

## NOMINATION OF HON. CHARLES T. HAGEL TO BE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 2013

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m. in room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Carl Levin (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Senators Levin, Reed, Nelson, McCaskill, Udall, Hagan, Manchin, Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, King, Inhofe, McCain, Sessions, Chambliss, Wicker, Ayotte, Fischer, Graham, Vitter, Blunt, Lee, and Cruz.

Committee staff members present: Richard D. DeBobes, staff director; Travis E. Smith, chief clerk; Leah C. Brewer, nominations and hearings clerk; and Mary J. Kyle, legislative clerk.

Majority staff members present: Jonathan D. Clark, counsel; Jonathan S. Epstein, counsel; Gabriella E. Fahrner, counsel; Richard W. Fieldhouse, professional staff member; Creighton Greene, professional staff member; Michael J. Kuiken, professional staff member; Gerald J. Leeling, counsel; Peter K. Levine, general counsel; Jason W. Maroney, counsel; Thomas K. McConnell, professional staff member; William G.P. Monahan, counsel; Michael J. Noblet, professional staff member; Roy F. Phillips, professional staff member; John H. Quirk V, professional staff member; Robie I. Samanta Roy, professional staff member; Russell L. Shaffer, counsel; and William K. Sutey, professional staff member.

Minority staff members present: John A. Bonsell, minority staff director; Adam J. Barker, professional staff member; Steven M. Barney, minority counsel; Thomas W. Goffus, professional staff member; Ambrose R. Hock, professional staff member; Anthony J. Lazarski, professional staff member; Daniel A. Lerner, professional staff member; Lucian L. Niemeyer, professional staff member; and Robert M. Soofer, professional staff member.

Staff assistants present: Jennifer R. Knowles, Mariah K. McNamara, and Brian F. Sebold.

Committee members' assistants present: Carolyn Chuhta, assistant to Senator Reed; Jeff Fatora, assistant to Senator Nelson; Jason Rauch, assistant to Senator McCaskill; Casey Howard, assistant to Senator Udall; Brian Nagle, assistant to Senator Hagan; Patrick Hayes, assistant to Senator Manchin; Chad Kreikemeier, assistant to Senator Shaheen; Elana Broitman, assistant to Senator Gillibrand; Ethan Saxon, assistant to Senator Blumenthal;

Marta McLellan Ross, assistant to Senator Donnelly; Nick Ikeda, assistant to Senator Hirono; Jim Catella, assistant to Senator King; Paul C. Hutton IV, assistant to Senator McCain; T. Finch Fulton and Lenwood Landrum, assistants to Senator Sessions; Joseph Lai, assistant to Senator Wicker; Brad Bowman, assistant to Senator Ayotte; Craig Abele, assistant to Senator Graham; Charles Prosch, assistant to Senator Blunt; Peter Blair, assistant to Senator Lee; and Brooke Bacak, assistant to Senator Cruz.

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

Chairman LEVIN. Good morning. The committee meets today to consider the nomination of former Senator Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense.

Before we begin, I want to first welcome Senator Inhofe as the new ranking Republican on our committee, succeeding Senator McCain. Senator McCain has been a great partner over the last 6 years, and I thank him for all that he has done to get our bills enacted, for all of his leadership on a host of issues, for his support of the work of this committee, and for always keeping our hearings lively.

Senator Inhofe has shown his strong commitment to the national defense over his 20 years on this committee, and I know that we are going to work well together to continue the bipartisan tradition of the committee.

We're also pleased to welcome the eight Senators who are joining the committee this year, both those who are new to the Senate and those who are new to our committee—Senators Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, and King on the Democratic side, and Senators Blunt, Cruz, Fischer, and Lee on the Republican side. You will all find that this is a wonderful committee where we work across party lines to support our troops and their families and their national defense mission.

I would also like to pause for a moment to offer my thanks and the thanks of our committee to Secretary Leon Panetta, who delayed his retirement and his return to California to serve our country first as Director of Central Intelligence and then as Secretary of Defense. Secretary Panetta has provided a steady hand at the Department of Defense (DOD) through 2 very difficult years, and has earned our great respect and our appreciation.

Finally before we get started, I would like to announce that the committee will be holding hearings next week on Benghazi and the week thereafter on the impact of the sequester on DOD.

Senator Hagel, we welcome you to the Senate Armed Services Committee and as an old friend of those of us with whom you served during your years in the Senate. There are few jobs that are more demanding than the position to which you have been nominated. The hours are long and extremely challenging, and require sacrifices from both the Secretary and his family.

We traditionally give our nominees an opportunity to introduce their families at these hearings, and we would welcome your doing so during your opening statement.

If confirmed, Senator Hagel would be the first former enlisted man and the first veteran of the Vietnam war to serve as Secretary of Defense. You cannot read Senator Hagel's account of his military

service and not be impressed by it. As Senator Hagel explained a few years ago, “Probably most fundamental for me when we talk of going to war, we need to think it through carefully, not just for the political, and the geopolitical, and the diplomatic, and the economic consequences, and those are important. But at least for me,” he said, “this old infantry sergeant thinks about when I was in Vietnam in 1968, someone needs to represent that perspective in our Government as well. The people in Washington make the policy, but it’s the little guys who come back in the body bags.”

Senator Hagel’s background provides an invaluable perspective, not only with respect to the difficult decisions and recommendations that a Secretary of Defense must make regarding the use of force and the commitment of U.S. troops overseas, but also with respect to the day-to-day decisions that a secretary must make to ensure that our men and women in uniform and their families receive the support and assistance that they need and deserve.

It would be a positive message for our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines in harm’s way around the world to know that one of their own holds the highest office in DOD, and that he has their backs.

Senator Hagel, you would be in a position to make key recommendations regarding Afghanistan, where we are down to the pre-surge level of troops with 66,000 military personnel in the country. The Secretary of Defense is called upon to advise the President on the size and mission of a post-2014 residual force, and the pace of the drawdown between now and the end of 2014. The key to this transition is ensuring the readiness and ability of Afghanistan security forces to take over the defense of their own country. I have always believed that should be our main mission and its key to success.

During my trip to Afghanistan with Senator Jack Reed last month, we heard from U.S. commanders on the ground that Afghanistan security forces are operating on their own on most operations, including conducting more than 85 percent of operations with limited or no U.S. support in the difficult Regional Command East. Yet difficult obstacles remain to the process of reducing our forces and shifting responsibility to Afghanistan forces, including the difficulty of negotiating a status of forces agreement, including recent reports that the Afghanistan Government might slow down a successful program of growing and training the Afghanistan Local Police, and including questions about the current plan to reduce the size of the Afghanistan National Security Forces from 352,000 to around 230,000 after 2015.

We face a number of new and growing threats elsewhere in the world, such as the ongoing threat posed by Iran’s nuclear weapons program and the increasingly destructive civil war in Syria with the risk that conflict could result in the loss of control over that country’s substantial stockpile of chemical weapons. There’s also the continuing instability in other countries affected by the Arab Spring, the growth of al Qaeda affiliates in ungoverned regions, including Yemen, Somalia, and North Africa, and the continued unpredictable behavior of a nuclear armed regime in North Korea.

We face these challenges at a time when the DOD budget is under a unique pressure as a result of cuts previously agreed upon

by Congress, the budgeting by Continuing Resolution (CR), and the impending threat of a sequester. Secretary Panetta has said that a sequester would be devastating for our military. Senator Hagel's views today on the CR and the sequester will be of great interest to this committee and to the Nation.

Those of us who have served with Senator Hagel in the Senate know that he is a man who is not afraid to speak his mind. Senator Hagel has made a number of statements over the course of his career which committee members will ask him about during today's hearing. For example, Senator Hagel has stated that unilateral sanctions against Iran, "are exactly the wrong approach," and that, "they are the worst thing we can do would be to try to isolate Iran". I believe that while effective multilateral sanctions are preferable, that unilateral sanctions are an important part of the approach that the Obama administration has followed, and that Congress has supported. It appears that sanctions are producing tremendous pressure on Iran.

Another statement which has raised concern is Senator Hagel's recommendation that we conduct, "direct, unconditional, and comprehensive talks with the Government of Iran". Now while there is value in communicating with our adversaries, the formulation used by Senator Hagel seemed to imply a willingness to talk to Iran on some issues that I believe that most of us would view as non-negotiable, and, therefore, any willingness to talk to Iran would need to be highly conditional. Senator Hagel's reassurance to me in my office that he supports the Obama administration's strong stance against Iran is significant, and we look forward to hearing from Senator Hagel today in some depth on that subject.

We will also be interested in Senator Hagel's addressing troubling statements that he has made about Israel and its supporters here in the United States, a statement in 2008 that our policy of non-engagement with the Syrians, "has isolated us more than the Syrians," and a 2009 statement that "we should not isolate Hamas, a terrorist organization".

There is much to be explored at this hearing, but as we struggle with the difficult security challenges facing our Nation, the President needs to have a Secretary of Defense in whom he has trust, who will give him unvarnished advice, a person of integrity, and one who has a personal understanding of the consequences of decisions relative to the use of military force. Senator Hagel certainly has those critically important qualifications to lead DOD.

Senator Inhofe.

#### **STATEMENT OF SENATOR JAMES M. INHOFE**

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First of all, I would like to echo your remarks about Secretary Panetta and the work that he has done. I do not see him here today, but I do recall when he was first nominated, I was probably one of the first phone calls to him, and I have enjoyed working with him.

With Senator McCain, I feel the same way. I will certainly continue to depend on his counsel, and you and I have worked very well together in the past.

Mr. Chairman, before I continue my opening statement, I would like to raise a concern about the sufficiency of materials provided

to this committee by our nominee. Senator Hagel was requested to provide the speeches he has delivered over the last 5 years, yet his initial submission was for only four speeches. Even though, as was noticed by Senator Cruz that he had honoraria for 12 speeches, but submitted 4 speeches. We received some more, but only late last night. I think it would have been a lot more helpful if we had received them before that, and I am hoping that we will be able to get that information before we have to cast votes on this nominee. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The President's nomination of Senator Hagel to serve as the next Secretary of Defense comes at a critical juncture in our military and national security interests. Senator Hagel is a good man who has a record of service. I first learned of that when he was first elected, and I have been a great admirer of the time that he spent in Vietnam and the sacrifices that he made.

While his service is commendable, the fate of his nomination should be decided by the totality of his record. It is the votes that he has cast, the statements that he has made over the many years of his career that will inform us as to his judgment, his view of America's role in the world, and his view of the military required to support that role.

As I told Senator Hagel in my office over 2 weeks ago, that after a long and careful review of his record, and there are things that he has said and there are things that I have personally experienced with him, that we are too philosophically opposed on the pressing issues facing our country, for me to support his nomination. Therefore, I told him I would not be supporting his nomination.

His record demonstrates what I view as a lack of steadfast opposition to policies that diminish U.S. power and influence throughout the world, as well as a recent trend of policy reversals that seem based on political expediency rather than on core beliefs.

On many of the security challenges facing U.S. interests around the world, Senator Hagel's record is deeply troubling and out of the mainstream. Too often, it seems, he is willing to subscribe to a worldwide view that is predicated on appeasing our adversaries while shunning our friends. I remember quoting Hiram Mann, who said, "No man survives when freedom fails, the best men rot in filthy jails, and those who cry 'appease, appease' are hanged by those they tried to please."

I am mentioning a few of these things because they are going to come out in this hearing. In 2000, an overwhelming majority of Senators sent a letter to President Clinton reaffirming our solidarity with Israel. I was one of them who carried that letter around. I remember it well. Senator Hagel was one of just four who refused to sign that letter, and I am sure he will want to comment about that.

In 2001, he was one of just two Senators who voted against a bill extending harsh sanctions against Iran. A year later, he urged the Bush administration to support Iran's membership in the World Trade Organization. Senator Hagel voted against a resolution designating Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corp, a group responsible for killing American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan, as a terrorist organization. On multiple occasions, he has advocated for direct negotiations with Iran, a regime that continues to repress its people,

doggedly pursue a nuclear weapon capability, and employ terrorist proxies, including Hamas, Hezbollah, who threaten the security of Israel and the region.

Senator Hagel has also been an outspoken supporter of the nuclear disarmament and the Global Zero movement. We are very sensitive to that, and we know that the President has said many times he wants a nuclear free world, and I know that Senator Hagel is right there with him. But at a time when North Korea's belligerent actions threaten our allies with their nuclear capabilities and security of our own Nation and that of our allies, why would we want to unilaterally disarm ourselves of nuclear capability?

Of late, however, Senator Hagel has expressed views in meetings with Senate colleagues, I have been informed, and through the press that appear glaringly at odds with many of his long-held positions, particularly on issues dealing with Israel, Iran, and our nuclear arsenal. This apparent willingness to walk back or alter his position, possibly for the sake of political expediency on such important issues, is deeply troubling and sends a concerning message to our allies and adversaries alike.

Though I respect Senator Hagel, his record to date demonstrates that he would be a staunch advocate for the continuation of the misguided policies of the President's first term. Retreating from America's unique global leadership role and shrinking the military will not make America safer. On the contrary, it will embolden our enemies, endanger our allies, and provide opportunity for nations that do not share our interests to fill a global leadership vacuum we leave behind.

It is for these reasons that I believe that he is the wrong person to lead the Pentagon at this perilous and consequential time.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

We have two former chairmen of this committee with us to introduce Senator Hagel. No Senator has had two dearer friends or better mentors than I have had with Senators Nunn and Warner. I just want to welcome them back to this committee. I do not have to tell them that they are among dear, dear friends, those of us who have known them and who have worked with them. It is a real, real treat actually to welcome you back to the committee.

I think I will call on you, Senator Nunn, first. I think we will call on you alphabetically. I do not have any better way to do it. Sam, welcome back.

**STATEMENT OF HON. SAM NUNN, U.S. SENATOR FROM THE  
STATE OF GEORGIA, RETIRED**

Senator NUNN. First, for the record, seniority and age are two different things. [Laughter.]

Chairman Levin, Ranking Member Inhofe, members of the Armed Services Committee, I am honored to join John Warner in presenting our friend, Chuck Hagel, to the committee and recommending that Chuck be confirmed as our Nation's 24th Secretary of Defense.

I think it is worth noting that 68 years ago this month, John Warner enlisted in the U.S. Navy to fight in World War II. That

was the start of his great career of public service, and John, I am very proud to be here by your side.

Mr. Chairman, I spent a lot of my Senate career sitting in your seat waiting on a quorum. Congratulations on not having to do that today. [Laughter.]

Chairman LEVIN. I do not how long it will last, but thanks for pointing it out.

Senator NUNN. Mr. Chairman, I think it should be noted that you and Senator McCain have effectively guided this committee in its important role as a compelling and absolutely essential voice for a strong and effective defense. Together you have managed to pass authorization bills, even during contentious times. I thank you both for your dedicated service to our Nation. I am confident, Mr. Chairman and Senator Inhofe, that you will continue this tradition, and that Senator McCain will still be a very valuable member and voice on this committee.

I believe that our Nation is fortunate to have a nominee for Secretary of Defense with the character, the experience, the courage, and the leadership that Chuck Hagel would bring to this position. First, Chuck is acutely aware that even in an age of rapid technological advances, our military capability and effectiveness depend on the quality and the morale of the people who serve our Nation in uniform, as well as the families that support them.

Chuck received two Purple Hearts in Vietnam, and when he returned home, he continued to fight for veterans and for Active Duty military personnel. He knows that our people are our strongest assets. Second, Chuck's experience in Vietnam shaped his life and his perspective. War for Chuck Hagel is not an attraction. I am confident that if confirmed he will ask the hard and the smart questions before sending troops into battle.

Chuck Hagel knows that the United States has vital interests that are worth fighting for and dying for. He also knows that war should be a last resort and that our Nation must effectively use all of our tools, not limited only to our military, to protect our important and to protect our vital interests.

Certainly, Mr. Chairman, there is a tension in these values, but it is a tension that we should welcome in the thought process and in the advice that our Secretary of Defense gives to our Commander in Chief and to this Congress.

From our service together on the Defense Policy Board in recent years, I know that Chuck Hagel has a clear world view, and that it aligns with the mainstream of U.S. foreign and defense policy, and also with President Obama. Chuck Hagel believes that we must build and preserve American strength as a force for good in the world. He recognizes that protecting our interests requires strong allies and friends, as well as strong American leadership.

Third, Chuck has the depth of experience and the leadership skills required to handle this tough job. There is certainly no shortage of security challenges around the world, as this committee knows, and as you have enumerated this morning, Mr. Chairman. A very large and impressive group of former Cabinet officials and public servants from both sides of the aisle have said that they trust Chuck Hagel with this important responsibility. I strongly agree.

Fourth, on the fiscal side, I am confident that Chuck will be a powerful advocate for a common sense approach, both within the administration and here on Capitol Hill regarding fiscal challenges to the defense budget. He understands that our defense capabilities are being threatened on two budget fronts: first, sequestration with its damaging across-the-board, upfront budget cuts, and second, rapidly rising costs within the Department's budget, including, but not limited to, health care, personnel, and retirement costs.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I believe that Chuck will work effectively with this committee and Congress in meeting these budget challenges while protecting our people, protecting our capabilities, and also while ensuring that the United States has the strongest military in the world.

Chuck Hagel was a soldier and a Senator, but he has been also a highly successful executive in both the public and private sectors. He built a successful company from the ground up. He is a man who knows how to prioritize, and he knows how to make tough decisions. He will listen to and carefully consider the views of our military and civilian leaders, and guide them as necessary.

Fifth, I believe that Chuck Hagel will be a balanced and responsible voice on nuclear weapons policy. President Reagan said it often and said it well: "a nuclear war cannot be won, and it must not be fought."

Mr. Chairman, as this committee knows, the risk of a global nuclear war has thankfully, substantially declined since the breakup of the Soviet Union. But with nine nations possessing nuclear weapons, with nuclear weapons usable material and knowledge spread across the globe, and with terrorists ready to use a nuclear weapon if they manage to buy, steal, or make one, we face enormous risk that a nuclear weapon will be used. If proliferation continues in countries like Iran and North Korea, and if we do not secure nuclear materials and weapons globally, the odds of use will go up even more.

Six years ago George Schultz, Bill Perry, Henry Kissinger, and I made the argument that we reduce reliance on nuclear weapons as a vital contribution to preventing that proliferation, keeping them out of dangerous hands, and ultimately ending them as a threat to the world. Two-thirds of living former Secretaries of State and Defense, and national security advisors have agreed with the vision and the steps that we outlined, including substantial work on verification and enforcement.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that all members of the committee and the Senate will read the recent statement by four credible and very experienced Americans—Ambassador Tom Pickering, Ambassador Richard Burt, General James Cartwright, and General John Sheehan—about their work with Chuck Hagel on nuclear weapons. They made it abundantly clear that they oppose unilateral moves. They support bilateral negotiations. They support verifiable U.S.-Russian arms reductions to be followed by multilateral negotiations, bringing other nuclear weapons countries into a serious and verifiable process of reductions.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, there are many essential characteristics and values that a Secretary of Defense should possess in our



dangerous and challenging world. Let me name just two or three that I think are very important.

First, someone who is well-informed, has an open mind, engages in critical thinking, who is capable of and who seeks out independent thought. Second, someone who sets aside fixed ideologies and biases to honestly evaluate all options, and then provides his or her candid judgment to the President and to Congress. Third, someone who pays attention to people with the best ideas, regardless of their party affiliation. No one is perfect. We all know that. But Chuck Hagel comes as close as anyone I know to having all of these qualities.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Inhofe, and members of the committee, I served for 24 years on this important committee, and I recognize that much has changed since I retired 16 years ago. I continue to believe, however, that every major problem we face today requires the best input from both political parties if we are to arrive at a solution. I believe that Chuck Hagel will seek that input. I urge his support by this committee, and I urge the confirmation of his nomination by the U.S. Senate.

I thank the chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Nunn.  
Senator Warner.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN WARNER, U.S. SENATOR FROM  
THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, RETIRED**

Senator WARNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is a moving experience for me to reenter this room. I served on this committee for 30 years. In that period of time, Senator Nunn was the chairman, and I was the ranking. But I want to say to you and Jim Inhofe—Jim and I have been good friends and we worked together not only on this committee, but other committees. You will be a splendid ranking member. You follow in the steps of my dear and valued friend of so many years, John McCain.

The leadership of this committee throughout my 30 years in the Senate has been drawn from the ranks of the strongest and the best of its membership. We have it today, and I have every reason we will have it tomorrow.

I would like to say a word to the new members of this committee. As I look back over a very fortunate record of public service for many years, no chapter of my career was more important than service on this committee. You will carry with you for the rest of your life the recollections of the work that you have done for one of America's most valued assets, the men and the women and their families of the armed services of the United States.

I have written out a nice long statement, and then last night late I received Sam Nunn's statement and Chuck Hagel's statement, and I said that I felt that another statement just would not do. I would rather say just a few words from the heart about the importance of what we have by way of decision before all of us today.

I thank Senator Nunn for that reference of 68 years ago in the Navy. I did no more than every other kid on my block. We all went. But I would like to remind you that a half century ago, you served in the Coast Guard. So, Grandpa, here is another grandpa. [Laughter.]

Good friends, we thank Chuck Hagel, and Mrs. Hagel, and his family because if confirmed, there is an enormous commitment by the family to this position. Having known Lilibet and slightly your children, you have made that decision to offer yourself for continued public service. Public service is a privilege. I have always regarded it as such.

I will not give a long statement. This statement by Senator Hagel will soon be shared with you. I read it through not once, twice, but again this morning. I say this carefully, I have read the statements that have been placed before the members of this committee for those 30 years. I have never read a more carefully prepared statement, a more forthright statement, and one that has no hedges or deviations. He hits firm on those issues that will make the decision in your minds and that of your colleagues as to whether or not he is qualified to take on this very important assignment.

I first entered the Pentagon in 1969 during the war in Vietnam under Melvin Laird. Jim Schlesinger followed, and I have worked with every Secretary of Defense since that period of time, all different, all with their strengths and indeed some of their weaknesses. But set forth in this is a series of commitments to you as a committee, to the members of the full Senate, and to the American public as precisely what his goals are and what he will do, how he will serve the President, how he will give the President his best advice. I know Chuck to give it very strongly.

I'm going to talk a little bit about Chuck Hagel, the man that I served with for 12 years. My distinguished colleague and long-time friend, Sam, had gone when Chuck arrived at the Senate. The first year he was here, we had the defense authorization bill on the floor. In those days, as it is today, that bill goes on that floor, that bill stays on that floor, sometimes a couple of days, sometimes a week, sometimes broken up, but we get it through. When it's done, we go immediately back to our committee spaces and begin to write that bill and get it to the printer so that we can go to conference. How many times have we done that together, Senator Nunn, Senator Levin, Senator McCain, Senator Inhofe, many times.

The first year he was here, he watched that process, and when I had taken the staff back to the committee room, surprisingly he showed up. I didn't know him that well, although I had studied his biography and I wanted to get to know him because of my deep and abiding interest in the Vietnam period, having served for 5 years in that period as Under Secretary of the Navy.

He strolled into the room and I introduced him to the people. He said to the staff, you are one of the most impressive group of young people I've ever seen. I learned a lot. He shared some of his stories as a simple, but elegant, soldier that he was. That is the way he started, and thereafter he voted for every single final passage of the authorization bill, every single final passage of the appropriation bill.

He was at home and learned in that generation of Vietnam, and I am so proud to have the affiliation of having been, yes, in comparative safety at the Pentagon. But I did go to the field of battle and see these young men and some women who engaged in that struggle. Chuck Hagel brings with him the experience of having come home to an America that was quite different than what I ex-

perienced when my generation came home from World War II. We were welcomed with open arms. America at that time in Vietnam, and how well John McCain can remember this, was very divided. When you wore your uniform back home, it did not receive the same respect that it deserved for the sacrifices that you and your colleagues had committed. Chuck will never forget that. I will never forget it. John will never forget it.

Today we welcome home and we do it with the fullest heart the young men and women who serve, but there have been times in history when that didn't happen, and that was one. That honed him to be prepared to take on his responsibilities as he addresses the declining budget situation, which is going to be a challenge. I am absolutely certain that he will stand up and fight as hard as two of his predecessors—Leon Panetta you mentioned today, and Robert Gates. They gave their President loyalty, but they gave him their best advice and tough advice, and fought for their troops, and drilled down to what they have to maintain whatever budget. Sequester is not the route. But whatever budget, he will maintain morale and combat readiness. Also, ladies and gentlemen, that pillar of strength of our military system, the All-Volunteer Force.

We had drafts in Vietnam. We saw the effect of that. We decided as a Nation to take a gamble, to let every person who wished to wear the uniform, giving that opportunity and to volunteer. No one is forced in there. That has to be maintained. This man has the experience, gravitas, and the strength to protect the All-Volunteer Force.

I also was deeply impressed by the Senate and the manner in which it confirmed John Kerry. John Kerry was also in that generation, and he served his trials and tribulations, and came home and faced that public in the same way Chuck did. The Senate confirmed him with a very strong vote. They sent him away ready to take on the enormity of his responsibility.

Now I mention that because in my experience, I have seen a good deal of camaraderie, but a good deal of competition between the Secretaries of Defense and the Secretaries of State. It is just sort of built in there, and sometimes a lot of sand gets in that gear box. But it is important to the United States that they, having the major jurisdiction over most of the policy issues, work as a team.

John Kerry and Chuck Hagel are a band of brothers out of Vietnam with that special bond, and I am sure that you will utilize that and remember it, and make those two departments performs their functions to best serve the President and to best serve the country.

I have pretty well said everything I should say. I want to be brief because it is important that this committee pursue its work. But again, Bob Gates, Leon Panetta set the bar for this century of those who take on this job. You mentioned your long friendships, Chuck, and how you know both. I would keep close contact. They have the experience to deal with this President of the United States, and you are the President's choice.

Folks, there is an old saying in the combat Army infantry and Marine Corps. "Certain men are asked to take the point," which means to get out and lead in the face of the enemy. Chuck Hagel did that as a sergeant in Vietnam. If confirmed, Chuck Hagel will

do it again, this time not before a platoon, but before every man and woman and their families in the armed services. You will lead them. They will know in their hearts we have one of our own.

You are on your own, and good luck.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you. [Laughter.]

Chairman LEVIN. We thank you both, Senator Warner, Senator Nunn, for your extraordinarily powerful introductions. I just wish every member of the Senate and every American could have heard, and I hope will hear and read about what you said here today about Chuck Hagel. I also noticed there is another former Senator, who was a member of that band of brothers, who is with us today. I just noticed in the audience Max Cleland is here, and I want to welcome you, Max, too, as an old, old friend of this committee, and the Senate, and of the Nation.

Let me now call on Senator Hagel. Senator Warner, Senator Nunn, again, thank you for your introductions, and you are free to get back to your lives or to stay as you wish.

Senator Hagel.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES T. HAGEL, TO BE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Chairman Levin, Ranking Member Inhofe, and distinguished members of the committee. I am honored to come before you today as the President's nominee to be the Secretary of Defense.

