the United States Congress. I cannot quite say that at this moment, but they can look at the military. And I thank you for that.

Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Lieberman. I share your thoughts and comments very deeply.

Just a couple of quick questions. One, General Odierno, about Iraq. You have indicated you would support retaining some U.S. forces in Iraq beyond the September 31st deadline if there is a request. How much longer does Iraq have to make a request for us to consider?

General ODIERNO. Well, every day it makes it more difficult because it is not only us. I know General Austin has given a lot of flexibility in his plan for the final withdraw of our troops, but he has to do some planning.

But, more importantly, there has got to be some work done on some sort of a status of forces agreement between our two countries. So, it has to be done soon because it could take a little bit of time to get that. I cannot give you a specific date, Chairman, but I would say it has to be the sooner for us in order to make this appropriate transition.

Chairman LEVIN. And you said something before, which I think you did not exactly mean, but let me probe you on it. You said it is important we provide Iraq with the support they think is necessary. I assume it would be a joint decision, not only they think is necessary, but that we are willing to provide.

General ODIERNO. Yeah. I think we have done a joint assessment where we identified gaps and their capabilities, and that has been done jointly and driven by us.

Chairman LEVIN. So, it is not—

General ODIERNO. It is not just what they think.

The CHAIRMAN.—not what they think.

General ODIERNO. It is a joint assessment.

Chairman LEVIN. Now, General, relative to the importance of keeping the Guard equipped, you indicated very strong feelings about the importance of doing that because there are requirements we place on them, in your words, among other things.

We have in the Army main battle tank, the M1-Abrams, a tank which is going to remain in the inventory. As it currently stands, it is going to end production of upgraded M-1A2 version vehicles in 2013. The active Army now has the M-1A2 version of the tank, and most of the Guard has the M-1A1 version. So, stopping that production will mean stopping of the equipping of the Guard with the M-1A2.

And here is the issue. The Army is going to begin the next Abrams upgrade modernization effort in 2016, and they are going to end the production of the upgraded M-1A2 in 2013 as it now stands. So, there is going to be a 3-year gap there between production of the upgraded M-1A2 in the next upgrade program. But we

know there is going to be an upgrade program. That is a given as I understand it.

And so, the Army has initiated a comprehensive cost benefit and risk analysis of the impact of that gap in production on our armored vehicle production facility, which in Ohio, and the supporting industrial base. The final results of the analysis are expected at the end of the year. So, we are not going to have the results of the analysis until the end of the year.

In considering the costs of closing and restarting the production line, which we know is going to be restarted, should we not consider the increased capability in the National Guard tank units which would result from continuing this production during this gap?

General ODIERNO. Well, certainly, Senator, we will take a look at it.

The problem we have is we will have several other factors maybe that could impact on this. And it has to do with budget reductions and force structure reductions and the mix that we decide we need in the force. So, it could be that we decide that potentially the number of heavy units reduce, and we are able to push more M-2A2s to the Guard out of the active component. That could be one solution. So, part of this problem is waiting to see what we are going to have to do with our force mix and force structure as we think about this problem.

But I understand the issue, Senator. We will look at it very carefully, and we will work with you on this issue.

Chairman LEVIN. All right, because there is a question as to whether or not it pays us to terminate the cost to restart and whether those costs are not better.

General ODIERNO. I am not completely familiar with all the details of that, but I will certainly get back to you, Senator.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

This is for Admiral Winnefeld. Do you agree that missile defense systems should be operationally effective and cost effective and should be tested in an operationally realistic manner before deployment?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Yes, sir, I do. We are also, as you know, in a simultaneous training test and development phase.

Chairman LEVIN. Finally for the Admiral, you have experienced as the combatant commander responsible for the ground-based midcourse defense system that currently provides protection of the homeland against the threat of a limited missile attack from nations like North Korea and Iran. You also have experience working in a cooperative manner with Russian military officials.

If we could work out something in a cooperative manner with Russia on missile defense, that would enhance our security against common missile threats from Iran. Would you agree?

Admiral WINNEFELD. Yes, sir, absolutely.

Chairman LEVIN. Senator Lieberman?

Senator LIEBERMAN. Nothing more for me, thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Gentleman, we are all in your debt, and the Nation is in your debt. We are in debt to your families. We thank you and them profusely. And we will do this confirmation just as speedily as we can given the U.S. Senate. You never know for sure,

but I think all of us are pretty darn confident that it will happen very, very quickly.

Thank you. And we will stand adjourned.

Senator LIEBERMAN. Hear, hear.

[Whereupon, at 12:18 p.m., the committee adjourned.]