First, as you suggested, Mr. Chairman, let me introduce my family—my wife, Lilibet. Our son Ziller, and our daughter, Allyn, are not with us today. Our son, Ziller, claims he's taking a test. We will confirm that later. But both are a son and daughter that Lilibet and I are very proud of. I think like any proud father and any proud mother, you all know how I feel about that as you have the same feelings about your children. It is the same way Lilibet and I feel about ours.

I also want to introduce my brother, Tom, who served with me in Vietnam, my brother, Mike, who is our number three brother, and I might add, who actually possesses any talent our family has. He has in the Pentagon 10 paintings as Chairman of the Air Force Artist Guild over the years, and they are hanging in different locations in the Pentagon. We have one brother of some acclaim, and one of us did make it, my brother, Mike. Mike's son is sitting behind him, Josh. He is one of three children that Mike has.

We have here also cousins, many friends, and people I owe money to. [Laughter.]

Who knows who else since I have received some publicity over the weeks.

I want to also thank my friends, Sam Nunn and John Warner. I want to thank them for their support, their encouragement, and their friendship over many years. As each of you who had the privilege of serving with those Senators, I, too, add my thanks for their tremendous service to our country. These two distinguished Americans represent what is best about American public service and responsible bipartisanship. They have embodied both in their careers, long distinguished careers, and are models for each of us.

Of course to my family and friends, and my fellow veterans who are here, as has been noted, Max Cleland, Jan Scruggs, good friends, veterans from all wars, who are here today who I worked with for many, many years. I am grateful to them. Not just to those friends, and supporters, and fellow veterans who are here, but those who are not, thank you.

A life is only as good as the family and the friends you have and the people you surround yourself with. I also want to thank my friend, Leon Panetta, for his tremendous service to our country over so many years. If I am given the privilege of succeeding him, it will be a high honor.

President Obama for his confidence and trust in me, I thank him. I am humbled by the opportunity and the possibility he has given me to serve our country once again. I fully recognize the immense responsibilities of the Secretary of Defense. I assured the President that if I am confirmed by the U.S. Senate, I will always do my best. I will always do my best for our Nation and for the men and women and their families, who are called on to make the enormous sacrifices of military service. Their safety, success, and welfare will always be at the forefront of the decisions I make.

I also assured the President that I would always provide him with my most honest and informed advice. I make that same commitment to this committee and to Congress. If confirmed, I will reach out to the members of this committee for advice and collaboration. It will be a partnership because the national security challenges America faces require it.

Our Nation's security is the highest priority of our leaders and our Government. We cannot allow the work of confronting the great threats we face today to be held hostage to partisanship on either side of the aisle, or by differences between the bodies represented in Articles I and II of our Constitution. The stakes are too high. Men and women of all political philosophies, and parties, and ideas die and fight for our country. As this committee knows so well, protecting our national security or committing our Nation to war can never become political litmus tests.

I know Secretary Panetta has put a strong emphasis on reaching out to Congress. I, like Leon, come from Congress, and respect and understand this institution's indispensable role in setting policy and helping govern our country.

We are all products of the forces that shape us. For me, there has been nothing more important in my life, or a more defining influence on my life, than my family. Whether it was helping my mother raise four boys after my father, a World War II veteran who died suddenly at age 39 on Christmas Day, or serving side by side with my brother Tom in Vietnam, or the wonderful miracle of my wife Lilibet and me being blessed with two beautiful children. That is who I am.

We each bring to our responsibilities frames of reference. These frames of reference are formed by our life's experiences. They help instruct our judgments. We build out from those personal foundations by continually informing ourselves, listening, and learning.

Like each of you, I have a record, a record that I am proud of. I am proud of my record not because of any accomplishments I may have achieved, or certainly because of an absence of mistakes, but

rather because I have tried to build that record by living my life and fulfilling my responsibilities as honestly as I knew how and with hard work. Underpinning everything I have done in my life was the belief that we must always be striving to make our Nation a better and more secure place for all of our people.

During the 12 years I had the privilege of serving the people of Nebraska in the U.S. Senate, I cast over 3,000 votes and hundreds of committee votes. I have also given hundreds of interviews and speeches and written a book. As you all know, I am on the record. I am on the record on many issues.

But no one individual vote, no one individual quote, no one individual statement defines me, my beliefs, or my record. My overall world view has never changed: that America has and must maintain the strongest military in the world, that we must lead the international community to confront threats and challenges together, and take advantage of opportunities together; that we must use all our tools of American power to protect our citizens and our interests. I believe, and I always have believed, that America must engage in the world, not retreat from the world, but engage with the world. My record is consistent on these points.

It is clear that we are living at a defining time. Our Nation is emerging from over a decade of war. We have brought our men and women in uniform home from Iraq, and have started to bring them home from Afghanistan.

That does not mean that the threats we face and will continue to face are any less dangerous or complicated. In fact, it is quite the opposite. Recent events in Mali and Algeria remind us clearly of this reality. The 21st century complexities, technologies, economies, and threats are bringing the 7 billion global citizens closer together than ever before. As our planet adds another 2 billion people over the next 25 years, the dangers, complications, and human demands will not be lessened, but rather heightened.

Despite these challenges, I believe we also have historic opportunities to help build a safer, more prosperous, more secure, more hopeful, and more just world than maybe any time in history of man, for all people. Yes, the curse of intolerance, hatred, and danger exists around the world, and we must continue to be clear-eyed about this danger, and we will be. We will not hesitate to use the full force of the U.S. military in defense of our security. But we must also be smart, and, more importantly, wise, wise in how we employ all of our Nation's great power.

America's continued leadership and strength at home and abroad will be critically important for our country and the world. While we will not hesitate to act unilaterally when necessary, it is essential that we work closely with our allies and partners to enhance America's influence and security, as well as global security. If confirmed, I will continue to build on the efforts of this administration and of former Secretary Gates, Secretary Panetta, and Secretary Clinton to strengthen our alliances and partnerships around the world. I will also look forward to working with my former Senate colleague—your colleague—and our friend, John Kerry, in this pursuit.

As I told the President, I am committed to his positions on all issues of national security, specifically decisions that DOD is in the

process of implementing now. This includes the Defense Strategic Guidance the President outlined in January 2012. Allow me to very briefly address a few of those specific issues now.

First, we have a plan in place to transition out of Afghanistan, continue bringing our troops home, and end the war, which has been the longest war, as we all know, in America's history. As you also know, discussions are ongoing about what the U.S. presence in Afghanistan will look like after 2014. The President has made clear, and I agree, that there should be only two functions for U.S. troops that remain in Afghanistan after 2014: counterterrorism, particularly to target al Qaeda and its affiliates, training, and advising Afghan forces. It is time we forge a new partnership with Afghanistan, with its government and, most importantly, with its people.

Second, as the Secretary of Defense, I will ensure we stay vigilant and keep up the pressure on terrorist organizations as they try to expand their affiliates around the world, in places like Yemen, Somalia, and North Africa. At the Pentagon, that means continuing to invest in and build the tools to assist in that fight, such as Special Operations Forces and new intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance technologies. It will mean working hand-in-hand with our partners here at home across the National Security and Intelligence Communities to confront these and other threats, especially the emerging threat—the very dangerous and real threat of cyber warfare.

Third, as I have made clear, I am fully committed to the President's goal of preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, and I have been on record on that issue. As I have said in the past many times, all options must be on the table to achieve that goal.

My policy has always been the same as the President's, one of prevention, not of containment. The President has made clear that is the policy of our Government. As Secretary of Defense, I will make sure the Department is prepared for any contingency. That is my job. That is my responsibility. I will ensure our friend and ally Israel maintains its qualitative military edge in the region, and will continue to support systems like Iron Dome, which is today saving Israeli lives from terrorist rocket attacks. That support I have always made clear and been on the record for.

Fourth, while we pursue the reductions in our deployed stockpiles and launchers consistent with the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), I am committed to maintaining a modern, strong, safe, ready, and effective nuclear arsenal. America's nuclear deterrent over the last 35 years has played a central role in ensuring global security and the avoidance of world war III. I have been committed to that. My record is clear on that. I am committed to modernizing our nuclear arsenal.

As we emerge from this decade of war, we must also broaden our Nation's focus overseas as we look at future threats and challenges. As this committee knows, that is why DOD is rebalancing its resources towards the Asia-Pacific region. We are in the process of modernizing our defense posture across the entire region to defend and deepen our partnerships with traditional allies, especially Japan, South Korea, and Australia, to continue to deter and defend against provocations from states like North Korea, as well as non-

state actors, and to expand our networks of security cooperation throughout the region to combat terrorism, counter proliferation, provide disaster relief, fight piracy, and ensure maritime security.

I will continue this rebalancing even as we continue to work closely—closely—with our long-time allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and our friends, and with allies, and partners, and friends in other regions of the world. At the same time, we will continue to focus on challenges in the Middle East and North Africa where we have clear national interests. Rather, it is a recognition that the United States has been and always will be a Pacific power, and the Asian-Pacific area is increasingly vital to America's security and economic interests. That is why we must become even more engaged in the region over the coming years.

Doing all of this and much more will require smart and strategic budget decisions. I have made it clear I share Leon Panetta's and our Service Chiefs' serious concerns about the impact sequestration would have on our Armed Forces. As someone who has run businesses, I know that the uncertainty and turbulence of the current budget climate makes it much more difficult to manage the Pentagon's resources and our national security. If confirmed, I am committed to effectively and efficiently using every single taxpayer's dollar the right way, to maintaining the strongest military in the world, and to working with Congress to ensure the Department has the resources it needs, and that the disposition of those resources is accountable.

Even as we deal with difficult budget decisions, I will never break America's commitment to our troops, our veterans, and our military families. We will continue to invest in the well-being of our All-Volunteer Force. Working with the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) and other institutions, we will make sure our troops and their families get the health care, job opportunities, and education they have earned and deserve, just as I did when I co-authored the post-9/11 GI Bill with Senators Jim Webb, Frank Lautenberg, and John Warner. This includes focusing on the mental health of our fighting force, because no one who volunteers to fight and die for this country should ever feel like that they have nowhere to turn. That is unacceptable in this country.

In my 12 years in the Senate, my one guiding principle on every security decision I made and every vote I cast was always this—simply this: Is our policy worthy of our troops and their families and the sacrifices that we ask them to make? That same question will guide me if I am confirmed as Secretary of Defense.

Our men and women in uniform and their families must never doubt that their leaders' first priority is them. I believe my record of leadership on veterans issues over the years, going back to my service in the Veterans Administration under President Reagan, demonstrates my rock-solid commitment to our veterans and their families.

We must always take care of our people. That is why I will work to ensure that everyone who volunteers to fight for this country has the same rights and same opportunities. As I have discussed with many of you in our meetings, I am fully committed to implementing the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell, and doing everything



possible under current law to provide equal benefits to the families of all our servicemembers and their families.

I will work with the Service Chiefs as we officially open combat positions to women, a decision I strongly support. I will continue the important work that Leon Panetta has done to combat sexual assault in the military. Maintaining the health and well-being of those who serve is critical to maintaining a strong and capable military, because an institution's people must always come first.

As we look ahead to the coming years, we have an extraordinary opportunity now at this moment to define what is next for America's military and our country. It is incumbent upon all of us to make decisions that will ensure our Nation is prepared to confront any threat we may face in the future, protect our citizens, and remain the greatest force for good in the world.

If confirmed as Secretary of Defense, it will be my great honor, working with the President, this committee, Congress, and our military, to ensure our policies are worthy of the service and sacrifice of America's men and women.

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

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Hagel. Here is what the plan is now for the hearing. We will have a first round of 8 minutes each. We have a vote that is scheduled for 12:15 p.m. We are going to work through that vote, and we are also going to work through lunch, which means that we would ask you to vote some time during that 12:15 p.m. vote and come back for those of you who have not had your turn yet.

There are five votes at 2:15 p.m. I hope that we can complete our first round by 2 p.m. or 2:15 p.m. so that we could then have a late lunch at 2:15 p.m. during those five votes. We would then come back perhaps an hour later. We would ask those who have not had a turn, if that is the case, or during our second round, that to begin our second round that you on the final vote, vote early and then come back so we can start as quickly as possible around 3:15 p.m. or 3:30 p.m., I would assume, to either complete the first round if it has not been completed, or to begin our second round.

Because of the time crunch, we have standard questions which we ask of all nominees. I am going to ask those at a later time during this hearing, but we will ask them. Again, I think that we hope to finish today. We will leave the record open for questions. But our goal would be to finish today no matter how long it takes today, then to have the record open for questions.

Let us now begin our first round of 8 minutes.

Senator Hagel, you have made reference to the looming sequester. We received a letter signed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff relative to sequester which says that we are on the brink of creating a hollow force due to an unprecedented convergence of budget conditions and legislation. They have talked about the readiness crisis which would result: grounding aircraft, returning ships to port, stop driving combat vehicles, training, and so forth.

You have spoken very briefly about your agreeing in general with the impact. Would you expand on the impact of that sequester from your perspective?

Senator HAGEL. Mr. Chairman, I think the Service Chiefs have laid it out rather directly, plainly, as Secretary Panetta has. As re-

cently as 2 or 3 days ago, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Ash Carter, in an interview went into some detail.

The fact is, the bottom line if sequester would occur, it is not just a reduction in a significant amount of dollars that would occur, but it would be a convergence of taking the flexibility, the projection, the management, the future, away from those who are responsible for managing our budget. Furloughing civilian employees would have to occur. You listed an inventory of consequences; of cutting back on flying time, training, steaming. These are real consequences that would occur.

I know the Pentagon, the Chiefs, those who have responsibility for managing every department of this 3 million person operation, security institution, are preparing for the worst. But make no mistake, this is not an exaggeration. When managers are not given the flexibility, and the opportunity, and the tools to manage with complete uncertainty as to what is ahead, that is disaster.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you. On the question of Iran and the use of force, the President has said that Iran's leaders should understand that President Obama does not have a policy of containment. He has a policy to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, that he has made clear that he will not hesitate, in his words, to use force when it is necessary to defend the United States and its interests. Do you agree with President Obama's position that, "all options should be on the table," to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon?

Senator HAGEL. I do. I have, and I strongly agree with him.

Chairman LEVIN. On Iranian sanctions, President Obama has said that the sanctions which have been put in place are crippling the economy of Iran. I happen to agree. Their currency has dropped 80 percent. Oil production has plunged. Their economy is in a shambles. Do you share the President's views on the importance and effectiveness of sanctions against Iran? If so, how do you reconcile your position with some of your past statements that suggest that the national security of the United States is not served by isolating Iran?

Senator HAGEL. First, I have always agreed with multilateral sanctions because I think they have an effect. I think this President, in particular, has probably done more than any president to effectively employ those kinds of international sanctions starting with a United Nations (U.N.) Security Council agreement and U.N. mandates. I agree with what the President is doing. I have said publicly, incidentally long before the President ever asked me to consider this job, that additional sanctions might be required.

As to my record on votes in the Senate regarding unilateral sanctions, I have differed on some of those. I have voted for some as well. It was always on a case-by-case basis. When I voted against some of those unilateral sanctions on Iran, it was a different time. For example, I believe one was in 2001. We were at a different place with Iran during that time. Matter of fact, I recall the Bush administration did not want a renewal of the 5-year renewal of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) during that time because they weren't sure of the effectiveness of sanctions.

That was not the only reason I voted against it. It was because I thought that there might be other ways to employ our vast ability

to harness power and allies. It was never a question of did I disagree with the objective. The objective was, I think, very clear to both of us.

I recall, for example, in 2008, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice sending a letter to the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Senator Max Baucus, requesting that a sanctions resolution unilateral in the Finance Committee not come out of the Finance Committee because the Bush administration at the time was working with the Russians specifically, but with the Security Council of the United Nations to try to get international sanctions, which I think that effort, by the way, in 2008, led to the 2010 international sanctions.

Chairman LEVIN. Can you give us your view on the size of the U.S. force which might be necessary or would be necessary after 2014, the so-called residual force, if you have an opinion on the size? You indicated in your opening statement two missions for that residual force.

Can you also give us your opinion about the size of the Afghanistan National Security Force after 2014, and whether you agree with me, and Senator Graham on this committee, and others that we ought to reconsider the position that the Afghanistan National Security Force should be reduced by a third starting in 2014 to about 230,000 from what its current goal is, which is about 350,000.

Senator HAGEL. As you all know, General Allen has presented his options to the President for the President's consideration. As far as I know, as of this morning, the President had not made a decision on what a residual force, numbers wise, would look like. I have not been included in those discussions, so I do not know, other than knowing that he has a range of options, as you do.

But I would say that from what the President has told me, what Secretary Panetta has told me, that decision will be made to assure resourcing the mission and the capability of that mission.

As to what kind of a force structure should eventually be in place by the Afghans, I do not know enough about the specifics to give you a good answer, other than to say that I think that has to be a decision that is made certainly with the President of Afghanistan, what we can do to continue to support, train, and protect our interests within the scope of our ability to do that. Obviously the immunity for our troops is an issue, which was an issue in Iraq. All those considerations will be important and will be made. If I am confirmed and in a position to give the President on that, I will with consultation of our commanders on the ground and our Service Chiefs giving the best options that we can provide.

Chairman LEVIN. Will you review that question of the size of the Afghanistan force with an open mind if you are confirmed?

Senator HAGEL. I will because I think we have to.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you. Senator Inhofe.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, my first question is not to be responded as to explaining the position. I want to state the position or restate the position on five things that I mentioned in my opening statement, and merely to ask you if these are accurate reflections of things that happened in the past.

The first one is in 2007, you voted against the designating of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corp as a terrorist organization. The second thing in 2006, you were 1 of 12 Senators who refused to petition the European Union (EU) to identify Hezbollah as a terrorist group. Third, in November 2003, you failed to vote on a Syria accountability act authorizing sanctions on Syria for its support of terrorism and occupation of Lebanon. Fourth, in 2001, you were one of only two Senators that year to vote against renewal of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act. Lastly, in 2001, you were one of four Senators who refused to sign the letter supporting Israel. Are those accurate?

Senator HAGEL. Let's start with the——

Senator INHOFE. No, I just want to know if these are votes that took place. Do you agree that those votes took place?

Senator HAGEL. I want to ask about the letter that you just noted in your fifth point, what was the date in the letter?

Senator INHOFE. The date?

Senator HAGEL. You said I refused to sign a letter.

Senator INHOFE. It was October 2001.

Senator HAGEL. A letter to——

Senator INHOFE. Okay, skip that one. Are the other ones true? [Laughter.]

Senator HAGEL. It is very important, Senator, that we——

Senator INHOFE. It is very important because I was holding the letter at the time that we were gathering signatures.

Senator HAGEL. I see. On the 2008 question regarding designating the Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist organization, I did vote against it.

Senator INHOFE. I am sorry, and I do not want to be rude. You and I are very good friends, but I know that my time is going to expire. Others are going to ask you why you did this. I was asking for the accuracy, and you do not want to answer that, that is fine.

Senator HAGEL. No, I just said I did vote against it, and I was going to explain why I voted against it.

Senator INHOFE. I know, and they will be asking you for your explanation. I want to get to three other things, and that is why it is critical that we keep moving along here.

One of the criticisms I have had of this administration is the lack of priority and funding for the military. While they have increased the deficit by \$5.3 trillion in 4 years, the only major part of the budget that has decreased has been the military.

Now, that is something that is pretty well known. A lot of people do not like that idea. The thing that bothers me just as much is putting another agenda under the military budget. For example, you have heard Senator McCain, and me, and others talk about the fact that the Navy paid for 450,000 gallons of fuel, some \$26 a gallon that you can get on the market for \$3. The Air Force, the same thing, except that it is \$59 a gallon.

The question I would have of you is just a commitment that if you are confirmed, will you confine the dollars that we are going to spend in the defense budget for defense purposes, for warfighting purposes?

Senator HAGEL. Of course I will because that is the intent of our budget and DOD.

Senator INHOFE. Good. I appreciate that very much. There was an article the other day in the Washington Post by Jennifer Rubin called "Our Dimwitted State Department". It was kind of an interesting article. There are four questions that I am going to ask that you respond for the record. For people who do not know what that is, that means later on in writing.

The questions that I liked that she asked were, did the sale of the F-16s encourage Mohamed Morsi to crack down on his people? Number two, had we known he would crack, would we still have sent the weaponry? Number three, how will we respond to Morsi's anti-democratic moves and the rise in violence against Christians in Egypt, or, as will likely be the case, a failure to live up to Egypt's security obligations regarding Gaza? Four, have we miscalculated the Muslim Brotherhood? That would be for the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

*Question.* Did the sale of the F-16s encourage Morsi to crack down on his people?

*Answer.* I do not believe that there is a correlation between the sale of F-16s and the recent violence in Egypt. The F-16 aircraft has been a key component of the U.S. defense relationship with the Egyptian Armed Forces (EAF) for the last 30 years. The EAF have been a reliable partner during Egypt's transition, and provided security to reinforce Egyptian Ministry of Interior forces during elections and when called upon by President Morsi during the recent protests in the Suez Canal governorates. I believe it is in U.S. interests to maintain our defense relationship with Egypt. Working together to maintain the U.S.-Egypt defense relationship is also in the interest of Israel. It is critical that the U.S. Government continues to assist with the professionalization and the building of EAF capabilities to enable border security, participate in regional missions, and continue Egypt's role as a pillar of regional stability.

*Question.* Had we known he would crack down, would we still have sent the weaponry?

*Answer.* I cannot speak for the administration, but as I stated, I do not believe that there is a direct linkage between the sale of F-16s and the recent unrest in Egypt. I join U.S. and foreign leaders in condemning the recent violence. It is clear that a large number of Egyptian citizens are frustrated with the direction and pace of political and economic reform. It is critical that all stakeholders, government and opposition, work to address their frustrations and concerns peacefully and through dialogue.

*Question.* How will we respond to Morsi's anti-democratic moves and the rise in violence against Christians in Egypt, or as will likely be the case, a failure to live up to Egypt's security obligations regarding Gaza?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will take every opportunity to call for a transparent, inclusive political process grounded in universal rights, the rule of law, and respect for the rights of women and religious minorities. The United States maintains the ability to halt assistance to Egypt if it is determined that there are major reversals in Egypt's democratic transition, a severe degradation in the rule of law, or changes in Egypt's foreign or military policy that directly threaten U.S. interests, including any changes to the Treaty of Peace with Israel.

I will also be clear with Egyptian leaders that Sinai security remains a serious concern, which poses risk to Egypt's internal stability as well as the security of Egypt's neighbor Israel. Restoring Sinai security requires consistent action against violent groups acting in the Sinai and weapons smuggling into Gaza. If confirmed, I will look for opportunities to provide U.S. security assistance through training and border security equipment to assist Egypt in addressing this shared security objective, as well as consistently engage senior Egyptian leaders on Sinai security.

*Question.* Have we miscalculated the Muslim Brotherhood?

*Answer.* No. We are clear-eyed about the Egyptian leadership; the fact is that the Freedom and Justice Party—the political arm of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood—won a majority of votes in Egypt's presidential elections. President Morsi has publicly committed to upholding Egypt's international obligations, including the Peace Treaty with Israel. We need to hold him to these commitments, as he attempts to lead Egypt's political transition and democratic consolidation, address Egypt's rapidly deteriorating economy, and develop sustainable civil-military relations. President Morsi, as the democratically elected leader of Egypt, has a special responsibility to build national consensus and strengthen Egypt's democracy. In my

view, U.S. support through economic and security assistance, as well as consistent engagement, is critical so that Egypt will continue to serve as a pillar of regional stability and peace.

*Question.* Do you support a third site of ground-based interceptor? It would be on the east coast somewhere.

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the analysis Congress requested in section 221 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013 to evaluate additional missile defense locations in the United States, including on the east coast, will be delivered on a timely basis, and that Congress remains informed about the Department's analysis about how to best protect the U.S. Homeland.

Senator INHOFE. In the area of the Global Zero policy, you and I talked about that in my office. Others have talked about it. We are very much concerned.

When I heard Senator Warner and others talk about what used to be the case, the problem, in terms of nuclear capability, we used to be talking about Russia and the United States. It is not true anymore. Our intelligence has told us since 2007 that Iran will have that nuclear capability and a delivery system by 2015, so it is other countries that are involved in that.

The question I would ask you, in your book you wrote that, "We must once again convince the world that America has a clear intention of fulfilling the nuclear disarmament commitments that we have made." Then a bit more recently you said, "I believe that providing necessary resources for nuclear modernization of the triads should be a national priority." Do you stand by your last statement?

Senator HAGEL. My last statement was—

Senator INHOFE. Your last statement is saying that, "I believe that providing the necessary resources for nuclear modernization of the triads should be a national priority."

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely it should be, and I agree with that. That is what the policy of this administration is.

Senator INHOFE. I am merely bringing out the inconsistency because when you were involved with supporting the Global Zero or whatever the organization was, their declaration is, "We, the undersigned believe that to protect our children, our grandchildren, our civilization from the threat of nuclear catastrophe, we must eliminate all nuclear weapons globally. We, therefore, commit to working for a legally binding verifiable agreement, including all nations, to eliminate nuclear weapons by a date certain."

Senator HAGEL. The position of Global Zero, my position, some of the individuals—national security leaders, as Senator Nunn talked about, including himself, has never been unilateral disarmament, ever. Never. We have over the years, which I have supported, the United States has led the efforts to reducing nuclear warheads. There was no more significant voice for that than Ronald Reagan when he laid before Secretary General Gorbachev in 1986 a rather bold plan. In fact, I believe, paraphrasing President Reagan, we must eliminate nuclear warheads from the face of the planet. I believe he said something to that effect.

Global Zero has been very clear on this. Their effort is in line with every major national leader in the world, including President Obama, to continue to try to make an effort to reduce our nuclear warheads. But in a dangerous world, nuclear arsenals and our containment policy, which I mentioned in my statement, has been critically important. We are not going to unilaterally disarm.

Verifiable. It has to be bilateral. It has to be negotiated, as all our treaties have been.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Senator Hagel, but the reason I mentioned the mission statement is that is the group that you belong to. We can talk about that later. You may want to expand on that for the record.

My time has expired, but I have one last question I would like to ask, and that is, given that Iran—"The people"—and I am quoting right now—"from Iran, people of the Middle East, the Muslim region, and North Africa, people of these regions hate America from the bottom of their heart." It further said, "Israel is a cancerous tumor in the heart of the Islamist world." It further said, "Iran's warriors are ready and willing to wipe Israel off the map."

The question I would like to ask you, and you can answer for the record if you would like, is, why do you think that the Iranian foreign ministry so strongly supports your nomination to be the Secretary of Defense?

Senator HAGEL. I have a difficult enough time with American politics. Senator, I have no idea. But thank you, and I will be glad to respond further for the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

*Question.* The question I would like to ask you, and you can answer for the record if you would like, is, why do you think that the Iranian foreign ministry so strongly supports your nomination to be the Secretary of Defense?

*Answer.* While I cannot speak to the motivations of the Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesperson behind making those statements, there should be no doubt that I fully support and—if confirmed—will faithfully execute the President's multi-vector strategy towards Iran. This strategy has included tough-minded diplomacy, crippling sanctions, and serious contingency planning with the objective of preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Inhofe.

Senator Reed.

Senator REED. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

First, I would ask unanimous consent that several letters of support, including one from 13 former Secretaries of Defense, Secretaries of State, and National Security advisors, strongly endorsing Senator Hagel's nomination, be placed in the record.

Chairman LEVIN. It will be placed in the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

## **Prominent Veterans' Organizations Support Chuck Hagel**

- **Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW)**  
 "It is not the place for America's oldest and largest combat veterans organization to advise or recommend to the President who he should nominate for cabinet positions. However, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S. considers Chuck Hagel — a twice-wounded Vietnam War infantryman and former two-term U.S. senator from Nebraska — to be uniquely qualified to lead the Department of Defense." — Robert E. Wallace, Executive Director
- **Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (IAVA)**  
 "Without Senator Hagel's leadership in Washington, there would not be a Post-9/11 G.I. Bill." "Senator Hagel has always been a strong advocate for veterans; at the Department of Defense, there is no doubt he will continue that legacy. Time and time again, from Vietnam to the VA to the USO, Senator Hagel has answered his country's call to serve, demonstrating courage, character and resolve at every turn. We encourage the Senate to approve his nomination swiftly." — Paul Rieckhoff, Founder and Chief Executive Officer
- **AMVETS**  
AMVETS National Commander Cleve Geer endorsed President Barack Obama's nomination of Chuck Hagel as the next Secretary of Defense. "AMVETS fully supports President Obama's nomination of Chuck Hagel for the future Secretary of Defense," said Geer. "As a veterans service organization, AMVETS' main mission is to serve as an advocate for veterans, their families and the community in which they live. I am confident that former Sen. Hagel will utilize his experience and understanding of America's military to lead this nation's troops and the Department of Defense."
- **VoteVets.org**  
 VoteVets' petition for Hagel was signed by over 8000 veterans and military families. "Senator Hagel is a tremendous pick for Secretary of Defense, who I know very well, and I have little doubt that he will serve President Obama with distinction — both as a voice of reason within the administration, and as a faithful advocate for carrying out the policies of the Commander in Chief. When it is all said and done, we will be talking about him as one of the finest Secretaries of Defense we've ever had." — Jon Soltz, Founder and Chairman
- **Military Officers Association of America (MOAA)**  
 "While MOAA does not endorse or oppose specific candidates for elected or appointed office, we believe Sen. Hagel is certainly a candidate who is fully qualified for appointment to this extremely important position. MOAA's past work with Sen. Hagel has been very positive, and we believe he brings an important sensitivity to the human side of budget and operational considerations. His experience as a combat-wounded Vietnam veteran, as Deputy Administrator of the VA and his two terms in the Senate provide a range of perspectives that would serve any Secretary of Defense well. MOAA previously recognized Sen. Hagel's efforts to protect the interests of military beneficiaries with our Arthur T. Marix Congressional Leadership Award. [...] MOAA does not believe cabinet nominees should be held hostage to political litmus tests." — Admiral Norbert R. Ryan, Jr., USN (Ret.), President



- **Non Commissioned Officers Association of the USA (NCOA)**  
 “NCOA strongly supports the appointment of The Honorable Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense [...] His military service including being twice wounded in action has instilled the values of service and personal sacrifice and for which he knows well the human cost of war. He has been an advocate for Soldiers, Marines, Sailors, Airmen, and Coasties to ensure the training and equipage of America’s 21st Century Military Force to coincide with a solid revised Defense posture to meet conventional and unconventional world challenges. Senator Hagel has also championed personnel issues relating to combat dwell time, force protection, transition issues including electronic medical issues, preparation for future employment and training, veterans benefits including enhancements to Post 9/11 educational benefits. He also recognizes the value and sacrifice of families of the men and women who serve in this nation’s Uniformed Services.” – Richard C. Schneider, Executive Director for Government Affairs
- **Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA)**  
 “We like Hagel. We think he’s a great guy, and having a combat veteran in there would be a good thing,” Vietnam Veterans of America President John Rowan said.
- **The American Legion**  
 “[Hagel] is a longtime member of the Legion; he joined right after he returned from Vietnam. He’s a longtime advocate for veterans in the VA and especially for veterans exposed to Agent Orange. Our organization has consulted with him among others on various national security matters. Having said that, the American Legion is prohibited by our congressional charter... from endorsing any candidate for elected or appointed office.” – John Raughter, communications director for the American Legion
- **Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund**  
 “I first met Mr. Hagel in 1981, when he was the No. 2 man at the Veterans Administration. He had just thrown out of his office some people who were demanding that he stop his support for Maya Lin’s design for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. His integrity and toughness were impressive then. Both qualities have grown since. Long before he became a senator, Mr. Hagel was an infantryman in Vietnam. He fought the enemy up close, and he had to put Americans in body bags. I am sure that as defense secretary, he would not hesitate to use military force aggressively if our nation or its allies are in danger. Yet he knows well that war is terribly unpredictable and needs to be avoided. He has shown some fury at those who have never seen war but encouraged it during the past decade. This is called courage. He has earned his stripes.” – Jan C. Scruggs, Founder and President



## **VFW STATEMENT ON SENATOR CHUCK HAGEL NOMINATION**

### **VFW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR SPEAKS ABOUT NEXT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

January 07, 2013

The following statement is by Robert E. Wallace, executive director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, regarding today's nomination of Sen. Chuck Hagel to become the next Secretary of Defense:

"It is not the place for America's oldest and largest combat veterans organization to advise or recommend to the President who he should nominate for cabinet positions. However, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S. considers Chuck Hagel — a twice-wounded Vietnam War infantryman and former two-term U.S. senator from Nebraska — to be uniquely qualified to lead the Department of Defense."

<http://www.vfw.org/News-and-Events/Articles/2013-Articles/VFW-STATEMENT-ON-SENATOR-CHUCK-HAGEL-NOMINATION/>



## Hagel Nomination Praised by IAVA

January 7, 2013



IAVA released a statement today praising the nomination of former Senator Chuck Hagel for Secretary of Defense.

"IAVA applauds the President's nomination of Senator Chuck Hagel to serve as Secretary of Defense," IAVA founder and CEO Paul Rieckhoff said. "Senator Hagel is a welcomed choice and this is a historic day for veterans of all generations. Iraq and Afghanistan veterans know Senator Hagel as a trusted friend, advocate and role model. He is a man of tremendous character who we can always count on to put our country ahead of politics. As a decorated combat veteran of Vietnam, Senator Hagel uniquely understands the challenges America's armed forces are facing worldwide. He also understands the challenges they face when they transition home, which will be essential in the years ahead. As we confront an alarming suicide rate, a shrinking military and high unemployment for veterans, we need a Secretary of Defense who knows where we're coming from. After over ten long years of war, now is the time for a combat veteran like Senator Hagel to lead the Pentagon.

"As a former enlisted soldier, Senator Hagel understands the challenges our troops and veterans face on a deeply personal level. He's a man of great integrity who knows what it's like to put his life on the line for his country. He has walked in our boots, and we know we can trust him to always have our back."

Senator Hagel served as an enlisted soldier in the U.S. Army infantry from 1967 to 1968, when he was a squad leader in the 9th Infantry Division. He earned two Purple Hearts for his service in Vietnam. After returning home from Southeast Asia, Senator Hagel used the Montgomery G.I. Bill to attend college. Later, as a U.S. Senator, Hagel was an initial sponsor of the Post-9/11 Bill, which expanded G.I. Bill benefits for a new generation of veterans returning from Iraq and Afghanistan. IAVA was instrumental in the passage of the New G.I. Bill and worked closely with Senator Hagel on this historic piece of legislation.

"Without Senator Hagel's leadership in Washington, there would not be a Post-9/11 G.I. Bill," Rieckhoff added.

"Senator Hagel has always been a strong advocate for veterans; at the Department of Defense, there is no doubt he will continue that legacy. Time and time again, from Vietnam to the VA to the USO, Senator Hagel has answered his country's call to serve, demonstrating courage, character and resolve at every turn. We encourage the Senate to approve his nomination swiftly."

<http://iava.org/blog/hagel-nomination-praised-iava>



## **AmVets National Commander Approves Defense Secretary Nomination**

LANHAM, Md., Jan. 8, 2013—This afternoon, AMVETS National Commander Cleve Geer endorsed President Barack Obama's nomination of Chuck Hagel as the next Secretary of Defense. Obama announced the nomination yesterday, Jan. 7, 2013.

"AMVETS fully supports President Obama's nomination of Chuck Hagel for the future Secretary of Defense," said Geer. "As a veterans service organization, AMVETS' main mission is to serve as an advocate for veterans, their families and the community in which they live. I am confident that former Sen. Hagel will utilize his experience and understanding of America's military to lead this nation's troops and the Department of Defense."

If confirmed by the Senate, Hagel will be first infantryman to serve as the Secretary of Defense. He will replace current Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, who has been in this position since 2011. Hagel's experience ranges from serving in the Army during the Vietnam War to representing Nebraska as a senator.

### **About AMVETS:**

A leader since 1944 in preserving the freedoms secured by America's armed forces, AMVETS provides support for veterans and the active military in procuring their earned entitlements, as well as community service and legislative reform that enhances the quality of life for this nation's citizens and veterans alike. AMVETS is one of the largest congressionally-chartered veterans' service organizations in the United States, and includes members from each branch of the military, including the National Guard and Reserves.

To learn more, visit: [www.amvets.org](http://www.amvets.org).

###

<http://www.amvets.org/amvets-national-commander-approves-defense-secretary-nomination/>



**S  
SERVING  
WITH  
PRIDE**



**A M V E T S**

NATIONAL  
HEADQUARTERS  
4647 Forbes Boulevard  
Lanham, Maryland  
20706-4380  
TELEPHONE: 301-459-9600  
FAX: 301-459-7824  
E-MAIL: amvets@amvets.org

Stewart M. Hickey  
Executive Director

**Chuck Hagel would make an Outstanding Secretary of Defense**

January 16, 2013

The Honorable Carl Levin, Chairman  
The Honorable James M. Inhofe, Ranking Member  
Committee on Armed Services  
United States Senate  
Room SR-228 Russell Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Phone: 202-224-3871  
Fax: 202-228-0036

Dear Chairman Levin and Ranking Member Inhofe:

While some of our organizations cannot recommend whom the President should appoint to his cabinet, we believe that Senator Chuck Hagel would make an outstanding Secretary of Defense, and is uniquely qualified to lead the men and women of America's Armed Forces.

Chuck Hagel is true patriot who volunteered to fight in the war of his generation when he could easily have opted for a safe assignment. Twice wounded in the service of our nation, this combat veteran knows first-hand what it means to wear the uniform, what it means when the nation sends its young people to war, and the price that our Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen and Marines sometimes pay in our defense.

He has fought with and for our troops his entire adult life: as a 21-year old infantry sergeant in Vietnam; as the deputy head of the VA who pushed for Agent Orange Benefits and for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial; as the President of the USO; and as a U.S. Senator who co-authored the Post-9/11 G.I. Bill. As Secretary of Defense he will be a strong advocate of preparing servicemen and women for a smooth transition from the military to the VA system, including making jobs and training, and efficient electronic records a top priority. His door would always be open to veterans' service organizations.

Chuck Hagel knows that, while military force in defense of the nation is unfortunately sometimes necessary, decisions concerning war and peace, life and death, never should be undertaken lightly. This is the least that we can ask of our leaders.

The President has said that "in Chuck Hagel our troops see a decorated combat veteran of character and strength. They see one of their own. Chuck is a champion of our troops and our veterans and our military families." "Chuck knows that war is not an abstraction. He understands that sending young Americans to fight and bleed in the dirt and mud, that's something we only do when it's absolutely necessary." As veterans, we could not agree more. As the nation commemorates the 50th anniversary of the Vietnam War, it is fitting and proper that the next Secretary of Defense should be a wounded and decorated veteran of that conflict – the first Vietnam veteran and the first enlisted man to hold this post.

Sincerely,

  
Stewart M. Hickey  
Executive Director



**VADM Norbert R. Ryan, Jr. USN (Ret)**  
*President*

January 18, 2013

The Honorable Carl Levin  
Chairman, Committee on Armed Services  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing on behalf of the 380,000 members of the Military Officers Association of America (MOAA) to express MOAA's concern about some arguments being raised in opposition to the nomination of Sen. Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense.

While MOAA does not endorse or oppose specific candidates for elected or appointed office, we believe Sen. Hagel is certainly a candidate who is fully qualified for appointment to this extremely important position.

MOAA's past work with Sen. Hagel has been very positive, and we believe he brings an important sensitivity to the human side of budget and operational considerations.

His experience as a combat-wounded Vietnam veteran, as Deputy Administrator of the VA and his two terms in the Senate provide a range of perspectives that would serve any Secretary of Defense well. MOAA previously recognized Sen. Hagel's efforts to protect the interests of military beneficiaries with our Arthur T. Marix Congressional Leadership Award.

While there is every potential we might disagree with some future decisions Sen. Hagel or any other Secretary of Defense will have to make on specific issues, we don't believe such speculation is a fair basis for questioning his qualifications.

MOAA believes, barring unexpected revelations of clearly disqualifying circumstances, the Senate should confirm a President's nominations for cabinet positions.

While each senator must vote his or her conscience, MOAA does not believe cabinet nominees should be held hostage to political litmus tests.

Sincerely, *Best Regards*

*Norbert Ryan Jr*

201 N. Washington Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314-2539  
800.234.6622 phone  
www.moaa.org



**NCOA**

**Non Commissioned Officers Association of the United States of America**

P.O. Box 427

Alexandria, Virginia 22313

Telephone (703) 549-0311

January 22, 2013

The Honorable Carl Levin, Chairman  
The Honorable James M. Inhofe, Ranking Member  
Committee on Armed Services  
United States Senate  
Room SR-228 Russell Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Levin and Ranking Member Inhofe:

The Non Commissioned Officers Association of the USA (NCOA) strongly supports the appointment of The Honorable Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense.

The association's membership is comprised of current and former enlisted members of the active duty military, Guard and Reserve Components to include all elements of the United States Coast Guard. The members of NCOA share a common experience with Senator Hagel who personally experienced the rigors of military service to include combat in the Vietnam War.

His military service including being twice wounded in action has instilled the values of service and personal sacrifice and for which he knows well the human cost of war.

He has been an advocate for Soldiers, Marines, Sailors, Airmen, and Coasties to ensure the training and equipage of America's 21st Century Military Force to coincide with a solid revised Defense posture to meet conventional and unconventional world challenges.

Senator Hagel has also championed personnel issues relating to combat dwell time, force protection, transition issues including electronic medical issues, preparation for future employment and training, veterans benefits including enhancements to Post 9/11 educational benefits. He also recognizes the value and sacrifice of families of the men and women who serve in this nation's Uniformed Services.

The NCOA has no hesitation in asking that Senator Hagel receive an expeditious hearing that confirms his confirmation to be the next Secretary of Defense. This Association recognizes the challenges that will be faced as Secretary of Defense and believe Senator Hagel is well qualified to lead the Department of Defense.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Richard C. Schneider". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline.

Richard C. Schneider  
Executive Director for Government Affairs



PUBLISHED: January 07, 2013

#### VOTEVETS.ORG CHEERS HAGEL PICK

Group Garnered Over 8000 Veterans and Military Families in Support of Hagel

WASHINGTON, DC - The largest progressive group of veterans in America, VoteVets.org, today cheered the pick of Chuck Hagel to be the next Secretary of Defense. The group previously launched a petition in support of Hagel, which gained over 13,000 signatures, including over 8000 Veterans and Military Families.  
<http://votevets.org/news/releases?id=0528>

In a statement, VoteVets.org Chairman and Iraq War Veteran Jon Soltz said:

"Senator Hagel is a tremendous pick for Secretary of Defense, who I know very well, and I have little doubt that he will serve President Obama with distinction – both as a voice of reason within the administration, and as a faithful advocate for carrying out the policies of the Commander in Chief. When it is all said and done, we will be talking about him as one of the finest Secretaries of Defense we've ever had.

Chuck Hagel brings three key things to this post. First, and foremost, as an enlisted soldier, who fought in Vietnam and was awarded the Purple Heart twice, Chuck Hagel's heart is still with the fighting men and women in uniform. He deeply understands what our warriors go through, when deployed. And so, when it comes to military action, Chuck Hagel will ask two questions: Is this good for American security, and is this good for our troops? That is something that is desperately needed.

Second, when it comes to American security, Chuck Hagel bravely broke with his party and his party's President, to stand up against the war in Iraq, which will go down in history as one of our most misguided military ventures. Chuck Hagel has no fear when it comes to standing up to neoconservatives, and their preemptive war, nation building dreams. As a Republican, he adds a very crucial dose of credibility when he speaks out against wrongheaded military action.

Third, and equally as important, Chuck Hagel is a vociferous advocate for cutting Pentagon waste - from outdated weapons to our over-bloated nuclear arsenal, both of which eat up billions and billions of dollars. In these tough economic times, Chuck Hagel will have no problem identifying waste at the Department of Defense, and cutting it. Those savings will both help the American economy, and free up resources to ensure that our troops are taken care of, as they deserve.

Along with John Kerry at the State Department, service men and women will have a real dream team – secretaries who served in war, were wounded, and performed heroically. President Obama is to be commended for standing up for our men and women in uniform, and putting the very best people for the job at the Departments of Defense and State."

*Founded in 2006, and backed by over 220,000 members, the mission of VoteVets.org is to use public issue campaigns and direct outreach to lawmakers to ensure that troops abroad have what they need to complete their missions, and receive the care they deserve when they get home. VoteVets.org also recognizes veterans as a vital part of the fabric of our country and will work to protect veterans' interests in their day-to-day lives. VoteVets.org is committed to the destruction of terror networks around the world - with force when necessary - to protect America. While non-partisan, the group is the largest progressive organization of veterans in America.*





## Vietnam Veterans of America

8719 Colesville Road, Suite 100, Silver Spring, MD 20910 • Telephone (301) 585-4000 Main Fax (301) 585-0519 • Advocacy (301) 585-3180 • Communications (301) 585-2691 • Finance (301) 585-5542  
[www.vva.org](http://www.vva.org)

*A Not-For-Profit Veterans Service Organization Chartered by the United States Congress*

January 30, 2013

The Honorable Carl Levin, Chairman  
The Honorable John McCain, Ranking Member  
United States Senate Committee on Armed Services  
Russell Senate Office Building, Room SR-228  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Chairman Levin and Ranking Member McCain,

Vietnam Veterans of America (VVA) is pleased and proud to stand in support of the nomination of Senator Chuck Hagel as Secretary of Defense.

We have known Chuck Hagel for more than thirty years. We know him to be a man of the highest character and integrity who will take care of the troops while accomplishing the mission. He has the range and depth of knowledge in foreign affairs as well as defense policy to more than have sufficient gravitas to be an excellent Secretary of Defense. He is an inspired choice.

Senator Hagel's initial experience with governance in the nation's capital did not end well. He left the then Veterans Administration, where he had been Deputy Administrator, because the VA bureaucracy refused to be honest about the health effects of Agent Orange, and the effort by many at the VA to destroy the VET Centers – the Readjustment Counseling Service – to treat Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). As far as we know, Chuck Hagel is the only one in our generation to resign such a post on principle. This is very much in keeping with the spirit of our nation's Founding Fathers.

After leaving full-time public service, Chuck Hagel started his business, Vanguard Cellular, and worked tirelessly to make it a real success, creating many jobs along the way. As a private citizen, he helped keep the issue of adequate care and assistance to veterans with PTSD in the fore. Even while building his business he made time to be active in veterans affairs, assisting in the effort to build the Vietnam Women's Memorial and serving on the Board of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund.

The Honorable Carl Levin, Chairman  
The Honorable John McCain, Ranking Member  
January 30, 2013

-2-

As a Senator, he was a key player in securing the GI Bill for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, as well as other key programs to assist the veterans of our latest wars. He was the critical champion in the Senate in strengthening veterans' preference in federal hiring, which has made the current campaign to hire veterans of Afghanistan and Iraq into government positions successful.

As a combat-tested soldier who acquitted himself well in battle, he knows first-hand what it means to commit our troops to war. He gets it that warfare is ultimately about the mud and the blood and the efforts of troops on the ground, so he will ensure that we continue to be the best-equipped and trained military in the world. We also believe that Senator Hagel understands that it is small business where much of the best innovation comes from, and so will ensure that there is real competition at DoD, which is another way of saying that he will be committed to small business as a key partner in acquisition and innovation strategy.

VVA recommends Chuck Hagel, without reservation, for quick confirmation as Secretary of Defense, a position for which he is uniquely and pre-eminently qualified.

Sincerely,



John Rowan  
National President

**December 20, 2012**

**Ambassadors' Open Letter:  
Senator Hagel Impeccable Choice for Defense Secretary**

We support, most strongly and without qualification, President Obama's reported intention to nominate Senator Chuck Hagel to be the next secretary of defense. Each of us has known the senator over the past twenty years and has found him invariably one of the best informed leaders in the U.S. Congress on the issues of U.S. national security. Senator Hagel's credentials for the job are impeccable. As a decorated Vietnam veteran, an extremely successful entrepreneur in the private sector and as a two-term senator, he brings unusually high qualifications and experiences to the Department of Defense at this time of budget constraint and challenges to reshape America's military power while keeping it strong for the coming decades.

Senator Hagel's political courage has impressed us all. He has stood and argued publicly for what he believes is best for the United States. When he was attacked for opposing the war in Iraq as "unpatriotic," he replied, "To question your government is not unpatriotic -- to not question your government is unpatriotic."

Time and again he chose to take the path of standing up for our nation over political expediency. He has always supported the pillars of American foreign policy -- such as: a strong NATO and Atlantic partnership; a commitment to the security of Israel, as a friend and ally; a determination to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and the defense of human rights as a core principle of America's role in the world.

Each of us has had the opportunity to work with Senator Hagel at one time or another on the issues of the Middle East. He has invariably demonstrated strong support for Israel and for a two

state solution and has been opposed to those who would undermine or threaten Israel's security.

We can think of few more qualified, more non-partisan, more courageous or better equipped to head the Department of Defense at this critical moment in strengthening America's role in the world. If he is nominated, we urge the speedy confirmation of Senator Hagel's appointment.

Sincerely,

*Nicholas Burns, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador to NATO and Greece*

*Ryan Crocker, former Ambassador to Iraq and Afghanistan*

*Edward Djerejian, former Ambassador to Israel and Syria*

*William Harrop, former Ambassador to Israel*

*Daniel Kurtzer, former Ambassador to Israel and Egypt*

*Sam Lewis, former Ambassador to Israel*

*William H. Luers, former Ambassador to Venezuela and Czechoslovakia*

*Thomas R. Pickering, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador to Israel and Russia*

*Frank G. Wisner, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Ambassador to Egypt and India*



30 January 2013

The Honorable Carl Levin, Chairman  
 The Honorable James M. Inhofe, Ranking Member

Committee on Armed Services, United States Senate  
 Room SR-228 Russell Senate Office Bldg.  
 Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Levin and Ranking Member Inhofe:

On behalf of the Foreign Area Officer Association (FAOA) and the defense international affairs community, I am writing in support of the nomination of Senator Chuck Hagel as the next Secretary of Defense. FAOA is the professional organization of our military's specially-trained and experienced international affairs and language/culture experts (the FAOs), including Defense Attachés and Security Cooperation personnel--retired, reserve, active duty, and civilian force.

Chuck Hagel has been a strong and active supporter of FAOA and the defense international affairs and language/culture functions, and we were honored to have Senator Hagel as our Distinguished Speaker last year, to participate in his Atlantic Council events, and to assist with promoting his forward-looking book: *America: Our Next Chapter*. Through these interactions, it was clear that he fully understands and greatly values the role and contributions of the defense international affairs community to our national security. He is a kindred spirit with our purpose, passion, and pursuit of advancing an insightful military and foreign policy, fully informed by true international affairs and region/culture experts. Our nation and Defense Department needs this kind of clear thinking and nuanced approach.

Senator Hagel is a warrior, a statesman, and a profound thinker about the nation's security. Throughout his career, Senator Hagel has also fought for our troops -- from an infantry sergeant in Vietnam, to the deputy head of the Veterans Administration, President of the United Service Organizations (USO), and as a Senator and co-author of the Post-9/11 G.I. Bill. Chuck Hagel is uniquely qualified to lead the men and women of our Armed Forces, and would make an outstanding Secretary of Defense. If confirmed, he would also be the first Vietnam veteran and former NCO to be the Secretary of Defense.

We urge you to promptly confirm him!

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Kurt M. Marisa".

Kurt M. Marisa  
 Colonel (Ret), USAF  
 President, FAO Association

[President@FAOA.org](mailto:President@FAOA.org)

Mount Vernon, VA 22121

[www.FAOA.org](http://www.FAOA.org)

December 21, 2012

We write regarding the qualifications of former Senator Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense. As former Generals and Admirals from the Army, Air Force, Marines and Navy, we are certain that Senator Hagel would be a strong leader in the Pentagon.

Senator Hagel is eminently qualified for the job. He is a decorated Vietnam veteran, a successful businessman, a leader in Ronald Reagan's Veteran's Administration and, since his election to the Senate in 1996, one of the country's leading voices on foreign policy. He would bring a long-term strategic vision to the job and to the President's Cabinet.

Senator Hagel has stood up for what he believes are best interests of the United States for many years, regardless of party or politics. We all know that the next Secretary of Defense will have a challenging job to do – in this time of budget constraint and unprecedented challenges around the world, the leadership of the Department of Defense must be strong. But, as then-Senator Hagel said to his colleagues on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 2007: "If you want a safe job, go sell shoes."

Most importantly, we believe that the person who can best lead the Pentagon is one who understands the importance of the challenges that our warfighter faces. Everyone in the Department of Defense, from the most-recently enlisted Privates to the senior General Officers, respect his service to his country on the battlefields in Vietnam. Even more, his decades of work with Veterans organizations show that he will forcefully advocate for continued support to the men and women of our armed forces long after they have returned from today's battlefields.

We look forward to working with Senator Hagel if and when he is nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Senator Hagel has been a voice of moderation and balance in an unbalanced time, and we can think of few people better qualified to lead the Department of Defense.

Sincerely,

**Lieutenant General Brent Scowcroft**, USAF (Ret.) former National Security Advisor to Presidents Gerald Ford and George H.W. Bush

**Admiral William J. Fallon**, USN (Ret.), former Commander of U.S. Central Command and U.S. Pacific Command

**General Lester L. Lyles**, USAF (Ret.) former Commander, Air Force Material Command, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base

**Admiral Robert J. Natter**, USN (Ret.), former Commander of U.S. Atlantic Fleet/Fleet Forces Command

**General Chuck Wald**, USAF (Ret.), former Deputy Commander of United States European Command

**General Anthony Zinni**, USMC (Ret.), former Commander in Chief of United States Central Command

**Lieutenant General John "Glad" Castellaw**, USMC (Ret.), former Chief of Staff of United States Central Command

**Lieutenant General Daniel Christman**, USA (Ret.), former Superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point

**Lieutenant General Robert G. Gard, Jr.**, USA, (Ret.), former President of the National Defense University

**Brigadier General Stephen Cheney**, USMC (Ret.), former Inspector General of the Marine Corps

**Brigadier General Dr. John H. Johns**, USA (Ret.), former Assistant Commander of the 1st Infantry Division and Professor of National Security Strategy at the National Defense University

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:** January 16, 2013  
**Contact:** Iris Bieri, [iris@fcsny.org](mailto:iris@fcsny.org), 937-266-1574

**FIFTY AMERICAN STATESMEN TO SENATORS: CONFIRM CHUCK HAGEL AS SECRETARY OF DEFENSE**

*Diplomats Support Hagel In Largest-Ever Direct Appeal of its Kind*

**Washington, D.C.** -- In a historic letter to the Senate being delivered today, 50 former U.S. Ambassadors and senior officials from the Defense and State Departments and the National Intelligence Council express their support **"strongly and without qualification"** of the nomination of Chuck Hagel to head the Department of Defense. The letter, **the largest-ever direct appeal by American diplomats to Congress in support of a cabinet nomination**, urges the Senate Armed Services Committee and Senate leadership to support a speedy confirmation of the former congressman, business owner and decorated veteran.

Citing their experiences serving Democratic and Republican presidents from Harry Truman to Barack Obama and working with Senator Hagel on national security issues over two decades, the signers commend the nominee for his **unique courage, judgment and commitment to the country's interests over political expediency**; and **call his credentials "impeccable."** They also applaud Hagel's **unwavering support for "the pillars of American foreign policy"**: "a strong military; a robust Atlantic partnership; a commitment to the security of Israel, as a friend and ally; a determination to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and the defense of human rights as a core principle of America's role in the world."

Former Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead, former U.S. Trade Representative and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Carla Hills, former Chairman of the National Intelligence Council Joseph Nye participated in the letter. **Professional diplomats** Frank Wisner, Nicholas Burns, Richard Murphy, Ryan Crocker and Morton Abramowitz; as well as **six former Ambassadors to Israel**: Thomas R. Pickering, Daniel Kurtzer, Sam Lewis, Edward Djerejian, William Harrop, and Edward Walker; also signed. The letter **highlights Hagel's strong support for Israel and a two-state solution** and his opposition to anything that would undermine Israel's security.

The letter is being delivered electronically and by hand to Senate leadership and each member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The full text of the letter is below.

*Dear Senator:*

*We support, strongly and without qualification, President Obama's nomination of Chuck Hagel to be the next Secretary of Defense. Most of us have known the Senator for a decade or more and consistently have found him to be one of the best informed leaders in the U.S. Congress on national security issues. Senator Hagel's credentials for the job are impeccable. As a decorated Vietnam veteran, a successful entrepreneur in the private sector, and a two-term United States*

*senator, he brings exceptional qualifications and experience to the Department of Defense, particularly at this time of budget constraint and challenges in reshaping America's military power while keeping it strong for the coming decades.*

*Senator Hagel's political courage has impressed us all. He has stood and argued publicly for what he believes is best for the United States. Time and again, he has chosen to take the path of standing up for our nation, rather than the path of political expediency. He has always supported the pillars of American foreign policy: a strong military; a robust Atlantic partnership; a commitment to the security of Israel, as a friend and ally; a determination to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons; and the defense of human rights as a core principle of America's role in the world.*

*We have spent most of our lives in the service of our country, deeply committed to America's security and the example of our democracy. Many of us served in the U.S. armed services and most of us have served for decades as professional diplomats. We are, by profession, non-partisan and have served loyally under Presidents from Harry Truman to Barack Obama. We come from virtually every part of this nation and represent a broad spectrum of Americans.*

*Most of us have had the opportunity to work with Senator Hagel on Middle East policy and other aspects of foreign relations. He has those rarest of qualities: good judgment and common sense. He listens, learns, and takes wise positions that advance the interests and security of the United States. He has repeatedly demonstrated his strong support for Israel and for a two state solution, and has opposed those who would undermine or threaten Israel's security.*

*We are greatly encouraged and proud that President Obama has chosen Chuck Hagel to serve our nation again, this time as Secretary of Defense. Few are as qualified, courageous, or well equipped to head the Department of Defense at this critical moment as the nation seeks to strengthen America's role in this changing world.*

*We urge speedy confirmation of this outstanding American patriot to be the next Secretary of Defense.*

*Sincerely,*

- *John Beyrle, former Ambassador to Russia and Bulgaria*
- *Barbara K. Bodine, former Ambassador to Yemen*
- *Avis Bohlen, former Ambassador to Bulgaria and former Assistant Secretary for Arms Control*
- *Nicholas Burns, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador to NATO and Greece*
- *Elinor Constable, former Ambassador to Kenya*
- *Edwin G. Corr, former Ambassador to Peru, Bolivia and El Salvador*
- *Ryan Crocker, former Ambassador to Iraq and Afghanistan.*
- *Ruth A. Davis, former Ambassador to Benin and former Director General of the US Foreign Service*



- *James Dobbins, former Ambassador to the European Community and Assistant Secretary of State for Europe*
- *John Gunther Dean, former ambassador to Cambodia, Denmark, Lebanon, Thailand, and India*
- *Edward Djerejian, former Ambassador to Israel and Syria*
- *Nancy Ely-Raphel, former Ambassador to Slovenia*
- *Robert Gelbard, Former Ambassador to Indonesia and Bolivia and Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement*
- *James Goodby, former Ambassador to Finland*
- *William Harrop, former Ambassador to Israel and State Department Inspector General*
- *Ulric Haynes, Jr. former Ambassador to Algeria*
- *Christopher Hill, former Ambassador to Iraq*
- *Carla Hills, former United States Secretary of Housing and Urban Development*
- *H. Allen Holmes, former Ambassador to Portugal and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations*
- *Thomas L. Hughes, former Director of Intelligence and Research, Department of State*
- *Dennis Jett, former Ambassador to Mozambique and Peru*
- *Craig Johnstone, former Ambassador to Algeria*
- *Theodore Kattouf, former Ambassador to United Arab Emirates and Syria*
- *Daniel Kurtzer, former Ambassador to Israel and Egypt*
- *Sam Lewis, former Ambassador to Israel*
- *William H. Luers, former Ambassador to Venezuela and Czechoslovakia*
- *Dick McCormack, former Ambassador to the Organization of American States and United States Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs*
- *Thomas E. McNamara, former Ambassador to Colombia and Ambassador-at-Large for Counterterrorism, and Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs*
- *Tom Miller, former Ambassador to Greece and Bosnia-Herzegovina*
- *William G. Miller, former Ambassador to Ukraine*
- *Richard Murphy, former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Mauritania, Syria, the Philippines*
- *Cameron Munter, former ambassador to Pakistan and Serbia*
- *Ronald Neuman, former Ambassador Afghanistan, Algeria and Bahrain*
- *Joseph Nye, former Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security*
- *Robert B. Oakley, former Ambassador to Pakistan, Somalia, and Zaire*
- *Phyllis E. Oakley, former Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research and Refugees*
- *W. Robert Pearson, former Ambassador to Turkey*
- *Pete Peterson, former Ambassador to Vietnam*
- *Thomas R. Pickering, former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador to Israel, India Jordan, Russia and the United Nations*
- *Steven Pifer, former Ambassador to Ukraine*
- *Howard B. Schaffer, former Ambassador to Bangladesh*
- *Patrick Theros, former Ambassador to Qatar*
- *Nicholas Veliotis, former Ambassador to Jordan and Egypt*
- *Richard Viets, former Ambassador to Jordan, Tanzania, and Portugal*
- *Edward Walker, former Ambassador to Egypt, Israel and the United Arab Emirates*

- *Jennone Walker, former Ambassador to the Czech Republic*
- *John Whitehead, former Deputy Secretary of State*
- *Ross Wilson, former Ambassador to Turkey and Azerbaijan*
- *Frank G. Wisner, former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Ambassador to Egypt and India*

### THE BIPARTISAN GROUP

Dear Mr. President,

We write to express to you our strong support for Senator Chuck Hagel, who reportedly is under consideration for nomination as Secretary of Defense.

Along with Senator Hagel, we were signatories to several letters we sent you proposing parameters for the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks that you sought to revive. These communications are now being cited by some who oppose Senator Hagel's nomination as evidence of what they claim to be his unfriendliness to Israel.

The first of the six principles we proposed for resumed peace talks was that "The U.S. will oppose any effort to challenge or undermine the legitimacy of the State of Israel within its internationally recognized borders." We opposed unlimited entry of Palestinian refugees into the State of Israel, and supported reconciliation of the various Palestinian political factions "on terms compatible with these principles and UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338."

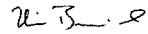
To characterize supporters of these principles, largely based on the parameters proposed by President Clinton in 2000, as anti-Israel or anti-Semitic, as some of these critics have, is unacceptable. No one has been more steadfast in supporting America's commitment to Israel's security than has Senator Hagel.

We write to you, Mr. President, in support of Senator Hagel because we believe our polarized political life is much in need of leaders with the kind of bipartisanship and independence of conscience and mind that Chuck Hagel's service to our country has exemplified.

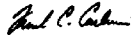
Sincerely,



**David L. Boren**  
Former Oklahoma Governor and US Senator



**Zbigniew Brzezinski**  
Former United States National Security Advisor



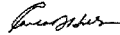
**Frank C. Carlucci**  
Former United States Secretary of Defense



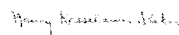
**William J. Fallon**  
Former Commander, US Central Command



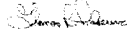
**Gary Hart**  
Former US Senator from Colorado



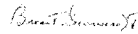
**Carla Hills**  
Former United States Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and US Trade Representative



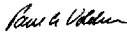
**Nancy Kassebaum-Baker**  
Former US Senator from Kansas



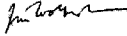
**Thomas R. Pickering**  
Former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, Ambassador to the United Nations and Ambassador to Israel



**Brent Scowcroft**  
Former United States National Security Advisor



**Paul Volcker**  
Former Chairman of the Federal Reserve



**James D. Wolfensohn**  
Former President of the World Bank Group

Senator REED. Mr. Chairman, I think the President chose wisely. There are very few people in this country with the experience, as a combat infantryman, decorated and wounded, as a business leader, as the second leader of the Veterans Administration, as a U.S. Senator, as someone who every day understands that the decisions we make will be carried out by young Americans, actually looked

in the face of young Americans, who has seen them suffer and die for this country. I think that quality is, if not unique, extraordinarily part of the nominee before us. Again, I think the President made a wise choice.

I think Senator Inhofe's discussions of the Global Zero Report is an opportunity for a quote, and let me quote. "There is one way safely and legitimately to reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. This is what we are trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are not just assessing limits on a further increase of nuclear weapons. We seek instead to reduce the number. We seek the total elimination one day of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth." President Ronald Reagan in his second inaugural address.

The notion of Global Zero is not something unique. I would also point out that as signatories to the nuclear disarmament treaty, the Nonproliferation Treaty, Article 6 undertakes to commit at least to a treaty ultimately on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective control.

This is an aspiration that the United States has embraced for a very long time under presidents of both parties. I think, as Senator Hagel pointed out, this is not unilateral disarmament. This is a long process of making sure we have the nuclear weapons in place to deal with appropriate challenges, some of them very different than the Cold War, but the aspiration is important. It has been a bipartisan and constant one for decades. Is that a rough summary of what you might agree to, Senator?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, it is, Senator. Thank you.

Senator REED. The other issue is that there were several specific points raised with your record, and let me give you the opportunity to respond, if you will, to the questions that Senator Inhofe posed with respect to votes. If you have the list before you or——

Senator HAGEL. The what? I'm sorry?

Senator REED. Senator Inhofe posed several issues about a 2007 vote, a 2006 resolution with Hezbollah, 2003 Syrian sanctions, et cetera. You were prepared to comment. I think it is appropriate that you have an opportunity to comment. If you want to do so now, I would invite you to do so.

Senator HAGEL. I would be glad to further comment for the record because I have none of those specific quotes in front of me, and which I will, Senator, listing every vote I took.

I would say, though, included in those votes, which I do recall some of them, was a vote in 1998, a vote in 2000, a vote in 2006, specifically against Iran, sanctioning companies, unilateral sanctions, that in any way assisted in Iran's building their capability of nuclear weapons or rocket or missiles. I voted for those.

I recall signing a letter, a Warner-Levin letter in 2002 to the President of the United States regarding anti-Semitism in Russia. I wrote a letter to President Clinton specifically in 1999 recommending to President Clinton a number of steps that he take with President Yeltsin regarding anti-Semitism in Russia. I remember specifically there were two unanimous consent resolutions in 2006 against Hezbollah, against Hamas, against Syria, and Iran that we had unanimous consent, I supported on the floor of the Senate.

So there is a more complete record, Senator, than just one, or two, or three, or four, and those are some of them that I recall. As I noted in one of the responses back to Senator Inhofe, I did not take any action on any vote, as I suspect every colleague has the same way to approach votes, on this specific issue, on Hezbollah, Hamas, which I am on the record many times designating and saying that Hezbollah and Hamas are terrorist organizations. I am on the record many times in speeches, and on the floor of the Senate, and in the book I wrote in 2008 saying that Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism. That is not new. That is in my record.

But the way I approached every vote I ever took in the Senate was based on what I thought could be most effective, what was the situation at the time, how could we do this smarter and better. I have always believed that the President of the United States is the elected leader of America. He has within his responsibilities, and I believe it is clearly articulated in Article 2, to conduct foreign policy. I always thought the best way to deal with foreign leaders was let the President do that directly, for us to communicate with the President.

I do not think there was a letter that I can recall I signed to a President on any of these issues that I agreed with it that I did not sign. So it was never a matter of differing objectives here. It was a matter of how best we could do it.

I mentioned in 2008, the Secretary of State did not want one of those unilateral sanctions to go forward during the Bush administration, wrote a letter, 2001, which is one of the issues that Senator Inhofe brought up. The Bush administration was opposed to a 5-year renewal of ILSA.

Now, I am not saying that is right or wrong, but every one of the decisions I made, every vote I cast, was based on at the time what I thought made the most sense.

[The information referred to follows:]

A: Thank you for the opportunity to comment for the record. I'd like to include a detailed description of my legislative record for your review.

**2008:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to direct the Secretary of Defense to increase suicide prevention programs (S.2585)

**2008:** Hagel voted in favor of the revised version of the FY08 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R.4986)

**2008:** Hagel voted in favor of the 2008 Supplemental Appropriations Act (H.R. 2642).

**2008:** Hagel voted in favor of the Consolidated Security, Disaster Assistance, and Continuing Appropriations Act, 2009 (H.R.2638) which included Department of Defense Appropriations for FY09.

**2007:** Hagel cosponsored Senate Resolution (S.Res. 321) calling on Hamas to recognize the State of Israel's right to exist, to renounce and end all terror and incitement, and to accept past agreements and obligations with Israel.

**2007:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to mandate minimum breaks for troops between deployments to Iraq or Afghanistan (S.Amdt.2999 to H.R.1585).

**2007:** Hagel sponsored legislation to increase the death gratuity payable to survivors of service members who die on active duty or inactive duty training (S.659).

**2007:** Hagel voted in support of a Sense of Congress resolution to express that US forces in Iraq should transition to a more limited set of missions (S.Amdt.3876 to S.Amdt.3874 to H.R.2764).

**2007:** Hagel cosponsored an amendment to Defense authorization bill that called for US forces to begin to withdraw from Iraq in 120 days (S.Amdt.2087 to H.R.1585).

**2007:** Voted in March of 2007 for a goal of March 31, 2008 for withdrawal of US forces from Iraq. (S.Amdt.643 to H.R.1591).

**2007:** Hagel sponsored and cosponsored legislation that ultimately became the Post 9/11 Veterans Educational Assistance of 2008 (S.22, S.723).

**2007:** Hagel cosponsored legislation expressing the Senate's opposition to the surge in Iraq (S.Con.Res.2).

**2007:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to help service members with Traumatic Brain Injuries (S.1349), to establish a center for treatment of military eye injuries (S.1999) and to enhance health care services and benefits for wounded service members (S.1363, S.1606).

**2007:** Hagel voted in support of the Protect America Act of 2007 (S.1927) which expended the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA).

**2007:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2008 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 1585). (Note that the bill was vetoed by the president.)

**2007:** Hagel supported the FY2008 Department of Defense Appropriations Act (H.R.3222), which passed the Senate by Voice Vote.

**2006:** Hagel voted in favor of the 2006 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, Global War on Terror, and Hurricane Recovery (H.R.4939)

**2006:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2007 Department of Defense Appropriations Act and Continuing Resolution (H.R. 5631).

**2006:** Hagel supported the FY2007 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 5122), which passed the Senate by Unanimous Consent.

**2006:** Hagel was an original cosponsor and strong supporter of the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006 (S.2370) which set strict conditions for U.S assistance to the Palestinian Authority, including a certification requirement that the Palestinian Authority halt anti-Israel incitement.

**2006:** Hagel supported and voted for a provision included in the FY2006 Supplemental Appropriations Act (H.R.4939) which prohibited distribution of financial assistance to the Palestinian Authority unless it complied with the standards established in the Quartet meeting of January 2006.

**2006:** Hagel voted in favor of reauthorizing the Patriot Act (H.R.3199).

**2006:** Hagel was an original cosponsor of a Senate Resolution (S.Con.Res 78) that condemned the Government of Iran for violating its international nuclear nonproliferation obligations and expressed support for efforts to report Iran to the United Nations Security Council.

**2005:** Hagel voted in favor of the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense, the Global War on Terror, and Tsunami Relief (H.R.1268).

**2005:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to increase the end strength of the Army by 30,000 and to increase the end strength of the by Marines by 5,000 (S.530).

**2005:** Hagel voted in favor of the Department of Defense, Emergency Supplemental Appropriations to Address Hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico, and Pandemic Influenza Act of FY06 (H.R. 2863).

**2005:** Hagel sent a letter along with Sen. Evan Bayh (D-IN) to then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan urging the UN to offer a strong resolution condemning statements which threatened the existence of Israel and the United States by Iranian President Mohammed Ahmadinejad and Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ali Khameni.

**2005:** Hagel cosponsored a resolution urging the President to consider imposing sanctions under the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003 (S.Res.63).

**2005:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to provide grants to Israel to support research, development, and commercialization of alternative renewable energy sources (S. 1862).

**2005:** Hagel cosponsored the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Act of 2005 (S.313).

**2005:** Hagel supported the FY2006 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 1815), which passed the Senate by Unanimous Consent.

**2004:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to increase the end strength of the Army by 1000 (S.2165).

**2004:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2005 Department of Defense Appropriations Act (H.R. 4613).

**2004:** Hagel supported the FY2005 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 4200), which passed the Senate by Unanimous Consent.

**2004:** Hagel sponsored legislation to increase the military death gratuity (S.2876).

**2004:** Hagel cosponsored the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act of 2004 (S.2781) which provided assistance to the Government of Sudan in order to implement a peace agreement.

**2004:** Hagel voted for the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (S.2845) that reorganized U.S. intelligence agencies as recommended by the September 11<sup>th</sup> Commission.

**2003:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to improve military pay and benefits for service members and their families (S.392, S.451, S.585, S.1916).

**2003:** Hagel voted in favor of the Consolidated Appropriations Resolution (War Supplemental) for 2003 (H.J. Res. 2).

**2003:** Hagel voted in favor of the Appropriations Act to Support Department of Defense Operations in Iraq for FY 2003 (S.762).

**2003:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2004 Department of Defense Appropriations Act (H.R. 2658).

**2003:** Hagel voted in favor of FY2004 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R.1588).

**2003:** Hagel voted for a Senate Resolution (S.Res.393) that supported efforts to continue working with others in the international community, to build the capacity and will of Palestinian institutions to fight terrorism, dismantle terrorist organizations, and prevent the areas from which Israel had withdrawn from posing a threat to the security of Israel.

**2002:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2003 Department of Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 5010).

**2002:** Hagel voted in favor of the conference to the 2002 Supplemental Appropriations Act for Further Recovery and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States (H.R. 4775)

**2002:** Hagel supported the FY2003 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 4546), which was passed the Senate by Unanimous Consent.

**2002:** Hagel voted in favor of the Lieberman Amendment (S.Admt.3389 to the Trade Act of 2002) that expressed solidarity with Israel, commitment to assist Israel's right to self-defense, condemned Palestinian suicide bombings, demanded that the Palestinian authority dismantle the terrorist infrastructure in Palestinian areas and urged all Arab states to oppose terrorism.

**2002:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to expand Cooperative Threat Reduction funds for projects and activities to address proliferation threats outside the states of the former Soviet Union (S.2026).

**2002:** Hagel sponsored the Afghan Freedom Support Act of 2002 (S.2717) which provided military and humanitarian assistance to the government of Afghanistan.

**2002:** Hagel voted in favor of establishing the Department of Homeland Security (H.R.5005).

**2002:** Hagel voted to authorize the use of military force against Iraq (H.J.Res.114).

**2002:** Hagel signed the Levin-Warner Letter raising deep concerns "about the resurgence of anti-Semitism both in Europe and in the Arab media"

**2001:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2002 National Defense Authorization Act (S.1438).

**2001:** Hagel voted in support of the Department of Defense and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for Recovery from and Response to Terrorist Attacks on the United States Act of 2002 (H.R. 3338).

**2001:** Hagel voted in favor of the Patriot Act (HR.3162)

**2001:** Hagel voted in favor of the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (H.J.Res.64) in response to the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.

**2000:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2001 Department of Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 4576).

**2000:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2001 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 4205).

**2000:** Hagel voted in favor of the Iran Non-Proliferation Act (H.R.1883) that allowed the United States to sanction companies that sell materials that could be used to make weapons or missiles in Iran.

**1999:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY2000 National Defense Authorization Act (S.1059).

**1999:** Hagel voted in favor of the conference report to FY2000 Department of Defense Appropriations bill (H.R. 2561).

**1999:** Hagel cosponsored a Concurrent Resolution (S.Con.Res.39) that condemned the treatment of religious minorities in the Islamic Republic of Iran, and particularly the arrests of members of that country's Jewish community.

**1999:** Hagel cosponsored legislation to improve military health care (S.350).

**1999:** Hagel cosponsored a Joint Resolution (S.J.Res.20) that would have authorized the President to use all military force to intervene in Kosovo.

**1999:** Hagel was an original cosponsor and voted in favor of a Concurrent Resolution (S.Con.Res.5) expressed opposition to the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state and urged the President to assert clearly United States opposition to such a unilateral declaration of statehood.

**1998:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY1999 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R. 3616).

**1998:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY1999 Department of Defense Appropriations bill (H.R.4103).

**1999:** Hagel wrote to President Clinton urging condemnation of anti-Semitism in Russia.



**1998:** Hagel voted in favor of the Iran Missile Proliferation Sanctions Act (H.R.2709), which imposed sanctions on foreign persons who transfer items contributing to Iran's efforts to acquire, develop, or produce ballistic missiles.

**1997:** Hagel voted in favor of the Chemical and Biological Weapons Threat Reduction Act (S.495).

**1997:** Hagel was an original cosponsor of a Concurrent Resolution (S.Con.Res.21) congratulating the residents of Jerusalem and the people of Israel on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reunification of that historic city, and for other purposes.

**1997:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY1998 National Defense Authorization Act (H.R.1119).

**1997:** Hagel voted in favor of the FY1998 Department of Defense Appropriations bill (H.R.2266)

Senator REED. Senator, you have clearly stated that you are supportive of the President's efforts to support the State of Israel. You have indicated specifically the example of Iron Dome. I recall a statement recently by Defense Minister Barak that he has seldom seen or never has seen the same level of military support to the State of Israel that he has seen in the last several years.

You are, I presume and I hope, fully prepared to carry out that same effort, that same level of support, because of the vital interests that we share with the State of Israel.

Senator HAGEL. I am, and I have a record on that. In my book in 2008, interviews, speeches, I have always said I am a supporter of Israel. In some cases, I have said I am a strong supporter of Israel. In some cases I have even written, and I think it is in my book, that we have a special relationship with Israel. We always have had.

I have never voted against Israel ever in the 12 years I was in the Senate whether it was military authorizations, additional supplemental appropriations. The record is very clear on that.

I might add, as long as we are on this subject, that—and Senator Nelson may have a clearer view of this since he was just in Jerusalem, there have been a couple of recent statements made by the current Israeli Ambassador to the United States, the former Israeli Ambassador to the United States, now the Deputy Foreign Minister of Israel, that were fairly positive about me.

I think all the Israeli leaders I have dealt with over the years and met, I have been to Israel many times. The first two times I was in Israel was when I was the head of the United Services Organizations (USO). I kept the Haifa USO open. We did not close it. There was a lot of pressure when I took over the World USO to close USOs around the world, and we did. There was a lot of pressure to close the Haifa USO. I am the one that made the decision not to do that.

The former Chief of Naval Operations of Israel, Admiral Zev Almad, who has recently been interviewed about me, has strongly supported me and said specifically that I was a strong friend of Israel. Now the USO is closed, but the current then director of the USO, a lady by the name of Gila Garrison, who lives in Haifa, said I was a strong supporter and friend of Israel.

I think my record is pretty clear on my support of Israel, and I would, of course, continue to support the President's policies. I

think he has been as strong a supporter of Israel as maybe any President since 1948 when Harry Truman helped give birth to Israel. This President has been there. As he said, I have Israel's back—\$3.1 billion in assistance, almost \$300 additional million out of the Defense Department for Iron Dome, what we are doing with David Sling Arrow. I am a strong supporter of all those programs and will continue to support them.

Senator REED. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you. Before I call on Senator McCain, there is a quorum that is now present, and I now ask the committee to consider a list of 952 pending military nominations. They have all been before the committee the required length of time.

Is there a motion to favorably report those nominations?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER. I so move.

Chairman LEVIN. Is there a second?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER. Second.

Chairman LEVIN. All in favor, say aye? [A chorus of ayes.]

Opposed, any? [No response.]

The motion carries. Thank you all very much.

[The list of nominations considered and approved by the committee follows:]

MILITARY NOMINATIONS PENDING WITH THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE  
WHICH ARE PROPOSED FOR THE COMMITTEE'S CONSIDERATION ON JANUARY 31, 2013.

1. MG William H. Etter, ANG to be lieutenant general and Commander, First Air Force (Air Force North) and Commander, Continental U.S. North American Aerospace Defense Command Region (Reference No. 53)

2. MG Kenneth E. Tovo, USA to be lieutenant general and Commander, Combined Security Transition Command-Afghanistan/Commander, North Atlantic Treaty Organization Training Mission-Afghanistan (Reference No. 59)

3. Col. Barbara R. Holcomb, USA to be brigadier general (Reference No. 62).

4. Col. Patrick D. Sargent, USA to be brigadier general (Reference No. 63).

5. In the Army there are two appointments to the grade of major general (list begins with Brian C. Lein) (Reference No. 64).

6. In the Air Force there is one appointment to the grade of major (Kory D. Bingham) (Reference No. 70).

7. In the Air Force Reserve there are three appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Michael A. Cooper) (Reference No. 71).

8. In the Air Force Reserve there are four appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Victor Douglas Brown) (Reference No. 72).

9. In the Air Force Reserve there are four appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Walter S. Adams) (Reference No. 73).

10. In the Air Force Reserve there are six appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with John J. Bartrum) (Reference No. 74).

11. In the Air Force Reserve there are eight appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Kimberly L. Barber) (Reference No. 75).

12. In the Air Force Reserve there are 11 appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Dina L. Bernstein) (Reference No. 76).

13. In the Air Force Reserve there are 12 appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Timothy Lee Brining) (Reference No. 77).

14. In the Air Force Reserve there are 198 appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Francis Xavier Altieri) (Reference No. 78).

15. In the Army there is one appointment to the grade of lieutenant colonel (Jonathan A. Foskey) (Reference No. 79).

16. In the Army Reserve there is one appointment to the grade of colonel (Marion J. Parks) (Reference No. 80).

17. In the Army Reserve there is one appointment to the grade of colonel (Karen A. Pike) (Reference No. 81).

18. In the Army there are two appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Derek S. Reynolds) (Reference No. 82).

19. In the Army there are two appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Edward A. Figueroa) (Reference No. 83).

20. In the Army Reserve there are two appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Jack C. Mason) (Reference No. 84).
  21. In the Army Reserve there are 79 appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Ruth E. Aponte) (Reference No. 85).
  22. In the Army there are 88 appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Leslie E. Akins) (Reference No. 86).
  23. In the Army Reserve there are 217 appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Timothy G. Abrell) (Reference No. 87).
  24. In the Army Reserve there are 225 appointments to the grade of colonel (list begins with Rafael E. Abreu) (Reference No. 88).
  25. In the Marine Corps there is one appointment to the grade of major (Jackie W. Morgan, Jr.) (Reference No. 91).
  26. In the Marine Corps there is one appointment to the grade of lieutenant colonel (Dana R. Fike) (Reference No. 92).
  27. In the Marine Corps there is one appointment to the grade of lieutenant colonel (Samuel W. Spencer III) (Reference No. 93).
  28. In the Marine Corps there is one appointment to the grade of lieutenant colonel (Larry Miyamoto) (Reference No. 94).
  29. In the Marine Corps there are two appointments to the grade of lieutenant colonel (list begins with George L. Roberts) (Reference No. 97).
  30. In the Marine Corps there are two appointments to the grade of lieutenant colonel (list begins with Richard D. Kohler) (Reference No. 98).
  31. In the Marine Corps there are two appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Eric T. Cline) (Reference No. 100).
  32. In the Marine Corps there are two appointments to the grade of lieutenant colonel (list begins with Jose L. Sada) (Reference No. 101).
  33. In the Marine Corps there are three appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Frederick L. Hunt) (Reference No. 102).
  34. In the Marine Corps there are three appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Todd E. Lotspeich) (Reference No. 103).
  35. In the Marine Corps there are three appointments to the grade of lieutenant colonel (list begins with Jason B. Davis) (Reference No. 104).
  36. In the Marine Corps there are three appointments to the grade of lieutenant colonel (list begins with Travis M. Fulton) (Reference No. 105).
  37. In the Marine Corps there are four appointments to the grade of lieutenant colonel (list begins with Bryan Delgado) (Reference No. 106).
  38. In the Marine Corps there are two appointments to the grade of major (list begins with David B. Blann) (Reference No. 107).
  39. In the Marine Corps there are five appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Michael Gasperini) (Reference No. 108).
  40. In the Marine Corps there are six appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Stephen R. Byrnes) (Reference No. 109).
  41. In the Marine Corps there are seven appointments to the grade of major (list begins with Peter K. Basabe, Jr.) (Reference No. 110).
  42. In the Navy there is one appointment to the grade of commander (Harry E. Hayes) (Reference No. 115).
  43. In the Navy there is one appointment to the grade of lieutenant commander (Shemeya L. Grant) (Reference No. 116).
  44. In the Navy there are two appointments to the grade of commander and below (list begins with Christopher J. Kaine) (Reference No. 117).
  45. In the Navy there are 29 appointments to the grade of lieutenant commander (list begins with Jeanine F. Benjamin) (Reference No. 118).
- Total: 952.

Chairman LEVIN. Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to see an old friend here before the committee, and especially pleased to see Senator Warner and Senator Nunn, two of the great members of this committee, who have contributed so much to our Nation's defense.

Senator Hagel, members of this committee will raise questions reflecting concerns with your policy positions. They are not reasonable people disagreeing. They have fundamental disagreements. Our concerns pertain to the quality of your professional judgment

and your world view on critical areas of national security, including security in the Middle East.

With that in mind, let me begin with your opposition to the surge in Iraq. In 2006, Republicans lost the election, and we began the surge, and you wrote a piece in the Washington Post called "Leaving Iraq Honorably". In 2007, you said it is not in the national interests to deepen its military involvement. In January 2007, in a rather bizarre exchange with Secretary Rice in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after some nonsense about Syria and crossing the border into Iran and Syria because of Syria, and a reference to Cambodia in 1970, you said, "When you set in motion the kind of policy the President is talking about here, it's very, very dangerous. Matter of fact, I have to say, Madam Secretary, I think the speech given last night by this President represents the most dangerous foreign policy blunder in this country since Vietnam. If it is carried out, I will resist it." Then of course you continued on and on for months afterwards talking about what a disaster the surge would be, even to the point where it was clear the surge was succeeding.

In March 2008, you said, "Here the term quagmire could apply. Some reject that term, but if that is not a quagmire, then what is?" Even as late as August 29, 2011, in an interview with the Financial Times, you said, "I disagreed with President Obama, his decision to surge in Afghanistan as I did with President Bush on the surge in Iraq."

Do you stand by those comments, Senator Hagel?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, I stand by them because I made them.

Senator MCCAIN. Were you right? Were you correct in your assessment?

Senator HAGEL. I would defer to the judgment of history to support that out.

Senator MCCAIN. The committee deserves your judgment as to whether you were right or wrong about the surge.

Senator HAGEL. I will explain why I made those comments.

Senator MCCAIN. I want to know if you were right or wrong. That is a direct question. I expect a direct answer.

Senator HAGEL. The surge assisted in the objective. But if we review the record a little bit—

Senator MCCAIN. Will you please answer the question? Were you correct or incorrect when you said that "The surge would be the most dangerous foreign policy blunder in this country since Vietnam." Were you correct or incorrect, yes or no?

Senator HAGEL. My reference to the surge being the most dangerous—

Senator MCCAIN. Are you going to answer the question, Senator Hagel? The question is, were you right or wrong? That is a pretty straightforward question. I would like an answer whether you were right or wrong, and then you are free to elaborate.

Senator HAGEL. I am not going to give you a yes or no answer on a lot of things today.

Senator MCCAIN. Let the record show that you refuse to answer that question. Now, please go ahead.

Senator HAGEL. If you would like me to explain why—

Senator MCCAIN. I actually would like an answer, yes or no.

Senator HAGEL. I am not going to give you a yes or no. I think it is far more complicated that, as I have already said. My answer is, I will defer that judgment to history.

As to the comment I made about the most dangerous foreign policy decision since Vietnam was about not just the surge, but the overall war of choice going into Iraq. That particular decision that was made on the surge, but more to the point, our war in Iraq, I think was the most fundamental bad, dangerous decision since Vietnam.

Aside from the cost that occurred in this country through blood and treasure, aside what that did to take our focus off of Afghanistan, which, in fact, was the original and real focus of a national threat to this country, Iraq was not. I always tried to frame all the different issues before I made a decision on anything.

Now, just as you said, Senator, we can have differences of opinion, but that is essentially why I took the position I did.

Senator MCCAIN. It is a fundamental difference of opinion, Senator Hagel. Senator Graham and I, and Senator Lieberman, when there were 59 votes in the U.S. Senate, spent our time trying to prevent that 60th. Thank God for Senator Lieberman. I think history has already made a judgment about the surge, sir, and you are on the wrong side of it. Your refusal to answer whether you were right or wrong about it is going to have an impact on my judgment as to whether to vote for your confirmation or not. I hope you will reconsider the fact that you refuse to answer a fundamental question about an issue that took the lives of thousands of young Americans.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, there was more to it than flooding—

Senator MCCAIN. I am asking about the surge, Senator Hagel.

Senator HAGEL. I know you are, and I am trying to explain my position. The beginning of the surge also factored in what General Allen had put into place in Anbar Province, the Sunni Awakening. We put over 100,000 young soldiers—

Senator MCCAIN. Senator Hagel, I am very well aware of the history of the surge and the Anbar Awakening, and I also am aware that any casual observer will know that the surge was the fundamental factor, led by two great leaders, General Petraeus and Ambassador—

Senator HAGEL. Well, I do not know if that would have been required and cost us over 1,000 American lives and thousands of wounded.

Senator MCCAIN. So you do not know if the surge would have been required. Okay.

Senator Hagel, let me go to Syria now. More than 60,000 people have been killed in Syria. Do you believe that we should be more engaged in Syria?

Senator HAGEL. I know this administration is very engaged in working with its partners.

Senator MCCAIN. So you do not think we should do more?

Senator HAGEL. When you say “do more,” do you mean—

Senator MCCAIN. Do you think we should make sure that the Syrians get the weapons they need, and perhaps establish a no fly zone? Do you think we do?

Senator HAGEL. I believe that part of our review is looking at those options.

Senator MCCAIN. It has been 22 months, Senator Hagel.

Senator HAGEL. I was not there. I do not know the details. I am not there now.

Senator MCCAIN. I am sure you have read in the newspapers that 60,000 people have been killed, and that it is in danger of spilling over into neighboring countries. My question, I guess, is how many more would have to die before you would support arming the resistance and establishing a no fly zone?

Senator HAGEL. I do not think anyone questions the terrible tragedy that is occurring there every day. It is a matter of how best do we work our way through this so that we can stop it to begin with, and then what comes next. I think the President—

Senator MCCAIN. Did you disagree with President Obama on his decision for the surge in Afghanistan?

Senator HAGEL. I did not think we should get ourselves into—first of all, I had no regional position as far as no formal position. But I did not think we were—

Senator MCCAIN. But you were reported on August 29, 2011 saying, “I disagreed with President Obama and his decision to surge in Afghanistan.”

Senator HAGEL. That was my personal opinion, yes.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator McCain.

Senator Nelson.

Senator NELSON. Since the issue of Iraq has come up here, I just want to state for the record and lay the predicate that this Senator was one of many that voted for the authorization to go into Iraq, and as it turns out, the lessons of history, we were given incorrect information as a justification for going into Iraq.

We were told by the Secretary of Defense, by the Secretary of State, by the National Security advisor, and the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. So for a lot of the decisions that were made at the outset, they were decisions that were informed with incorrect information. As the committee is judging Senator Hagel on that decision as well as others, I want to tell the committee what was this experience of this Senator.

Now, what I would like to do with my time here is that since there are a few of this in this room that served in the military during the Vietnam era, and you clearly had that experience in combat, Senator Hagel, I would—and by the way, a lot of people do not know anything about Vietnam, and do not know how difficult it was, as Senator Warner has so eloquently stated in his comments, how the Nation was divided.

But I would like for you, as the committee is getting to know you, to know something about your service in Vietnam, and your combat experience. Were you wounded, Senator Hagel?

Senator HAGEL. Senator Nelson, thank you. If I may, and if I read into your question some latitude in answering, I would respond this way. I think my time is better served to maybe talk about more of the specific things, like Senator McCain asked me

about and some others. Maybe weave some of my experience as to how it formed my judgment, rather than going through a 12-month journal of my time in the jungles when my brother, Tom, and I were both wounded twice together.

When Tom and I served there, 1968 was the worst year we had. Those who may not recall that year, we sent over 16,000 dead Americans home. Now, that is unfathomable in the world that we live in today, 16,000 dead Americans. I saw that from the bottom.

I think Chairman Levin, in an accurate and appropriate quote about what I said, in his introductory statements about what formed me, and it directly goes to Senator McCain's question about the surge. Just as I said in my statement, I had one fundamental question that I asked myself on every vote I took, every decision I made. Was the policy worthy of the men and women that we were sending into battle and surely to their deaths? In many cases, unfortunately tens of thousands of cases that we are living with, these poor families are living with, wounded, the results, the consequences.

I know it is easy here—it is anywhere—if you do not have a connection to some of this to see these things a little differently. It does not mean I am any better, Senator. It does not mean I am any smarter. It does not mean I am any more appreciative of the service of our country. That is not it. I saw it from the bottom. I saw what happens. I saw the consequences and the suffering when we are at war.

So I did question a surge. It was not an aberration to me ever. I always ask the question, is this going to be worth the sacrifice, because there will be sacrifice. In the surge case in Iraq, we lost almost 1,200 dead Americans during that surge and thousands of wounded. Now, was it required? Was it necessary? Senator McCain has his opinion on that shared by others. I am not sure. I am not that certain that it was required. Now it does not mean I am right. It does not mean I did not make wrong votes. But that is what guides me.

You asked me the question about my time in Vietnam and was I wounded. I was a very insignificant part of this. We were just doing our job, Senator, as every military person knows that. Some of this committee has rather distinguished members who served, starting with Senator McCain, and the sacrifices he has made to this country.

But it does condition you. I am not shaped, framed, molded, consumed by that experience. Of course not. But it is part of me. I tried to explain that in my opening statement. We are all shaped by those experiences. I hope that experience that I have had is for the better. I hope if I have the privilege of serving as Secretary of Defense it will put someone in charge at the Pentagon—not questioning past Secretaries of Defense; I can only speak for myself—who understands the realities of consequences of war. It does not mean I am better, but that is who I am. I do not walk away from that. I acknowledge that. But it does not consume me, Senator.

I do not see the lens of every world event and whether we should use American power through the lens of Vietnam. That is part of me. It is part of that lens. I think that is for the better. I think

we need to be cautious with our power. I think we need to be wise with our power.

We have great power. We have awesome power. No nation in the world is even in our league. We have done so much good with that power. I do not think there is a nation in the history of man who has ever been as judicious and careful with its power as we have. I want to make sure we continue to do that, as you all do.

We will have differences, Senator, on policies, but all I can do is my best based on my own experiences. As I also said in my statement, reaching out, listening, learning, never knowing enough, understand circumstances change.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Nelson.

Senator SESSIONS.

Senator SESSIONS. Thank you. Senator Hagel, it is great to have you with us and to have this hearing and an opportunity to discuss important issues. I admire your service to your country, and your combat experience is something we all honor and respect.

I have been for the most part chairman, ranking member, or member of the Strategic Forces Subcommittee of this Senate Armed Services Committee for the time I have been in the Senate. We came into the Senate together. So I have had some experience and knowledge about the great debates involving nuclear weapons and national security. I believe the Secretary of Defense should be the core, the rock-solid person, for defense of America. I believe he should project an image of solidity and steadfastness that the whole world and American people can depend on.

I am more than a little troubled by the report that you participated in—the Global Zero report that calls for the total elimination of nuclear weapons, and clearly suggests that is an achievable goal in a realistic period of time, although certainly not immediately. Your report writers defend you. They have issued an article defending you and the report that was just issued last year. They protest mightily and say that, “Chuck Hagel and Global Zero’s views on nuclear weapons are in the national security interests and squarely in the mainstream.”

Indeed, your defendants insist you are in the mainstream because your position is that of President Obama’s, and dramatically they assert you are out of the mainstream if you believe otherwise.

So your report explicitly calls for, “an urgent and transformational change in the U.S. nuclear force structure, strategy, and posture”. I think it is a rather exceedingly dramatic report frankly.

Now, specifically as to the historic nuclear force triad that has been the bedrock of our defense policy for half a century, your report calls for bilaterally or unilaterally totally eliminating the intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) triad leg. In fact, the report refers to itself as a dyad instead of a triad report. You propose eliminating the 76 nuclear B-52 bombers entirely, leaving only 18 B-2 bombers, reducing nuclear submarines from 14 to 10.

Further, the committee report that you were one of the five members that produced it, you favor eliminating all tactical nuclear weapons, de-alerting all weapons, and according to the report as I read it, that would mean it would take from 1 to 3 days to place a weapon on alert. I certainly agree that that would be a trans-



formational change in our nuclear force structure, strategy, and posture. I think it is a big historic thing.

Now, General Kehler, the present Commander of the U.S. Strategic Command (STRATCOM) and Secretary of Air Force Mike Donley do not agree with the recommendations in this report, people you will supervise. General Kehler told the press on August 8, 2012, "I do not support the former vice chairman," and that is General Cartwright. "I do not think that we are in a place he suggests now, nor do I see that particular place any time soon." So you will be supervising him.

Would you share with us where you are today on that issue? Do you support the view of General Kehler, or do you support the view of the commission report that you signed?

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Senator. Let me first correct some of your interpretation of what the Global Zero report was, and is, and what it actually said.

First, it did not propose or call for anything. It was, in fact—the word specifically used at the front end of that report was "illustrative," proposing nothing, but laying out different scenarios, and possibilities, and schedules. But here is the key part of all this, and by the way, this was summarized in a letter to President Obama in 2009. Bilateral, never unilateral. Nothing was ever suggested on a unilateral basis to take down our arsenal. Negotiated, verifiable. These are all terms that were in the report.

As Senator Nunn said in his opening statement, and I have alluded generally to this, the mainstream thinking of most Presidents we have had the last 65 years, and I go back to Ronald Reagan's comments as Senator Nunn quoted, was reduction of nuclear weapons for the obvious reasons. That is why we have engaged in treaties to reduce nuclear weapons. Those were not unilateral arrangements, those were bilateral arrangements.

The United States and the Russians have about 90 percent of the nuclear in the world today. Now there are others who have them. There are nine nuclear powers, dangerous. Obviously the so-called loose nukes or non-state actors, terrorist groups getting a hold of these are threats.

Senator SESSIONS. But, Senator Hagel, I think—

Senator HAGEL. I just want to make sure that is clear.

Senator SESSIONS. I know, but it is not clear in your report. The report says on page 1, "These steps could be taken with Russia in unison through reciprocal presidential directives, negotiated in another round of bilateral arms reductions, or in implemented unilateral." A little further on—

Senator HAGEL. Well, that is not proposing.

Senator SESSIONS.—it says it two more times in this report that these ideas could be a—less good approach would be to adopt this agenda unilaterally. It suggests that it should be adopted. That would not be as good, but you would do so. There is another reference to that, and it does call for these reductions. In your conclusion, you say, "The United States should seek to achieve such reductions in 10 years and plan to base its arsenal on a dyad of nuclear delivery vehicles."

You go on to say, "Trident missile submarines—the optimal mix would consist of 10 Trident submarines and 18 B-2 bombers, the

normal conditions it would have for the warhead stockpile would be deployed on these carriers. The other half would be kept in reserve. All land-based intercontinental missiles armed with nuclear payloads would be retired, along with carriers of non-strategic nuclear warheads, all of which would be eliminated. That is the tactical nuclear weapons, all of which would be eliminated from the stockpile. B-52 bombers would be completely dismantled or converted to carry only conventional weapons.”

I do not believe that is consistent with the policy of the country as a whole. I supported legislation to create a bipartisan commission several years ago to help us—Senator Levin and others supported that. The House supported it, and it passed—to help us determine how much further we can continue to draw down our nuclear weapons. It was chaired by William Perry, the Secretary of Defense under Carter, James Schlesinger, who served in the Carter and Nixon cabinets. It had John Glenn on it, Martin Halperin, Lee Hamilton, James Woolsey, Keith Paine, and others. They had access to the Defense Department secret documents and information, and they came out with quite a different view.

Let me just point out some of the things that they came up with. They said maintain the triad. They said maintain tactical nuclear weapons. They recommended no change in the alert statute, and, in fact, the Defense Department’s nuclear posture review under President Obama and Secretary Gates, explicitly found the alert status should not be altered in their review of nuclear weapons. They fundamentally found a need for nuclear weapons. That is the point. Your commission basically said that it undermines the request for nuclear weapons.

I will give you a chance to respond. On Global Zero, they sort of I think foresaw this argument. Before your report was issued, they said this, “The conditions that might make possible the global elimination of nuclear weapons are not present today, and their creation would require a fundamental transformation of the world political order.”

That is a very strong statement, and I think it was aimed at this idea that is practical and realistic for us to expect that the world is going to move to zero nuclear weapons.

So first, I want to ask you one question that you told me in our meeting that I appreciated. President Obama stated when we did the New START treaty discussion, vote, and debate, “I intend to modernize or replace the triad of strategy nuclear systems, a heavy bomber, and air launch cruise missile, and ICBM, and nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine.”

He committed to, “accelerate the design of the Chemistry and Metallurgy Research Replacement Nuclear Facility and the Uranium Processing Facility”—those are the two buildings where our modernizations would take place—and request full funding for those projects”.

First, let me ask you, would you support that vision and commitment the President made?

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely I do, and—

Senator SESSIONS. Then you are free to respond to what I was saying. But I really do feel that—I am uneasy about this vision expressed in that committee report of yours.

Senator HAGEL. Let me just briefly come back to what you said, Senator, and I appreciate you giving me a chance to respond.

First, my record has always been very clear, everything I have voted on in my career in the Senate and wherever I have been. A strong, agile, safe, secure, effective, nuclear arsenal for the United States is not debatable. I voted that way. I believe that. You know that the home of STRATCOM is now in Senator Fischer's State, which used to be the State I represented or I used to be in that State as a Senator. It has not changed.

I know a little something about it, not as much as you and others on the committee, but I have been to that facility many times. I know General Kehler very well, know all the STRATCOM commanders very well. You know what the motto of STRATCOM is. It is a pretty significant motto. "Peace is our business."

What has kept the peace, as I noted in my opening statement as much as anything else in the world since World War II, is that nuclear deterrent. This prospective, Secretary of Defense, would never do anything or in any way take any action that would minimize, or harm, or downgrade that reality. But again, I go back to—not to get caught up in this report. This report was about illustrative possibilities, what and how could things be done. Always bilateral. Always verifiable. Always negotiable, just as we have always done in our treaties.

I will stop there. That is the commitment I make to you. I made it to the President. My record is clear on that.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you. I think we have to move on.

Senator SESSIONS. Just thank you. I would just say the vision stated in your Global Zero report, I believe, is likely to create instability rather than confidence and stability, create uncertainty in the world among our allies and our potential adversaries. I do not believe it would meet the goal that you said not to weaken our ability.

So I am troubled that—I feel—I appreciate your comments today, but I am troubled by the language in that report.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Sessions.

Senator McCaskill.

Senator MCCASKILL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In the 6 years I have served on this committee, I have served under Senator Warner as a ranking Republican member, and Senator McCain as a ranking Republican member. I have to tell you that there has never been a time that I did not sense that we all agreed that our work on behalf of our Nation in terms of protecting our country and defending our country, that it was a bipartisan effort.

I believe very strongly that this committee needs to be bipartisan. I hope that the new ranking member holds the same regard for that as Senator McCain and Senator Warner did, because at all times I felt that they were respectful and were willing to listen to our disagreements. I am hopeful that will continue, and I will be optimistic that it will.

I am going to ask a series of questions, and then at the end of them, if you need more time, just say so.

Do you believe that all options should be on the table when we confront Iran?

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely.

Senator MCCASKILL. Do you believe Iran is currently a state sponsor of terrorism and provides material support to Hezbollah and to Hamas?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, and I am on the record a number of times saying that.

Senator MCCASKILL. Do you support sanctions against Iran?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator MCCASKILL. Do you believe that the United States should unilaterally eliminate its nuclear arsenal?

Senator HAGEL. No.

Senator MCCASKILL. Do you agree with four national security leaders, including Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, William Perry, and George Schultz, President Reagan's Secretary of State, when they said, "The four of us have come together in a nonpartisan effort, deeply committed to building support for a global effort to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons, to prevent their spread into potentially dangerous hands, and to ultimately to end them as a threat to the world. We remain committed to working towards this vision and advancing the steps essential to achieve this goal." Do you agree with those four bipartisan national leaders in the area of national security and foreign policy?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator MCCASKILL. I wanted to take a few minutes to talk about some of the things we talked about in my office, and some people on the committee are going, oh, here she goes on contracting, but the auditability of the Defense Department.

I know you stated in some of the advance policy questions that you want to hold people accountable on auditability. I do not think most Americans realize that as we face shrinking budgets and as we want to secure the preeminence of our military, and not hollow out the spending at the Defense Department, that auditability is a crucial ingredient to us being able to figure out whether all the money that is being spent there is being spent like Americans would want it to be spent.

Can you reassure me that auditability, as prescribed by law, coming through this committee, that it needs to happen no later than 2017? Can you make a commitment to me today on the record that will be a priority of yours, making sure as, Secretary Panetta did and Secretary Gates before him, that auditability will be an essential priority of your time as Secretary of Defense?

Senator HAGEL. As I told you, Senator, I will. I make that commitment to this committee.

Senator MCCASKILL. Then turning to contracting, I have yet to have provided to me, other than raw numbers that we spent, any data that would indicate that major infrastructure rebuilding as part of a counterinsurgency strategy works.

There are many things that work in a counterinsurgency strategy, and one of them, as it was originally posed to me back some 6 years ago on this committee by General Petraeus, was that the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP) funds, that walking around money to fix plate glass windows in neighborhoods, that that was an essential part of the counterinsurgency (COIN) strategy.

That morphed into our military building major infrastructure projects without really any data ever to indicate that the billions of dollars that we were spending was, in fact, advancing our military mission.

In addition to that, it is clear if you want to look at Iraq and the failures that Iraq represents in some ways, one of the failures is the crumbling investments that this country made in Iraq: the health centers that never opened, the water parks that sit crumbling, the power facilities that were blown up before they even had an opportunity to operate. I can go down billions of dollars of waste because we didn't do the analysis on sustainability after we left.

I am convinced that we have made the same mistakes in Afghanistan. I would like your response to this issue of major infrastructure building while we are in a conflict being conducted by our military, not by the U.S. Agency for International Development, not by the State Department, and whether or not you would make a commitment to come back to this committee with a report analyzing whether or not there is data to support that aspect of the COIN strategy.

Senator HAGEL. I will make that commitment, and it is part of the larger series of questions and factors always involved when a nation gets clearly committed, as we were, and still are, in Afghanistan, and were in Iraq for 8 years. When you are at war, the highest first priority is to take care of your people. As a result of that, all the rest of the normal latitude, and guidance, theory, and policy, is secondary.

I think in both of those wars, because we got ourselves in so deep with so many people, and the welfare of our men and women was paramount, we tried a lot of things. We had never been this way before. We had never seen anything quite like these two situations. As a result, our Special Inspectors General have come up with billions and billions and billions of dollars that are unaccounted for, corruption, fraud, waste, abuse. It really is quite astounding. But when you think about the universe of money that went into both those wars, no one should be surprised.

Now, how do we fix it? What do we do? To your point, how do we learn? How do we learn from this? We need to learn from this. It was not the fault of the military. The military was asked to do everything. We overloaded the circuits of our military. We said, you do it. You have the money. You have the structure. You have the organization. You have the people. Now go do it.

We put these people—these young captains—you talked about CERP funds—in very difficult spots. These young captains were given \$100,000 in cash, essentially walking around money to take care of tribal chiefs and so on and so on. It wasn't their fault. They were told to do this. This is what was part of the strategy.

I do not question necessarily any particular strategy or part of it, but I do think it is part of the whole that you are talking about. If I am confirmed and go over there, I will take a look at this, and we will go deeper and wider into this because we owe it to our people. We owe it to the people of this country who pay the bills. For the future, what did we learn for future challenges?

Senator McCASKILL. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator McCaskill.

Senator Chambliss.

Senator CHAMBLISS. Thanks, Mr. Chairman. Chuck, again, congratulations on your nomination. As we talked the other day, you and I have been good friends since I came to the Senate in 2002, sat next to each other for 6 years on the Intel Committee, and during that process you cast some votes that I questioned. But we were always able to dialogue, and it never impacted our friendship, and I am very appreciative of that.

You also were introduced by two of my dearest friends, Senator Nunn and Senator Warner, which certainly is a credit to you.

I want to drill down, Chuck, on the issue that I think is going to be very much at the forefront—probably the number one issue you are going to have to deal with, assuming that you are confirmed, and that is the issue of our relationship with Iran and where we go in the future, short term as well as long term.

Now, you wrote in your book, “We blundered into Iraq because of flawed intelligence, flawed assumptions, flawed judgments, and ideologically driven motives. We must not repeat these errors with Iran, and the best way to avoid them is to maintain an effective dialogue.” You then go on to advocate again, “for a direct and strategic diplomatic initiative”.

Now, I heard you in your opening comments say that your position on Iran is prevention, not containment, when it comes to their nuclear weaponization. I want you to expand on that, and I want to go back to Senator Inhofe and Senator Reed’s question or comment relative to why you did not vote to designate the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Council as a terrorist organization.

Iran is the number one terrorist sponsoring state in the world. I do not think there is any disagreement about that. I want you to expand on your position on a nuclear weaponized Iran, and talk about red lines. If your position is truly prevention and not containment, Chuck, what is the red line? What is the point? We know there are some things happening over there right now that are very serious. So how far do we go?

Do you still advocate direct negotiations with Iran as you said and you made clear that all options are on the table, and you stated again that military options is one of those. If you will, talk about direct negotiation. We have never negotiated with a terrorist state. Why do you feel like that we ought to dialogue with them, even on this issue today?

Lastly, what alterations, if any, do you think are necessary to our military force posture in the Gulf region to deter Iranian regional ambitions and support international diplomatic efforts to stop Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons capability? That is a broad statement on my part, broad question, but this is the issue from a national security standpoint, Chuck, and I would like you to be pretty specific.

Senator HAGEL. Let us start with the specific question on a vote regarding designating the Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist organization. You recall because you were there, there were 22 Senators who voted against that. The effort against it, the main point made on the floor of the Senate came from Senator Jim Webb. His point was we have never, ever designated a part of a legitimate government, a state—and when I say “legitimate,” it does not mean

we agree with Iran, but it is a member of the United Nations. Almost all of our allies have embassies in Iran. So that is why I note an elected legitimate government, whether we agree or not.

But we have never made any part of a legitimate independent government designated them or made them part of a terrorist organization. We have just never done that. So you say, well, so what? What is the big problem? The problem was, at least 22 of us believed—they were both Republicans and Democrats, by the way, in that vote, but it was Jim Webb who was on the floor most of the time on it—said that if you do that, that is tantamount to giving the President of the United States authority to use military force against Iran without having to come back to get a resolution from, or partner with, or cooperate with, the Congress of the United States. Essentially if we vote for this, we are giving a President, in a sense, that authority. Now, you can agree or disagree with that.

But I listened to that debate, and there was some pretty thoughtful debate. That debate I thought was pretty powerful with me. We were already in two wars at the time, and I thought that this made sense, and so I voted against it. That is why I voted against that. You might also remember that almost Secretary of State Kerry voted against it. Then Senator Obama, he gave speeches against it. He did not vote that day. Vice President Biden voted against it. Dick Lugar voted against it. There were some other Republicans.

As to the Iranian red line, Persian Gulf, some of the Iranian questions you asked. I support the President's strong position on containment as I have said, and I will speak more specifically to a couple of the examples you used from my book. But his position I think is right.

When you asked the question about red line, I think the President has gone as far as he should go publicly on that. He said clearly that in his words, he has Israel's back. He said that his policy is not to allow the Iranians to get a nuclear weapon.

What constitutes when action would be taken? I think that is always something that should not be discussed publicly or debated publicly or out in the public domain.

Your quotations from my book, which you acknowledge as well that I always said the military option should be on the table, and I had said that consistently as well as engaging with Iran. I have always thought it is far smarter to approach these very serious threats, including Iran, probably as significant a threat as we have out there today, although North Korea is beyond a threat. It is a real nuclear power and quite unpredictable. I think Pakistan is another very complicated reality.

But staying on Iran, I think we are far smarter to do what the President has been doing, which I laid out, by the way, in my book. I have a chapter on Iran. I have two chapters on Iraq. I have a chapter on the Middle East. Getting the world community behind us with these U.N. sanctions through the Security Council of the United Nations. These are tough sanctions. They are having a tremendous impact, you know that, on Iran.

If, in fact, the military option is the only one required, I think we are always on higher ground in every way, international law, domestic law, people of the world, people of the region to be with

us on this if we have tried and if we have gone through every possibility to resolve this in a responsible, peaceful way rather than going to war.

Everything I said in my book was about that. I do not have a problem with engaging. I think great powers engage. I think engagement is clearly in our interests. That is not negotiation. Engagement is not appeasement. Engagement is not surrender. I think if the time is right, the climate is right, the dynamics are right, we should find ways, if we can find ways. We cannot force it. But I think we are always smarter and wiser to take that approach initially.

Posture in the Persian Gulf. Senator, our Fifth Fleet is located in the Persian Gulf in Bahrain. As you also know, we have a couple of carrier battle groups in that area. Our military posture there is very strong. It is very ready. It is very capable. These are contingencies and options that the Secretary of Defense, working with these Service Chiefs and their combatant commanders, always have to give in the present and make sure that we are prepared.

Let me stop there, I may have missed some of the specific things that you wanted to discuss.

Senator CHAMBLISS. I am understanding you to say that you are not ready to discuss red lines in a specific way. Am I hearing that right?

Senator HAGEL. I do not think that is my role now to start with. I am not the Secretary of Defense. But I think the President is wise in his course of action in not discussing that publicly. I think it is a far smarter way to handle it, and I think he has said what he needs to say. I think it has been understood in Iran. I think the world understands his position.

By the way, I have just been handed a note that I misspoke and said I supported the President's position on containment. If I said that, I meant to say that obviously his position on containment, we do not have a position on containment. I recognize that I have had more attention paid to my words the last 8 weeks that I ever thought possible, so I do not take any chances. Thank you.

Senator CHAMBLISS. I think I understood you correct on containment and prevention.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator CHAMBLISS. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Just to make sure your correction is clear, we do have a position on containment, which is that we do not favor containment.

Senator HAGEL. We do not favor containment. That is the President's position, and that was my position.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you. I just want to clarify the record.

Senator HAGEL. If you need further clarification, that is why I am here.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Chambliss.

Senator Udall.

Senator UDALL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Good morning, Senator Hagel.

Senator HAGEL. Senator.

Senator UDALL. Thank you for your service. Thank you for your willingness to once again heed the call and lead DOD.



We had a great private meeting with you last week. We covered many of the threats and challenges that our country faces: shrinking budgets, strategic national security shifts, and ensuring, as you have underlined over and over again already this morning, that we continue to provide fair and equal opportunities for all of our servicemembers and their families.

Again, I want to tell you I appreciate that opportunity. I am going to take you up on your offer, if you are confirmed, to continue sitting down with you as a member of the Armed Services Committee.

I know this issue has already been addressed, but I want to make sure that I am on the record as raising my concerns, and I want, as I think this committee should, to give you every opportunity to clarify and underline your point of view.

When we met privately, you emphasized your determination to keep all options on the table with regard to Iran, including a military strike, if Iran continues to pursue a nuclear program in defiance of this international obligation.

We also discussed your longstanding support of Israel and our longstanding relationship. But you have critics out there—I do not have to tell you that—who maintain that your record on Iran is in question, and that you are anti-Israel. These are serious charges.

So let me direct some questions your way. Why should Americans trust that you will consider every option when it comes to one of the most serious national security threats facing us today, which is Iran?

Senator HAGEL. First, thank you for an opportunity to clarify these issues. My record has been very clear on Iran. Senator Chambliss noted from my 2008 book and my chapter, specifically noting that I said the military option must remain on the table. I said that as recently in an op-ed that I co-authored last year in the Washington Post with two former U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) commanders.

We talked about Iran, and one of the very specific points we bring out in that op-ed was the military option must remain on the table along with all the other areas of effort, expertise, diplomacy, economics, and sanctions, the President is using, which I have already said I support.

My record is rather thorough on this, and I would continue to support that position, and I strongly support the President's position.

Senator UDALL. Senator, talk about your view on Israel, our relationship with Israel, how can we continue to have a special alliance with a country with whom we share more than an economic or political philosophy, but with a broader or moral connection that we have to Israel?

Senator HAGEL. I have said many times, just as I have said regarding the military option on Iran many times, in my book, speeches on the floor, interviews I have given, I am a strong supporter of Israel. I have been. I will continue to be. I have also said specifically, and I believe this is in my book, that we have a special relationship with Israel.

Again, my record is pretty clear. I voted in 12 years in the U.S. Senate for every authorization, every appropriation that I had an

opportunity to vote on for Israel. I have been to Israel many times. I have met with their leaders many times.

So again, if you look at my record, I think my record is pretty clear in my strong support for Israel.

Senator UDALL. Senator, I heard you say when you discussed your vote against the resolution applying to the Iranian Revolutionary Guard, that in the end you were protecting Congress' prerogative when it comes to declaring war. Is that correct?

Senator HAGEL. That is exactly right. That is exactly what I was saying, and I did not say it, I guess, that way. But that was the point. Again, I say, like I have in answering some of the other questions, it was not a question of the objective. I shared the objective, and I suspect all 22 members in the Senate who voted against that resolution supported the objective. But as Jim Webb made the case I think pretty effectively, and Senator Webb was an individual who had rather considerable experience in this business. He had been Secretary of Navy under Ronald Reagan. He had been Assistant Secretary of Defense under Ronald Reagan. One of the most decorated veterans of Vietnam, U.S. Senator, celebrated author, lawyer. I thought he made a pretty strong, persuasive case. So did many of us.

Senator UDALL. Let us turn to cyber security. I was pleased that you mentioned cyber security early in your initial remarks. The Pentagon's move to significantly expand its cyber security assets and knowledge. I have to talk about Colorado since I represent Colorado. The Air Force Academy is well positioned to train those new cyber security experts. We are also the home of Space Command and U.S. Northern Command.

Would you talk a little bit more about your take on cyber security, what we ought to be doing, what sorts of resources we need?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, you may know that I have been to those facilities in Colorado a few times, and I do not know as much about them as you do. But I am pretty familiar with them. They are essential to our national security.

Cyber, I believe, represents as big a threat to the security of this country as any one specific threat for all the reasons this committee understands. It is an insidious, quiet kind of a threat that we have never quite seen before. It can paralyze a nation in a second, not just a power grid or a banking system, but it can knock out satellites. It can take down computers on all of our carrier battleships. It can do tremendous damage to our national security apparatus.

That is the larger threat. But when you start defining it down, this body, I know. I watched it, went through a pretty agonizing 3 months at the end of 2012 trying to find a bill that they could agree on cyber. I know, I believe, Congress will come back at it in this new Congress. I think you must, and you know that.

Because we have different intergovernmental authorizations here—Department of Homeland Security, DOD—where is the capacity? Where are the budgets? Where are the authorities? This is law enforcement. This is privacy, business, a lot of complications that we have really never, ever had to face before on other national defense threats to this country.

So cyber will be an area that we will continue to focus on. We must. It is an area that I will put high priority on if I am confirmed to be Secretary of Defense.

Senator UDALL. Senator, in the 2013 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), there is a provision that compels the military to accommodate the conscience moral principles or religious beliefs of all members of the Armed Forces. It does sound reasonable on the surface, but I am especially concerned that this could lead to misguided claims of a right to discriminate against lesbian, gay, and bisexual servicemembers, women, or persons with certain religious beliefs.

The President has said—I want to quote him—that DOD will, “not permit or condone discriminatory actions that compromise good order and discipline or otherwise violate military codes of conduct”.

Will you ensure that DOD, in accommodating religious beliefs or matters of conscience, does not tolerate discrimination or harm to others?

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely. I will faithfully, diligently enforce our laws. All men and women deserve the same rights, and I can assure you that will be a high priority, to enforce that and ensure that in every way through the entire line of chain of command and accountability.

Senator UDALL. Thank you, Senator Hagel. I look forward to the second round of questions.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator UDALL. I think it is now afternoon, so good afternoon to you, and thank you for being here.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Udall.

Senator WICKER.

Senator WICKER. Let me just follow up on that. Does that mean, though, a chaplain would have to perform a same-sex marriage, in your view, if he objected based on conscience?

Senator HAGEL. I think the Pentagon regulations show, Senator, that same-sex marriage is legal in the nine States.

Senator WICKER. No, would a chaplain be able to bow out of that procedure based on conscience?

Senator HAGEL. Certainly.

Senator WICKER. Okay.

Senator HAGEL. But what we do not want, Senator Udall's point is someone to be denied to be married in a chapel or a facility and so on, but certainly a matter of conscience, yes. What I am talking about is a strict interpretation of defending the law, which defends rights.

Senator WICKER. Thank you very much for clarifying that, and thank you for calling on me early on. We had our conversation on January 8, and I appreciated that opportunity.

You just said that your statements over time have gotten a lot more attention than you ever dreamed possible. I hope you agree that is entirely appropriate in this context.

Chairman Levin mentioned in his opening statement that in speaking your mind, you said terrible things that caused him concern. He asked you about that. Senator Inhofe mentioned several

of your statements involved what some people feel are policy reversals based on expediency, and so those are concerns.

You and I talked about two of these topics during our conversation, and one of them was with regard to sanctions against Iran. You told me in our conversation that you opposed unilateral sanctions because they do not work and they isolate the United States. Indeed you had made that statement to the Omaha paper just the day before. "I have not supported unilateral sanctions because when it is us alone, they do not work and they just isolate the United States," in the Omaha paper.

I will have to say that statement seems to be in direct contradiction to your letter to Senator Boxer 1 week later when you told her, "I agree that with Iran's continued rejection of diplomatic overtures, further effective sanctions, both multilateral and unilateral, may be necessary."

Now, a week before that you said that you have opposed them because they do not work. Senator Levin mentioned in his statement he disagrees that. He believes they do work. You gave him an answer to that statement, and we have it on the record. But let me just suggest to you, Senator, that if words have meaning, there is no two ways about it. The statement that you gave in the Omaha paper and that you gave to me the following day is substantially and substantively different from what you wrote to Senator Boxer a week later.

The Office of Secretary of Defense is one of the most powerful positions in the country, and arguably in the world. This official, whoever he or she is, must lead with clarity and precision, and people around the world need to rely on the clear meaning of the words of the Secretary of Defense.

Now, the other thing we discussed that gave me concern during our conversation on January 8 was your statement about the Jewish lobby. You told me that you have had apologized for using that terminology, and you retracted the use of the term "Jewish lobby". What you said was the Jewish lobby intimidates a lot of people up here. This was in an interview that you gave to Aaron David Miller. You said, "I've always argued against some of the dumb things they do because I don't think it's in the interest of Israel."

Here is my problem with your position at this point. You have corrected the term "Jewish lobby," and I assume now the correct term would be "Israel lobby" or "Israeli lobby". Do you still stand by your statement that they succeed in this town because of intimidation? That it amounts to causing us to do dumb things, because I want to say this, Senator. You are here today as the potential Secretary of Defense, and it would seem to me that however you characterize them, you have suggested that there is an effective lobby out there, whether you call them the Jewish lobby, the Israeli lobby, or the Israel lobby, and that they succeed in doing dumb things through intimidation, and that U.S. policy has been the wrong approach because the intimidation has worked.

So when you talked about the Jewish lobby, were you talking about the American Israel Public Affairs Committee? Were you talking about NORPAC? Were you talking about Christians United or Israel? Do you still believe that their success in this town is be-

cause of intimidation and that they are, as you stated, urging upon our Government that we do dumb things?

Senator HAGEL. First, I have never been accused of political expediency. I do not do that. It probably has gotten me in some trouble, Senator.

Second, to address the last comment, and then we will go back sanctions. I have already said I regret referencing the Jewish lobby. I should have said pro-Israel lobby. I think it is the only time on the record that I have ever said that.

Now, you all have done a lot of work with my record, and, yes, it is appropriate, by the way. Any nominee's record, what he or she thinks, says, done, absolutely. I was on your side of dais for 12 years, so I understand that and that responsibility. So I do not have any problem with that. I have already noted that I should have used another term, and I am sorry, and I regret it.

On the use of intimidation. I should have used "influence," I think would have been more appropriate. We were talking about in that book, and you evidently read it, Aaron David Miller's book, by the way, it is a book, "The Much Too Promised Land." He has spoken out directly over the last few weeks, written an op-ed about my position because it has gotten some attention as you have noted, and been quite favorable to me, and said much of that was taken out of context, and he was offended by it. Those were his words.

Those of you who know something about Aaron David Miller know that he is Jewish. He is a highly respected individual who has counseled Presidents and Secretaries of State. He also says in that interview, which is a fairly short interview, he mentioned that I am a strong supporter of Israel. That it is in the interview. So I think that says something.

I should not have said "dumb" or "stupid" because I understand, appreciate, there are different views on these things. We were talking about Israel. We were talking about the Middle East. We were not talking about Armenia, or Turkey, or the banking influence, or chamber of commerce influence. That was what the context of my comments were about.

Your point on the unilateral sanctions conversation and the quote, a couple of points. Let us go back to the ILSA vote, about the original ILSA vote during the Clinton administration and connect that to a comment I made in the World Herald about they do not work. They are ineffective. By the way, I have already noted for the record here that I have supported and voted for some unilateral sanctions, and I think I noted three specific ones that I recall.

But on your specific question about the specific comment. Just to give you an example of partly what I was talking about. You were not in the Senate at the time. Some were. But those who were here in the Senate might recall the EU's reaction to that ILSA Act. I was not in the Senate when that was voted on originally, so I did not have a vote.

But in 1998, the EU passed a resolution against the United States and threatened to take the United States to the World Trade Organization. As a consequence, Secretary Albright had to get into this, and as a consequence of that, President Clinton had

to sign a waiver to allow a French oil company not to be part of that U.S. unilateral waiver.

Now I am not suggesting United States action should be hostage to the EU or any other country. But what I am suggesting is many times there are consequences to these actions. Now, every Senator has their own position on these, exercise their own judgment as they should, and cast their own vote. So I don't think necessarily that there was a disconnect from what I said in *The World Herald* to where I have been on international sanctions.

As to your specific point about supporting unilateral sanctions as well as international sanctions in the letter to Senator Boxer, it is a different situation to start with. We already have very effective international sanctions on Iran.

Senator WICKER. Are you saying that those two statements do not contradict each other, the one to the Omaha paper and the one to Senator Boxer?

Senator HAGEL. There are two points to it. Let me finish if I could, Senator, thank you, my second point.

My second point is this. Where we are with Iran today, the international sanctions that have been placed on Iran, that puts Iran and the United States in a far different place than where we were in 2000, or 1998, or 2001 when I did not support the reimposition. By the way, the Bush administration did not either. They did not want a 5-year reimposition for some of the same reasons that I questioned that reimposition of 5 years on ILSA.

But my point in making where we are today, connecting that to unilateral sanctions, then we have a different situation. Unilateral sanctions, because we have already got strong international sanctions, should be considered. I think the President is right to consider those. I would support that because it is different than it was in 2001 or 1998.

Senator WICKER. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Wicker.

Senator Hagan.

Senator HAGAN. Thank you. Senator Hagel, thank you for being here. Thank you for your service to our country and the military and your service in the U.S. Senate. I also want to thank your wife and your family for standing with you today.

You played an important role in supporting Vietnam veterans impacted by the exposure to Agent Orange. I have been involved in a similar set of issues facing veterans stationed at Camp Lejeune. They continue to search for answers about the effects of water contamination there. As many as a million marines and their families stationed at the base between the early 1950s and the 1980s may have been exposed to harmful chemicals that led to the development of cancer and other ailments.

The quest for answers in looking into this has been long. It has been drawn out, and the recognition that men, women, and children were dying or going broke paying out of pocket for their treatment while they were waiting for these various studies to be completed on the water contamination. We in Congress took action last year. The House and the Senate passed a bill that will provide for the treatment of veterans and their family members through the VA.

I continue to believe that the families of those stationed at Camp Lejeune during this time period, they deserve answers from the U.S. Government about who was exposed to the harmful chemicals, what impact that might have had on their health, and what the Government knew about this exposure.

I have been fighting for answers with a group of other committed Senators on a bipartisan basis. Along the way progress has been held up by endless bureaucratic delays and obstacles.

My question to you is, do you agree that these marines and their families deserve complete answers about the water contamination that occurred at Camp Lejeune? If confirmed, will you pledge to work with us to overcome any bureaucratic hurdles that may halt or delay the pursuit of answers for the affected marines and their family members?

Senator HAGEL. Thank you. You noted that we had a long conversation about this. I committed to you in your office. I will make that commitment in front of this committee. I will do that.

There should never, ever be a question about the health, and the safety, and the environment that we put our men and women and their families in when we ask them to make sacrifices to serve this country. I am committed to that, and we will have further conversations.

Senator HAGAN. Thank you. I know you have answered a number of questions about Israel already today, but I do have one I want to ask you also. There is a special and historic bond between the United States and Israel, and I am personally committed to Israel's security and identity as a Jewish state.

When we met earlier this week, I was pleased to hear you say you agree and that you also support a two-state solution and oppose any unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state.

We also discussed the need for a strong military and intelligence engagement between the United States and Israel. Just last fall I was in Israel, and I have spoken with senior military officials from both countries, and I have continually heard that the ties between our military and our intelligence organizations have never been stronger.

If confirmed, do you intend to maintain this close relationship, and do you have any ideas for how we can further strengthen this coordination?

Senator HAGEL. I would once again reaffirm the commitment that I made to you to this committee. I absolutely support the continuation and the strengthening of our relationship with Israel. As been noted before, in my book, a chapter I have on Israel, I talk about the special and historic relationship between the United States and Israel.

It is critically important that the qualitative military edge that we have assured Israel since 1948 be maintained and be enhanced. The Iron Dome is I think but one example. The latest military exercise we had with the Israelis last fall, Austere Challenge, it was the largest military exercise between our two countries in the history of our two countries. I think our intelligence agencies are working closer, and are stronger and more coordinated than ever before.

I think this President has done as much to support Israel as any president, as I mentioned earlier, since Harry Truman, and I would look forward to continuing to follow those policies and enhance those policies.

Senator HAGAN. Thank you. I wanted to ask a question on sequestration. Stopping sequestration from occurring is very important to me. In North Carolina, we have 7 military installations, and we have over 100,000 Active Duty servicemembers in my State. I believe that these cuts are going to harm our national security, will impair our readiness, will defer necessary maintenance that will help keep our troops safe and delay important investments in research and procurement, as well as stunt our economic recovery at this time.

I do not believe we can allow these cuts to move forward. Congress needs to work on a bipartisan basis on a balanced plan that will help eliminate this threat of sequestration. Also we have to reduce our deficit and protect the critical investments and areas in our national defense.

When we spoke earlier this week, I was pleased to hear you say that you did not support these indiscriminate, unprioritized cuts that sequestration would cause. If allowed to take effect, how will sequestration impact the Department's ability to meet the future threats and challenges?

As I shared with you, I chair the subcommittee of this committee on Emerging Threats and Capabilities, so I am particularly interested in your thoughts. You were commenting earlier to Senator Udall's questions on cyber security issues, which is obviously being considered in the Emerging Threats and Capabilities Subcommittee.

My question is, what impact do you believe that these cuts would have on our servicemembers and their families at home and abroad, and in particular the cuts—the sequestration, how would this impact areas such as cyber security and the other areas?

Senator HAGEL. First, as we have said this morning and you know, the Chiefs have made very clear and Secretary Panetta, there will be consequences, significant consequences to the management of our Defense Department and our ability to have the flexibility to make the decisions not just for the immediate, but for the future.

When you hang that kind of uncertainty over any institution, but especially the institution charged with national security in our country, it is very dangerous. Readiness is obviously the number one priority, and we will continue to do that. The Chiefs have already started to work through this, and I think in some of the public statements they have made, we are preparing for that. They will be prepared. If in the event the sequestration does take effect, we will be ready to deal with it. But this is going to be very difficult.

We talked a little earlier here this morning about how we are going to have to reduce training, steaming time, flying time. But I think the American people do need to be reassured, as I think Secretary Panetta and the Chiefs have, that the security of this country is not going to be in jeopardy. But it is going to be difficult, and it is going to affect longer-term kinds of planning.



But make no mistake, if this happens, this is going to be a severe problem.

Senator HAGAN. My time is up. Thank you for your comments.

Chairman LEVIN. Senator Hagan, thank you so much. Now we were going to work right through the vote that is going on now, but we are going to take a 10-minute recess right now and come right back. Then we are going to call on Senator Ayotte and then Senator Manchin. They are next in line, and I urge them to go vote and come right back.

We will now recess for 10 minutes. [Recessed.]

Chairman LEVIN. We will come back to order.

Senator Ayotte.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank you, Senator Hagel, for your service to our country and for being here today in this important hearing, and I want to thank your family as well.

Senator Hagel, I think we have established, as I understand it from the prior questions you have been asked, in July 2001, you were one of only two Senators to vote against extending the Iran Sanctions Act, the sanctions in that act. That is a vote that you have agreed that you have taken. Correct?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator AYOTTE. Yes or no? Yes. That was when you were only one of two Senators in the entire Senate to vote against that.

Also, in 2008, I believe you were asked you were again one of two Senators within the Senate Banking Committee, though, not the entire Senate, to vote against the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions Accountability Act of 2008. Is that right?

Senator HAGEL. That is right.

Senator AYOTTE. Okay. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Yes. I am sorry. Yes.

Senator AYOTTE. Yes, thank you, Senator.

As I understand it, on October 2, 2008, Majority Leader Harry Reid brought a similar bill to the floor. In fact, it was called the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions Accountability Act of 2008, and he brought it to the floor on October 2, 2008. There have been media reports that you blocked unanimous consent for the consideration of that bill. Are those true or not?

Senator HAGEL. I was one of some Republican Senators who did not want that vote to go forward. I voted against it in the subcommittee, and the reason I did was because the Bush administration did not want that bill to go forward.

The reason that they didn't is because they were involved in negotiations with the Russians in the U.N. and Security Council members to put multilateral sanctions on Iran.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you.

But just to be clear, you did block unanimous consent of that bill in 2008?

Senator HAGEL. I was part of an effort, yes. That is right.

Senator AYOTTE. Okay. Thank you.

Also, would it surprise you that an earlier version of that sanctions bill was actually cosponsored by Secretary Kerry, Secretary Clinton, and President Obama at the time? You were not a cosponsor. Would that surprise you?

Senator HAGEL. Well, no, not necessarily. I didn't ever base my votes, Senator, on what everybody else thought or did. I voted based on what I thought was right.

Senator AYOTTE. Also, we, of course, the sanctions that are in place now, that bill or its next generation passed the U.S. Senate after you left in a vote of 99 to 0, and no one in the Senate, in fact, voted against that. So that has been our clear policy of the bill, really the next generation of the bill that you blocked in the Senate.

I want to ask you also about your position with respect to involvement in the Global Zero report. I know many people have asked you questions about this.

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator AYOTTE. Here is what is troubling me. You have testified before this committee today that you have never been for unilateral nuclear disarmament. In other words, unilateral actions by the United States of America. Yet this report itself, which you call an illustration, its illustration or recommendation or however you want to frame it, is to actually—there are many recommendations in it.

One of them is to eliminate a leg of our triad, which is the land-based ICBMs. You would agree with that? That is the illustration that is contained in this report, or you call it an illustration. Is that right?

Senator HAGEL. I call it an illustration, Senator, because that is the term it used at the front end of the report.

Senator AYOTTE. Well, let us—

Senator HAGEL. Not a recommendation.

Senator AYOTTE. Let me talk about the other terms that this report uses because this report twice, as Senator Sessions asked you, on page 1 and on page 16 says that the illustrations or this example given in this report, one of which is eliminating a leg of our nuclear triad could be implemented unilaterally.

So here is what I am struggling with. Why would you ever put your name on a report that is inherently inconsistent with what you are telling us today is that you have never been for unilateral disarmament as a possibility?

Senator HAGEL. It is not inconsistent, I don't believe, Senator. But you used the term "could". That is a pretty important operative word in the report.

The report does not recommend we do these things. The report says "could," "illustrative," "scenarios," "possibilities". You probably know the four other individuals who were involved in that report, mainly General Cartwright, former strategic commander and—

Senator AYOTTE. Senator Hagel, I know we don't have a lot of time here. I don't dispute the qualifications or the service of the other individuals that are involved in this report. But of all the illustrations and of all the "coulds" you could pick, this report says that the President could implement these unilaterally, although that is inconsistent with what you say is your position. Yet you signed off on this.

This report also says of all the illustrations you could have picked, the illustration is eliminating a leg of our nuclear triad. One thing that troubles me is that of all the things that this group

could have picked as what you call an illustration is a significant reduction in our nuclear deterrent.

To me, I view that as troubling and inconsistent. One thing I would hope you wouldn't do as Secretary of Defense is to sign off on a report that would say something like unilateral, like this one does, that could be implemented unilaterally that is different than your philosophy or our policy.

Senator HAGEL. As Secretary of Defense, I won't be signing off on reports in the same way as a private citizen. Obviously, I will have a different kind of responsibility if I am confirmed by the Senate.

But I don't think that there is anything that also changes my position in that report because it was a letter sent, which you may have, to the President of the United States—

Senator AYOTTE. Just so we are clear, and I am not—I don't want to interrupt you, but we just don't have a lot of time. Just so we are clear, you don't view what you are telling us today and the language in this report as inconsistent?

Senator HAGEL. I do not because it wasn't a recommendation. The report also says and the authors of it says, have always said, none of this can be any reductions unilateral, just like any strategic arms reduction treaty that we have signed, both Republican and Democrats have led on that, has to be bilateral, has to be verifiable, has to be negotiated.

I have always been there, and that is where we have been on this report.

Senator AYOTTE. Okay. Thank you.

May I follow up on the discussion about containment, nuclear containment with Iran? The first question I would have, as you said very clearly to Senator Levin, that you believe that a military option should be on the table with respect to Iran. In fact, I think you said, "I do, I have, and I strongly agree" in terms of that being one of the options the President of the United States would have in addressing Iran is the language that you said.

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator AYOTTE. Can you help me understand when you went to Islamabad, Pakistan, in 2006, you said at that time that a military strike against Iran, a military option is not a viable, feasible, or responsible option. It strikes me as what you are saying about the military option now seems inconsistent with that statement.

Why would you make that statement in Pakistan that it is not a viable, feasible, or responsible option in light of your statement today that you do, "I have, and I strongly agree" that a military option should be on the table?

Senator HAGEL. That statement was made in the context of all options regarding Iran, and Pakistan was where I was at the time. The larger context of that was nuclear powers, which certainly Pakistan is part of that club.

Not unlike what Secretary Gates said about a strike on Iran, my point was that this would not be a preferable option. There would be consequences to this option. Things would happen as a result of it.

If we could find a better option, a better way to deal with Iran to assure they do not get nuclear weapons, then we are far better off. That was the context of that statement.

Senator AYOTTE. Senator Hagel, I know that my time is up, and I know we will have an opportunity for a second round of questions. But as I see your quote, it didn't say preferable option. It said it was not a responsible option. I view those words as having a very different meaning.

So I look forward to following up in the subsequent round of questioning. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Ayotte.

Senator Manchin.

Senator MANCHIN. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, thank you so much and your family for your service and for putting your services on the line for us. I appreciate it very much.

I would like to say this. You and I have not known each other before. I never had the pleasure of serving with you, which I wish I would have. We had a great conversation. You bring a breath of fresh air, truly a breath of fresh air to this process in a bipartisan way. Having two great Senators sitting by your side—one a Democrat, one a Republican—that basically support you wholeheartedly speaks volumes in the toxic process that we have today.

With that being said, also everyone has been so fixated on your past, what you have said, and I think I have come to learn in the very short time I have been a Senator that this town and this process and this body has become almost a guilt by conversation. With that being said, I respect you being the person being able to say what you thought needed to be said. You voted the way you thought you should be voting for your constituents and your country, and you weren't really driven by your party or by any pressure groups.

I can't tell you how much I wish I would have served with you. Sometimes I feel very lonely.

With all that being said, sir, we are asked to consider you as a part of the Cabinet. Is there anything that would lead us to believe that you wouldn't follow the orders that were given?

Senator HAGEL. No. I understand clearly the responsibilities of the Secretary of Defense. As I said in my opening statement, those responsibilities are very serious. I don't know of many jobs that are more serious, and I would obviously always make every decision for the Defense Department and my advice to the President based on only one thing, and that is the security of this country.

Senator MANCHIN. I looked back at your record. You and I come from the same era. We are very close in age, and I remember the Vietnam era very well. That, I think, shaped all of us to a certain extent of how we looked after, post-Vietnam, of how we would have looked at it if we would have known what we knew before.

I am sure that kind of guided you as you looked at this, Iraq, and I saw the information that we were given. If I had been a Senator, probably I might have voted also, like many people that were misled.

But after having seen 5 or 6 years of that unfortunate scenario play out, the surge, and I know where you are coming from, would

you say that your experiences in Vietnam and looking at basically what sometimes our misguided mission had been shaped a lot of your positions today?

Senator HAGEL. There is no question that as I have said this morning, that my experience in Vietnam very much guided the questions. I think I noted a couple of times in my opening statement that it was one fundamental question that I always asked, was the policy worthy of the men and women that we are asking to make the sacrifices?

I know there are differences of opinion. You mentioned Iraq. You mentioned the surge. My positions there were very much guided by, well, what is the political purpose of the surge?

Senator MANCHIN. Right.

Senator HAGEL. Where do we go from here? Yes, you put 35,000 more American troops in an area for a sustained period of time or more on top of more than 100,000 we already had there, you will have a tactical victory. But there will be a cost for that victory.

That is what always guided me. Do we understand the costs? Are we prepared to make those costs in lives? Then where was the bigger answer here? Where were we going with the surge? How was this going to take us, advance us to where we needed to go, and where did we think we needed to go?

So, yes, those experiences did shape my questions.

Senator MANCHIN. I appreciate that. Let me just say that as speaking of now, what we deal with and the concerns that people had with your nomination, the support of Israel, I have no doubt in my mind your support of Israel as our greatest ally and would always be there. I think you have answered that. I think we all feel very comfortable with that.

Also your commitment that Iran should not under any circumstance have the ability to have a nuclear weapon, and I appreciate that position very much.

Where we go with the strength of our Army if we have our military might in DOD, the National Guard, how does the National Guard play in your role of thinking of what they should be doing and what they could be doing?

Senator HAGEL. The National Guard now has a chair at the table with the Joint Chiefs. General Grass represents the National Guard effectively, a new chief. But their role will continue to be important, as will the Reserves.

I think we saw over the last 12 years of war how important our National Guard is and the Reserves. We could not have conducted those two wars without the National Guard and Reserves. I think that has professionalized both Services. They are going to continue to be necessary. They are important.

Their training, their credibility, their leadership, that is obviously why the decision was made to assure their representation with the Joint Chiefs, and I strongly support the National Guard and Reserves.

Senator MANCHIN. Personnel, I think that Senator McCaskill touched on things I am very concerned about. Every time I hear about the sequestering and people tell me that if we do a sequestering it could destroy our ability to defend ourselves and have the military might that we do.

Now I don't see that whatsoever, and I followed the statistics. I followed all the post-war eras from starting with Korea and Vietnam, Cold War, and where we are today. This will be the least amount of money that we have asked to draw down under any post-war time. But yet everyone is hollering that it will be devastating.

I know there is a way to do that, but the contracting. We are having a hard time getting our hands around the contracting, the cost of contracting, the ability for people in the contracting world to be reimbursed by over \$700,000, almost twice what the President gets paid. Some of these things, would you embrace working with us and sitting down and looking and embracing an audit?

Myself and Senator Tom Coburn have had legislation asking for a complete audit of DOD. Your thoughts on those two things, sir?

Senator HAGEL. Of course, I will, and as I have noted this morning, I am committed to do that. I will do it.

Accountability is a primary responsibility of any institution or organization. That is clearly in the purview of Congress. We have to do it. We have to improve on the process.

We talked a little bit this morning about the astounding amount of waste, fraud, and abuse the Inspector General, Special Inspectors General both in Iraq and Afghanistan have found. I am committed, as I have said, to assure that we make that deadline of 2017 on the audits, and I will work with you closely on that.

Senator MANCHIN. My time is up, and one thing I want to state that we talked about in my office is the commitment to help our returning veterans get jobs. The Jobs Caucus, "I Hire a Vet," it is so important. I appreciate your support for that. I look forward to working with you that we can put more of our vets back to work when they come home and get them back into mainstream America.

Thank you, sir. I look forward to voting for you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Manchin.

Senator FISCHER.

Senator FISCHER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Inhofe.

Good afternoon, Senator. It is good to see you again.

Senator HAGEL. Thanks.

Senator FISCHER. I want to begin by thanking you for your service to our country and to the State of Nebraska. I do appreciate your continued willingness to serve the United States.

But I need to be honest with you. After our meeting last week, I still have some concerns about your nomination. Many of my colleagues are concerned that you have changed your views, and I share that concern. But I must admit that I am more worried that your views have not changed.

From your meeting with me last week, it was clear that you maintain the views that have led to so much scrutiny of your nomination. Despite these recent claims to the contrary, you continue to hold, I believe, extreme views far to the left of even this administration.

In particular, your clear statement to me during our meeting that if given the opportunity to recast your vote on the Iranian

sanctions, you would still oppose those sanctions. I believe that indicates that you hold these concerning views.

Our Nation faces many challenges, perhaps none greater or more immediate than Iran's continued progress towards obtaining nuclear weapons. At the same time, DOD is entering a period of transformation that will likely define its role for many decades to come. The future of our nuclear deterrent could depend on our choices made by the next Secretary of Defense.

I am going to bring up the report that we have heard about quite a bit. You are listed as a coauthor of that May 2012 Global Zero report on our nuclear posture. I believe there is a recommendation in there, and I believe that the recommendation is to drastically reduce the U.S. nuclear forces.

When we spoke last week, you described this report as being authored by General Cartwright. I had the impression, and I believe you implied to me, that you weren't closely affiliated with it. But you are listed as a coauthor of that report, as one of the five co-authors.

Moreover, you told me at that time that this report discussed options. You have reiterated that stance today. But after I have reexamined it once again, the only options that I have found in the report are related to how best achieve those drastic reductions that I believe it advises. There are no alternative views or dissenting opinions that are presented or discussed in the report.

It states many controversial opinions. It states them as facts in support of its conclusion, and I believe it is important to determine whether or not you agree with those positions. As it has been said before, my time here is limited, and so I would like to quickly go through and review some of those more concerning proclamations that it makes with you. I would appreciate if we could kind of go through this quickly.

For example, the U.S. ICBM force has lost its central utility. That is stated in the report. Do you agree with that?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, that report was not a recommendation. That report, as we have said, was a series of scenarios. Again, I use the term "illustrative" because that was the beginning of the report as possible ways we could continue to reduce our warheads. Not unilaterally, but bilaterally.

Every treaty we have ever signed to reduce warheads and the thrust capability with the Russians has been about reduction. So that is not new. That is where it has always been.

But ICMBs, your specific question, it is a 25-page report. I assume you have read it. It talked about one of the reasons ICBMs may well eventually be insignificant because of the overflight over Russia and so on. Now those aren't fictional analyses. Those are facts.

Now no one is recommending in that report—and you probably know General Cartwright. When he was in Omaha, you probably got acquainted with him. These are serious people who understand this business, and no one is recommending that we unilaterally do away with our ICBMs.

What that report was about was looking at where this is all going. Again, the title of the report was "Modernizing Our Nuclear Strategy," not eliminating it.

Senator FISCHER. Correct. But do you agree with the statement made in the report that the ICBMs, that force has lost its central utility?

Senator HAGEL. That is not what the report said.

Senator FISCHER. I have it—I have it cited, Senator. With respect, I can enter that into the record. But it is cited in the report.

Senator HAGEL. The report, in the overall context, ICBMs and all of the parts of that report were about the utilities of our triad, where is this going, and the money that we are investing in it, and we have to look at it. I think those kinds of reports are valuable to assess our needs, to assess our nuclear capability, to assess our nuclear deterrent.

I mean, we do studies all the time. This was not an official report from an official government. Think tanks do this all the time. I think that is valuable.

Now whether policymakers—

Senator FISCHER. Excuse me. I, too, think that reports from various organizations—think tanks, individuals, groups—I think those are all very important in getting information and opinions out there. But when you coauthor a report, I think you should be able to answer if you agree with statements that are made in the report.

Senator HAGEL. I do not agree with any recommendation that would unilaterally take any action to further reduce our nuclear warheads on our capability. But again, that is not what the report said.

But I do not agree with that. Every option that we must look at, every action we must take to reduce warheads or anything should be bilateral. It should be verifiable. It should be negotiated.

Senator FISCHER. Every action that this country takes needs to be bilateral?

Senator HAGEL. I didn't say that. I said in nuclear capabilities in our warheads. When we are talking about reducing warheads, as every treaty we have signed with the Russians has been bilateral. It has been verifiable.

Ronald Reagan said it best, "Trust, but verify". I think that is the key word. He also said, as I said this morning, we should wipe nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

I think almost every President has agreed with that, including, by the way, this President, who has seen this report. World leaders do agree with the continued reduction, and this is not a report that is out of the mainstream at all. President Obama has said in his Prague speech in 2009 that that was his goal, as Ronald Reagan did, as many Presidents did.

Senator FISCHER. Thank you.

If I could continue on this vein of questioning, please? Also, as I read the report, it calls for all U.S. tactical nuclear weapons to be eliminated over the next 10 years and asserts that their military utility is practically nil.

Do you agree with that statement?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, I don't believe it calls for that. These are scenarios and schedules and possibilities and options. But none of this could ever, ever happen unless it would be negotiated, bilateral, and verifiable. That was part of a letter that the Global Zero growth group sent to the President in 2009 specifically stating that.



If I might give you a more recent example of that. Senator Feinstein's subcommittee——

Senator FISCHER. Just a quick one, please.

Senator HAGEL.—had a hearing on this last year. In that hearing, and the committee can get the transcript if it doesn't have it, General Cartwright and Ambassador Pickering testified. They went into this, that this is all, everything with any action we would take would have to be negotiated. It would have to be bilateral. No unilateral action.

They made that point again on the record in front of Senator Feinstein's subcommittee. I support that. I agree with that.

Senator FISCHER. I have another statement from the report. The U.S. ICBM rapid reaction posture remains in operation and runs a real risk of accidental or mistaken launch.

I think that statement is pretty clear. Do you agree with that?

Senator HAGEL. Yes. I mean, I think accidental launches and those kinds of things are always to be concerned about. We need to assure, as we have over the years, that that doesn't happen, both on the Russian side——

Senator FISCHER. That we run a real risk of accidental or mistaken launch?

Senator HAGEL. Well, you take "real" out. You could just put risk. But there is always a risk. I mean, when we are talking about nuclear weapons and the consequences, you don't get a lot of second chances. We need to be very sure about these things, and I think that was the whole point.

Chairman LEVIN. I think you need to save any additional questions for the second round, if you would today.

Senator FISCHER. Oh, I am sorry. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. You may not have gotten a card. I am sorry if you didn't.

Senator FISCHER. Oh, thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

Senator FISCHER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Senator.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Fischer.

Senator Gillibrand.

Senator GILLIBRAND. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator Hagel, for testifying today.

I appreciate that you have brought your family with you. I appreciate the support of your wife.

I am going to submit several questions for the record because they are important to me as the Senator from New York, particularly about New York bases, cybersecurity, and children of military families with disabilities. But today, I want to focus on the most urgent issues from my perspective. I want to talk more about your thoughts on Israel and Israel's security. I want to talk about Afghanistan, and I want to talk about personnel issues.

On Israel. Obviously, our relationship with Israel is tremendously important to Israel, and we are fundamentally tied to them because of being such a strong democracy in the Middle East and having our national securities very much being tied in many ways.

We talked quite a bit about Iran, and you have clarified your position that containment is not an option. I am concerned about a

statement you said with regard to Iran. A nuclear Iran is an existential threat to the United States, as well as Israel. The Iranian Government has been responsible for the deaths of U.S. servicemembers, an attempted attack on U.S. soil, and the funding, training of terrorist groups.

Their latest in a long list of direct threats to Israel came just today. I want to make sure that in your statement earlier today with regard to whether Iran is legitimate, I can understand if you meant it is a legal entity that has international relations and has diplomatic relations and is a member of the U.N. But I do not see Iran or the Iranian Government as a legitimate government, and I would like your thoughts on that.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Senator.

What I meant to say, should have said, it is recognizable. It has been recognized, is recognized at the United Nations. Most of our allies have embassies there. That is what I should have said, and thank you.

Senator GILLIBRAND. You are welcome.

With regard to Israel, Israel's security is very important, and I have been one of the strongest advocates for our alliance, fighting for more increases in missile defense cooperation as well as coordination on a number of the technology programs that are fundamental to Israel's security.

Last year, Iron Dome more than proved itself as missiles from Gaza continually headed towards Israel. In December, Ranking Member Inhofe and I successfully pushed for full funding of the U.S.-Israel cooperative missile defense systems.

Will you personally support robust funding for Iron Dome, David's Sling, and other programs? If we have to have a Continuing Resolution, the funding for Iron Dome will be well below the authorized amount for fiscal year 2013. In such a case, will you recommend either reprogramming other funds or sending forth an anomaly budget requesting to fully cover our commitment to this program?

Senator HAGEL. First, I fully support and will continue to fully support Iron Dome and Arrow and David's Sling. As to a commitment to the second part of your question, I would have to better understand what our restrictions are going to be in our budgets before I could make any decisions like that, and I would have to talk with our Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and each of the chiefs and want to better understand, depending on how bad and deep this sequestration might get.

But make no mistake. It is clearly a priority program. I believe we will continue to fund it. We should. I will support the continuing funding.

Senator GILLIBRAND. I hope you will also be a strong advocate because our budget is, even under sequestration, significant. This is a very high priority certainly for me.

Senator HAGEL. If I am confirmed, we will work together, as I will with this committee, on this and other issues.

Senator GILLIBRAND. Thank you.

A number of members were just in Egypt, and we met with President Morsi. Obviously, we are very concerned about the Sinai becoming a route for arms coming straight from Libya going to ter-

rorist groups. We, obviously, are very concerned about we give \$1.2 billion to Egypt in aid, and we want to figure out if there is a way to put some of those funds towards more anti-terrorism missions as opposed to the typical technology.

Do you have any thoughts on that and what we can do to really try to assist in cracking down on the weapons trade?

Senator HAGEL. It is a huge challenge and part of obviously what allows terrorists, extremists to advance their cause. Maritime security, piracy issues, I mentioned in my opening statement that is all part of why we need to rebalance resources and why we need the kind of flexible, agile resource base—in particular our Navy—to be able to do this.

It also is going to continue to take cooperation with our allies. We can't do this alone. As good as our intelligence is, the best in the world, best military in the world, we are the largest, wealthiest country in the world. But we have to work with allies, and we have to find that through intelligence before it gets beyond the capacity to be used to do damage against the interests of this country and our allies.

Senator GILLIBRAND. As Israel is one of our most important allies, one of the growing risks we have now is Syria, particularly chemical weapons being not properly locked down. There is concern, and obviously with what happened yesterday, I suspect that there has been very close cooperation between our militaries on contingency plans with respect to Syria's chemical weapons. But will this be something that you can focus your concern on because of your past statements about the Israel-Hezbollah war in 2006?

Is this something that you will also commit to and keeping this alliance strong and making sure we have a strong contingency plan with regard to any chemical weapons coming out of Syria?

Senator HAGEL. Yes. By the way, I have said on the record many times that Hezbollah and Hamas are terrorist groups, and I have said many times on the record that Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism. So, yes, I am committed to do that and will do that.

Senator GILLIBRAND. Okay. For my last minute, with regard to Afghanistan, we have heard your views, and you didn't give a specific statement about how many troops when. But will you, in your capacity as Secretary of Defense, advise the President that we should be drawing down troops sooner rather than later?

Senator HAGEL. I think he has made that pretty clear that he wants to do that. If I am confirmed, I will need to better understand all the dimensions of this. I don't know all those dimensions. I think that there is little question that—and I support completely where the President wants to go in Afghanistan and his commitment to unwind that war.

As we have said, there should be, there will be. He has noted that he will, in fact, enforce a new policy and new relationship based on a limited objective for our troops there, and I support that.

Senator GILLIBRAND. My last question that I will submit more for the record, but you and I talked at length about it. Obviously, the personnel of our military is our most important asset, and when we hear reports that there are upwards of 19,000 sexual assaults in the military against women, it is unacceptable.

We also have finally repealed “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”. But it is difficult for a military spouse to even go to the commissary and be on base or be notified if a spouse is killed in action. I will need a strong commitment from you that you will treat our military families and look after them in the way you would look after your own.

I want you to be concerned about every man and woman in the military, that their well-being is being looked after, and see real advocacy and leadership. Not status quo. Not implementing whatever we put forward. But actually fighting for them every single day.

Senator HAGEL. You have my complete commitment on that. I have made that commitment to, I think, all members of the committee that I have spoken to directly and privately.

Again, I mentioned that point in my opening statement, you will recall. I think I have a pretty clear record on that in my life. I will continue to do that, will do that, and I agree it is not good enough just to say zero tolerance. The whole chain of command needs to be accountable for this, all the way down to the bottom. So I will.

Senator GILLIBRAND. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Gillibrand.

Senator Graham.

Senator GRAHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, congratulations on your appointment. You are a good, honest man, and I really appreciate your willingness to serve the country in the past and be willing to do so in the future.

What percentage of the gross domestic product do we spend on defense?

Senator HAGEL. We are, I think, it is probably 5 percent now in that area in our budget, our discretionary budget—

Senator GRAHAM. Is that historically high or low?

Senator HAGEL. I think generally depends on real dollars and wars, but—

Senator GRAHAM. Are we at war?

Senator HAGEL. We are at war in Afghanistan. We are at war around the world with active threat—

Senator GRAHAM. So you agree with me we are at war in Afghanistan? We are at war around the world. So when you look at spending on defense, every Senator should be aware of the fact we are still at war. Do you agree with that?

Senator HAGEL. I am sorry. What is your question?

Senator GRAHAM. Do you agree that every Senator, every Member of Congress should be wide-eyed and understanding that when you vote on a defense budget we are at war?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, I do.

Senator GRAHAM. Okay. Thank you.

Now let us talk a little bit about statements you made. You have explained this a bit. You said, “The Jewish lobby intimidates a lot of people up here. I am not an Israeli senator. I am a U.S. Senator. This pressure makes us do dumb things at times.”

You have said the Jewish lobby should not have been—that term shouldn’t have been used. It should have been some other term. Name one person, in your opinion, who is intimidated by the Israeli lobby in the U.S. Senate.

Senator HAGEL. Well, first——

Senator GRAHAM. Name one.

Senator HAGEL. I don't know.

Senator GRAHAM. Well, why would you say it?

Senator HAGEL. I didn't have in mind a specific——

Senator GRAHAM. First, do you agree it is a provocative statement? That I can't think of a more provocative thing to say about the relationship between the United States and Israel and the Senate or Congress than what you said.

Name one dumb thing we have been goaded into doing because of the pressure from the Israeli or Jewish lobby.

Senator HAGEL. I have already stated that I regret the terminology I used.

Senator GRAHAM. But you said back then it makes us do dumb things. You can't name one Senator intimidated. Now give me one example of the dumb things that we are pressured to do up here.

Senator HAGEL. We were talking in that interview about the Middle East, about positions, about Israel. That is what I was referring to.

Senator GRAHAM. So give me an example of where we have been intimidated by the Israeli/Jewish lobby to do something dumb regarding the Mideast, Israel, or anywhere else.

Senator HAGEL. Well, I can't give you an example.

Senator GRAHAM. Thank you.

Do you agree with me you shouldn't have said something like that?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, I do. I have already said that.

Senator GRAHAM. Now do you agree with me that Hezbollah is a terrorist organization?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator GRAHAM. Now, in 2006, you were 1 of 12 Senators who refused to sign the letter to the EU asking them to designate Hezbollah as a terrorist organization for the purposes of the EU sanctioning Hezbollah. Why were you 1 of 12 who refused to sign that letter?

Senator HAGEL. Because I have generally had a policy during my time in the Senate that I didn't think it was the right approach for the Congress of the United States to be sending leaders any instructions or any documents versus letting our President do that. As I have already stated——

Senator GRAHAM. Why did you sign the letter to Bill Clinton, urging him to deal with the Russians when it comes to their policy against Jewish people?

Senator HAGEL. Because I think that is the appropriate approach because I think it is our President who conducts foreign policy.

Senator GRAHAM. All I could suggest to you is that when a letter is presented to a U.S. Senator about the times in which we live in, you can't write one letter and not write the other and, in my view, be consistent.

The letter was urging the EU to impose sanctions on Hezbollah, and you have been a big believer that we shouldn't go it alone. We shouldn't do it unilaterally. Why in the world wouldn't you take this chance to urge the EU to go ahead and sanction Hezbollah because it may help the world at large deal with this terrorist organi-

zation? Your answer is you just don't think we should be writing letters?

Senator HAGEL. That wasn't my answer. My answer was I think the President of the United States is the appropriate official——

Senator GRAHAM. So Congress has no interest at all in whether or not the EU would designate Hezbollah as a terrorist organization? Do you think that is our role up here, that we should just stay out of those things?

Senator HAGEL. Congress has an interest and responsibility in all things. But I——

Senator GRAHAM. Okay. I got you. Apparently not there.

Now let me ask you this about the Iranian Revolutionary Guard. You said just a minute ago you think they are a terrorist organization. Do you agree with that?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator GRAHAM. Okay. You voted against the amendment designating them a terrorist organization because you thought we would be going down the wrong road by doing that because they are a recognized state. Iran, you wouldn't want to designate the army of a recognized state as a terrorist organization?

Senator HAGEL. I said that Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism. I also just clarified a statement on Iran being a recognized nation by the United Nations, by most world bodies. The reason again, I will explain it again, why I did not vote, as 22 other members did——

Senator GRAHAM. Right.

Senator HAGEL.—because I think Jim Webb's argument was a strong argument, and that was we have never—this is what he said on the floor—designated part of a government as a terrorist organization. Thereby what his concern was, as was mine and other Senators who voted against it, would this be then tantamount to giving the President of the United States authority from Congress to take military action against Iran?

Senator GRAHAM. I got you. Now let me just ask you this. Do you believe that the sum total of all of your votes—refusing to sign a letter to the EU asking Hezbollah to be designated a terrorist organization, being 1 of 22 to not vote to designate the Iranian Revolutionary Guard a terrorist organization, being one of two on two occasions to vote against sanctions that this body was trying to impose on Iran, the statements you have made about Palestinians and about the Jewish lobby—all that together, that the image you have created is one of sending the worst possible signal to our enemies and friends at one of the most critical times in world history?

Senator HAGEL. No, I would not agree with that because I have taken actions and made statements very clear as to what I believed Hezbollah and Hamas are as terrorist organizations. In fact, Senator——

Senator GRAHAM. If you there was a vote on the floor of the Senate this afternoon to label the Iranian Revolutionary Guard, the people who have killed our soldiers in Iraq, some of the most vicious people to the people of Iran themselves, if there were a vote tomorrow or this afternoon or after lunch, would you still vote no?

Senator HAGEL. Well, I would want to know from the President what they were doing, but again——

Senator GRAHAM. I mean, you read the paper. You watch TV. You have any doubt what they are doing? They are expanding terrorism. They are trying to intimidate their own people. They are the instrument of the theocracy to oppress their own people, and they are the biggest supporter of the regime keeping them in power so then they can get a nuclear weapon.

If you had a chance tomorrow, today, after lunch to vote to say that the Iranian Revolutionary Guard was a terrorist organization, would you still vote no?

Senator HAGEL. Well, the reason I voted no to start with began with the same——

Senator GRAHAM. Well, I know why. You told me that. My question is——

Senator HAGEL. That hasn't changed.

Senator GRAHAM.—would you reconsider, and would you vote yes this time, or would you still vote no?

Senator HAGEL. Well, times change. I recognize that, and yes, I would reconsider. But the whole theory——

Senator GRAHAM. Well, thank you. That is encouraging.

My time is up, but we will have another round.

Senator Inhofe said that you were one of four Senators who refused to sign a letter in October. The first paragraph says, "We write to you to express our solidarity with the State of Israel at this moment of crisis and our profound disappointment and frustration with Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian Authority. We are dismayed that they would allow violence by Palestinians to be carried out without restraint or comment."

This was when the Intifada was being raging, and Senator Inhofe, led by Daschle and Lott, wanted a letter from every member of this body to clearly put us on record that we believe Arafat and the Intifada is undercutting the agreements they had reached and that they had resorted to violence to intimidate the Israeli Government and people in a way that was just absolutely unacceptable.

If you had a chance to do it over, would you sign this letter now? I am going to give it to you during whatever break we have and ask you to reconsider. I would ask you, Senator Hagel, to tell the country, the world at large, particularly the State of Israel, you made a mistake by not signing that letter.

Senator HAGEL. Who is the letter to?

Senator GRAHAM. I think it goes to the President. Is that who it was to? It was the President.

Senator HAGEL. I will look at it. I don't recall the letter, and I will look at it and give you an answer.

Senator GRAHAM. All I can say, it was a very big deal at a very important time. The lack of signature by you runs chills up my spine because I can't imagine not signing a letter like that at a time when it really mattered.

We will continue this conversation. Thank you.

[The information referred to follows:]

United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
October 12, 2000

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We write to you to express our solidarity with the State of Israel at this moment of crisis and our profound disappointment and frustration with PLO Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian Authority. We are dismayed that they would allow violence by Palestinians to be carried out without restraint or comment.

Resorting to violence constitutes a fundamental violation of the Peace Process. Following the signing of the Declaration of Principles in September 1993, Chairman Arafat wrote Israeli Prime Minister Rabin that:

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East Peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues in relation to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence, and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators.

It was on the basis of these assurances that Prime Minister Rabin, among other things, recognized the PLO.

We are deeply concerned at the continuing, coordinated campaign of Palestinian violence. That campaign leads us to believe that Arafat either seeks to use violence as a negotiating tool to extort even further concessions from the Government of Israel, or that he in fact intends to end the peace process in its entirety as a prelude to a unilateral declaration of Palestinian statehood.

This stands in contrast to what the Government of Israel has sought throughout this crisis. We note, for example, that the Government of Israel proposed unprecedented compromises to achieve a final peace agreement. Despite subsequent provocations, despite the violence, despite the wanton destruction of Joseph's Tomb - a revered Jewish holy site - Israel has sought to see the violence stopped so that peace negotiations could be resumed. Yet, Arafat has failed to issue a statement to the Palestinian community that violence is unacceptable, unlike Prime Minister Barak who has said publicly that "I urge our Jewish citizens to refrain from attacking Arabs and their property under any circumstances."



We urge you to express American solidarity with Israel at this crucial moment, to condemn the Palestinian campaign of violence, to do everything possible to secure the return of the three kidnaped Israeli soldiers from Lebanon, and to stand with Israel in international arenas - not only because we should, but because such actions are also the best way to restore the negotiating process. Arafat vast understand that he will achieve none of his political objectives through violence, that a unilateral declaration of statehood will not be recognized by the United States that only through negotiations can the Palestinians' legitimate political aspirations be realized, and that abandoning the negotiating process will have serious repercussions.

This is a very dangerous hour in the Middle East. America's open and abiding commitment to the security of Israel is the surest way to see our way safely through it.

Sincerely yours,

[Signatures of 96 senators beginning with Trent Lott and Tom Daschle]

The four Senators who did not sign this letter are:

Spencer Abraham, R-MI  
Robert Byrd, D-WV  
Judd Gregg, R-NH  
Chuck Hagel, R-NE

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Graham.

We now will go to Senator Blumenthal.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to join, Senator Hagel, in thanking you for your service, thanking your family, and expressing appreciation not only to you for your service in uniform, but also afterward to our veterans, which people may not appreciate as much as they do your military service, but I think is every bit as important to our Nation.

I just want to say about that letter, I wasn't here when the letter was circulated. I would have signed it, but I would certainly join in urging that you reconsider and commit to the statement of support in the letter for the State of Israel. If it is appropriate now and applicable to today's events, I hope you will consider expressing your support for it.

I noted in your opening statement that no single quote and no single vote define you in the entirety, and perhaps not as a whole, but votes and quotes do matter. I think that the questions about what you have said and what you have done in the past are entirely appropriate, and I think also reconsidering or your views evolving is also appropriate.

I am going to be submitting questions on some of the topics that you have heard. You and I have discussed some of these questions. I might say your private meetings with members of this body have been very productive and effective, as you have seen in some of the comments that have been expressed here. So, the more we hear from you, I think the better you do on many of these issues.

I want to begin by talking about one issue that concerns our veterans, and particularly our Vietnam veterans. Many Vietnam veterans in Connecticut and around the country received less than honorable discharge as a result of conduct that was a direct consequence of post-traumatic stress (PTS), at a time PTS was not a term, not diagnosed, not treated.

But they have to live with the consequences of a less than honorable discharge. They have to live with fewer benefits often. I would

like a commitment from you that DOD will reevaluate and revisit perhaps some of those individual cases as well as its general policies to take account of the fact that we now know that many of those veterans during the Vietnam era suffered from PTS or related kinds of injuries.

Senator HAGEL. You have my commitment to do everything I can about that. I understand the issue pretty well, been working on this issue long before I actually ever got to the Senate. So I will.

Thank you.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you.

I would like the same kind of commitment that you have expressed very persuasively on the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" on the issue of sexual assaults. This issue bedevils the military. I don't know whether you have seen an excellent documentary called "The Invisible War"?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. I know you are familiar with this issue. I commend you for what you have said to me privately, and I would ask that your commitment not only to the prosecution and holding accountable people who are involved in this criminal conduct, but also to the victims so that they receive the kind of services that in the civilian world many of them do through victim's advocates in the courts and similar kinds of roles played.

So both to prosecution—effective, vigorous, zealous—but also to protection of the victims. Can you commit to that?

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely, I will commit to that, yes.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. On the strategic issues, I wonder if I could talk to you for a moment about submarines, which you and I discussed privately briefly. DOD, the Joint Chiefs, and the President have all committed to an *Ohio*-class replacement program that consists of a fleet of 12, starting no later than 2031.

The Global Zero report settled on a lower number, 10. I strongly believe that the cost will increase, the cost per submarine, and that we will be at severe risk, for reasons that you may well understand, although we can't really discuss them in detail here because I think they may be classified. I would like a commitment that you are committed as well to a fleet of 12 *Ohio*-class replacement submarines.

Senator HAGEL. On that issue, I would want to talk with our Chief of Naval Operations to get a better understanding of our budget. I can tell you this. I am committed completely to modernizing our Navy and everything it includes and will require. I will give you that commitment.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. I am sure you know that the *Ohio*-class replacement program is really the cornerstone of our nuclear deterrence.

Senator HAGEL. I do.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Vital to our national security, but it requires clear leadership and support from the next Secretary of Defense. I hope you will perhaps come back to us on that issue.

Senator HAGEL. I will. You and I will be discussing this, I am sure, many times if I am confirmed. So thank you.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you.

Going to the *Virginia*-class submarines, the next multiyear purchase, known as Block IV, envisions 10 submarines. There is a threat that it could be reduced to nine. For reasons related to both cost and national security, I think that number should be 10.

The intent and spirit of the last NDAA was that it should be 10, and I would like to ask you, similarly, for your commitment that there will be 2 submarines for 2014 and that the program continues to be viable at the level of 10.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, I will commit to what we have committed to carry out what we need to fund and develop and build in order to maintain the kind of modern Navy we are going to require. Those submarines, as you note, are cornerstones to that security.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. They are absolutely vital cornerstones, essential building blocks to our national security as we move to the Pacific-Asia theater and seek to advance our interests there. They have the intelligence, reconnaissance, and surveillance capability as well as, as you well know, counterterrorism, the importance. I hope that that effort will continue, and I appreciate your commitment.

Let me just finish with a question that I think goes back to the contracting area where you were asked questions before. Senator Ayotte and I, in a trip led by Senator McCain, recently visited Afghanistan and were briefed—and I am going to try to make this question brief—about the continuing corruption in the Afghanistan Government. Deeply troubling and even shocking.

But equally so is the waste of American taxpayer dollars in part because of the procedural roadblock to enforcement of section 841. I am not going to quiz you on 841. So you can take a deep breath there. But 841 is designed to protect American tax dollars from corrupt contracts that, in fact, go to benefit the enemy.

We are working revisions that will make more effective the procedures for terminating those contracts, getting back American dollars, extending those protections to nondefense dollars, and I hope that we can have your commitment as well to work with us on that area.

Senator HAGEL. You have my commitment, and I will enthusiastically work with you on this area.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator BLUMENTHAL. I appreciate your frank and forthright answers, and I don't know whether I will be here for the second round of questioning, but I want to express my sincere gratitude to you for your willingness to serve and your patience and forthrightness in answering all our questions.

Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.

Senator Blunt.

Senator BLUNT. Thank you, Chairman.

Senator Hagel, thank you for being here today. Thank you for your service to the country in so many ways and your willingness to serve again. To see your wife and your brothers there behind you

is an indication of the family commitment as well as your personal commitment.

There are several things that I may get to in a second round on Iran and sanctions. I was very involved in that unilateral sanctions effort when I was in the House of Representatives. We drafted some of that legislation in my office when I was in the House.

Our relationship with Israel is of great concern to me, and it is a priority to our efforts in the Middle East. I think that is largely exhausted in this first round, at least from my point of view. I may want to come back to some of it later.

I want to talk a little bit about the ongoing structure of the force. The Wall Street Journal in an editorial today said that the current American military was the smallest, least modern, and least battle-ready in recent memory.

I don't think that means we are not maybe more modern than anybody else in the world or more battle ready than anybody else in the world. But I think that is a recognition that our investment and the way we have used those resources has gotten them in a position where we maybe need to be more focused on rebuilding than we do building down.

Secretary Panetta has been very forthcoming in his comments about the sort of across-the-board cutting approach of sequestration. What do we do to get our worn-out equipment and our worn-out personnel in a better position a year from now than they are right now? Your brief strategic view of that because I don't have very much time here.

Senator HAGEL. Yes. Senator, you have just identified one of the priorities of the next few years at DOD. Resetting equipment and essentially reshaping our force structure, but also renewing our force structure.

The fact is we have been at war for 12 years. Every Senator here knows and you have constituents that we keep sending these kids back and back and back to two wars. Of course, there is going to be a consequence. Something is going to break down, not only your equipment, but your manpower. You can't keep doing that.

So that is going to be an overall challenge, Senator, that is going to take as much of my time, if I am confirmed, as anything, as it will our Chiefs. Our Chiefs know this better than anyone, as we structure, rebalance, renew, and re-outfit.

We have, I believe, a force structure that is as capable as ever. I don't accept that our force structure is somehow behind or not modern or not capable. I don't think that is true.

Senator BLUNT. I think the point that the editorial was making was not that we were behind, but we are not at the quite as far on the cutting edge as we may have been. I would hope you and I would both want to see us get there.

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator BLUNT. Let me ask a question about that. Secretary Gates said recently that one of his big concerns was that we repeat the mistakes of what I think he referred to as a "procurement holiday" that we took in the 1970s and then, to some extent, again in the 1990s. We spent a lot of time in the 10 years after that trying to get built back up to where we had hoped to be.

How, in these discussions of cutting, do we keep the lines open, do we keep our effort ongoing? One of the things that I know quite a bit about is the F-18 line because it is in St. Louis, MO, where Boeing Military is. I do know that if you ever close that line down, we are always talking about, well, what other country needs some version of this, and how do we keep our capacity at a time when there is this talk about cutting and not just cutting, but sort of cutting everything a little bit, which means that some of the things that get cut a little bit I think disappear because they can't survive if they are only partly there.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, you have just again identified one of the great challenges that lies ahead, and that is maintaining our industrial base. You use the F-18.

Senator BLUNT. There are lots of other lines. That just happens to be the one I have been on the most times.

Senator HAGEL. No, I understand. But that is a good example of what we are going to have to continue to keep strong.

The reality is, as you say, because we know what we have to deal with, what our budgets are as a result of the Budget Act of 2011. What we don't know brings us back to the uncertainty of sequestration. Some of the examples you are using are good examples of areas that will and can be, could be cut arbitrarily in order to fulfill budget requirements.

I think what you have just noted again is going to be a huge part of keeping our technological superiority, our edge. Senator Blumenthal mentioned submarines. That is another component of this. All the superior technical edge this country has possessed since World War II has kept us, along with other things and for other reasons, the strongest military power in the history of man. That must be maintained.

Threats change. Cyber is a good example. I mean, 10 years ago, nobody had any idea what we were talking about, cyber. Even 5 years ago. We have to adjust to that challenge, that reality.

Senator BLUNT. Let me see if I can—

Senator HAGEL. The core base, though, Senator, is exactly right, and we have to protect that.

Senator BLUNT. We do. We have made efforts with our allies and friends to give them some other version of equipment we had, maybe not quite as good as we had, but something that keeps our defense procurement lines in place so that when we do need them, they are still there. That is critically important.

Before you were designated Secretary of Defense, as the potential nominee for this job, in talking about sequestration, you made a comment about there is lots of bloat—I am sure you have talked about this comment quite a bit and are very familiar with it, more than you were before you made it probably—in the Pentagon. What do you have in mind there?

What is being done at the Pentagon that could maybe better be done somewhere else or is being duplicated somewhere else? I think in some of the follow-up of that, I saw you mentioned things that should be in the State Department have gotten over to the Pentagon. Are there examples of that that we can work on and you will want to lead on?

Senator HAGEL. Two things. First, that comment came in a large, extended interview about budgets about everything, and that interview was done in 2011 prior to the Budget Control Act, just to get the timeframe right on that. I never supported sequestration, by the way.

Now, to your question about what we could do. Obviously, much of the conversation here in the last few hours has been about acquisition, about waste, fraud, and abuse, billions of dollars. Why aren't we auditing these programs? Where is the accountability? That is certainly an area that we are going to have to take a look at.

My reference to State Department programs, some of the general areas, I mentioned this this morning—where we have pushed down on the military the last 12 years to do things that usually are done out of State Department, aid type programs and exchange programs, helping civilian type programs in areas. That was all given to the—not all, but a great deal of it was given to the military at the time we were at war in Iraq and Afghanistan.

So the military has taken on a tremendous volume of assignments and funding that goes with that. That needs to be sorted through, I think. Those are areas where I think we—

Senator BLUNT. One of your commitments will be to help us sort through that?

Senator HAGEL. It has to be, Senator. It has to be.

Senator BLUNT. I am out of time, Senator. I will be here for the second round.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Blunt.

Senator Donnelly.

Senator DONNELLY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Ranking Member. It is an honor to be part of this committee. I look forward to working with my colleagues, and I am proud to serve the people of Indiana.

We are the heartland of America, and Senator Hagel, we have over 14,000 members of the National Guard. In our State, we have the fourth-largest contingent of National Guard members in the entire country. I want to thank you for your service to the country, you along with all Vietnam veterans and other veterans, for what you have done for our Nation. I appreciate your taking the time to meet with me.

We had an extensive discussion, and your understanding of the complex challenges we face in the Middle East and the importance of our alliance with Israel. It is a special and historic relationship. I believe it is a special and historic relationship. The people of my State believe that as well.

I think it was important for you to let everyone know that there can be no nuclear Iran, that there are lines that cannot be crossed, and we will stand up and defend our friends and the entire world in that area.

When we were together, I mentioned to you about my visit to Crane Naval Warfare Systems in Indiana. What they do is they work to create the technologies to control the spectrum, in effect, try to win the battlefield before the battle ever starts on the ground.

We were wondering what can be done in this time of challenging budgets to ensure that in the area of technology, in the area of spectrum, we can maintain our budget so that, as I said, before the war is ever started on the ground, we have won it on the spectrum level? How critical is that in terms of your planning in the Defense Department?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, I think that focus is on as much the core challenge that the Pentagon has in front of it as any one thing. This committee is going to be particularly important to help the leaders of the Pentagon sort through that because, as evidenced in the whole series of questions that have been asked today, Senator Blunt's most recent questions, this is a time of priorities.

Budgets drive that, but missions should always drive everything. What are going to be our missions in the Defense Department over the next few years? How are we going to resource those missions? What are the priorities going to be? It is the entire universe of what the responsibilities are and how do we carry those responsibilities out to secure this Nation?

Your general questions and most of the questions asked here today have been about this. Until I would get over to the Pentagon, if I am confirmed, and understand more of the specifics and work with the Chiefs and get a better grasp of exactly what we have, I won't be in a position to be able to say this or this or we will do this or we won't.

Obviously, that is why I say this committee, the authorizing committees are going to be particularly important.

Senator DONNELLY. My next question probably ties into that as well, which is, as I mentioned, we have over 14,000 members of the Guard in our State, Army Reserves. They have done tour after tour after tour in Iraq and in Afghanistan. As we wind down, I think it is critical to make sure that we have a strategic plan for the Guard in the future so that the Guard we have today, equipment-wise, it is struggling on equipment. We have to upgrade not only our vehicles, but in other areas as well.

I guess the question is, how do you view the mission of the Guard in the years ahead?

Senator HAGEL. During our conversation and a couple of the questions I have had here today on the Guard, I have said I am committed to a strong National Guard. It is an essential part of our force structure going into the future. I think it was proven quite clearly and effectively the last 12 years.

That will be maintained. I think further evidence of that, putting a Chief of the National Guard into the Joint Chiefs. You have my commitment that I will be continually focused on that integration and the upgrading in every way.

Senator DONNELLY. I have had the privilege of working with General Shinseki in recent years on veterans issues, but I think back to when he testified regarding Iraq and talked about how many troops he thought were needed and all the repercussions that came out of that not only for the general, but in so many ways.

I think it is critical that the generals and the people in the Pentagon provide you with the most unvarnished information possible. They tell you exactly what they think. You tell them exactly what you think, and that nobody at any time has their career affected

for telling you the truth. I want to make sure that is the way that you are approaching this as well.

Senator HAGEL. That is the way I would approach it. I value that. There is no other way to assure that we are getting the best, the most honest advice from our most capable leaders than to say it like that.

The General Shinseki episode was a very unfortunate episode in this country, what happened to him for telling the truth. I will assure this committee that if I am Secretary of Defense that kind of thing will never happen, for a general officer, a senior commander to be handled and treated that way when he told the truth to the Congress of the United States.

Senator DONNELLY. I will say, and I know you know this, the job he has done for veterans as the VA Secretary has been extraordinary.

Another area in regards to not only our veterans, which we are challenged with right now, but also on Active Duty, is the suicide rate. It has been heartbreaking. In 2012, we lost more Active Duty members to suicide than we did in fighting in Afghanistan.

I know General Chiarelli has at this point basically dedicated his life to trying to solve this problem. I want to make sure that the Defense Department is going to lean all in to try to fix this and provide the care and help and answers so that that number goes to zero in the years ahead.

Senator HAGEL. You have my complete commitment on this issue.

Senator DONNELLY. It is something that our veterans then face as well. It is also a transition issue that as much as you can work with the VA, as our Active Duties transition out and our National Guard when they go home, that they have somebody to talk to, somebody to tell how they feel, and somebody who understands what they are going through because if we can help with that, they have borne the burden of battle, and we owe them. We owe them everything.

Another question I wanted to ask you about is Pakistan. As we know, the incredible challenges we have in Afghanistan, so much of it is caused by Pakistan. We spent about or provided about \$2.5 billion in aid. Do you think those were dollars well spent?

Senator HAGEL. Pakistan is a complicated relationship. It is a nuclear power. They cooperate with the United States on some things. We have difficulties with them on others.

As to your question on investment in Pakistan, we condition that assistance. We must continue to condition that assistance. I think Pakistan is too dangerous and that area of the world is so clearly in the national security interest of this country that we just can't walk away from it and not deal with them.

It is complicated. It is imperfect. But this is where all the levers of influence and relationships and diplomacy and economics and power come into play. How we wisely use all of those resources is going to determine some of the outcomes.

We have to be honest as well. We are dealing with factors there that we don't agree with, that we have difficulties with. But again, we have to continue to work at it, and I believe that we will and we should.



Senator DONNELLY. Senator, thank you very much.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Donnelly.

Senator Cruz.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, I want to thank you for being here, and I want to begin by thanking you for your honorable service to our Nation, for your personal sacrifice that you have put into standing and fighting for this country.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator CRUZ. I would like to begin by addressing a question of process. In your prepared statements today, you describe that you have given hundreds of speeches and interviews.

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Senator CRUZ. This committee asked you in this process to submit those speeches in the last 5 years, and in response to that, you handed over a total of four speeches. In my view, that submission was facially insufficient for this committee to assess your record.

Indeed, your financial disclosure revealed you had received paid honoraria in the past year for 12 speeches, and yet you did not even hand over those speeches for which you were paid substantial sums of money. Beyond that, 2 days ago, 6 Senators, including Ranking Member Inhofe, sent you a letter asking for financial disclosure. You have not chosen to respond to that letter.

That letter in particular asked about the private organizations that have paid you over the past 5 years and the degree to which any of those funding sources have come from foreign countries, foreign nationals, foreign sovereign debt funds. You chose not to respond to that letter.

In my view, unless and until you respond to the requests of members of this committee, this committee does not have a proper record on which to assess your confirmation, and I think we need full disclosure and adequate time to assess that.

Now I would like to ask initially a point of clarification. With respect to the International Criminal Court, do you believe the United States should become a party to the International Criminal Court?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, may I quickly respond to your first comment?

Senator CRUZ. I would like you to answer my question. My time is limited.

Senator HAGEL. That question is one that I am most likely not going to be dealing with, as Secretary of Defense.

Senator CRUZ. It is a simple question. Do you think we should be a member of the International Criminal Court? I am asking for your judgment on whether the United States should be a party.

Senator HAGEL. I support where the United States is today.

Senator CRUZ. We are not a party today. You think we should not be a party. Is that a correct statement of your position?

Senator HAGEL. That is correct, yes.

Senator CRUZ. Okay. Thank you.

I would like to draw your attention to an interview you did in 2009 with Al Jazeera. With the chairman's indulgence, if we can play an excerpt of that interview?

[Video excerpt shown.]

**Chuck Hagel interview with the Riz Khan Show, Al Jazeera, March 21, 2009**

Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgcEIJXdd3k>

**Exchange #1:**

GUEST HOST: This Marley, from London. Go ahead with your question.

CALLER: Hello, sir. Good evening. It's very good—ah—proposition. But first of all I believe very strongly, I believe the current leadership around the world that there is a moral failure going on. Unless they have a moral capacity to talk and do what they talk. For example, if you look at Palestine there is no war, there is a war crime and they is not dealing with it. But, in Sudan, they are dealing with it and they are really biased justice. And, if you look at Sri Lanka, the Tamars being killed is a genocide of war going on in Sri Lanka. Nothing being done. So there is a total moral failure.

GUEST HOST: So—Marley. What is your question in regards to the issue we're talking about, the reduction of nuclear weapons.

CALLER: Yes, my question is that, leaders, there is a total moral failure unless we bring these leaders to a moral standard, nothing can be done. That's my question. What do you think about it?

HAGEL: Well, I think you're exactly right. And, I said in my opening statement that leadership is critical, because we know in life that nothing is ever accomplished without leadership.

Senator CRUZ. Now in that excerpt, Senator Hagel, the caller suggests that the Nation of Israel has committed war crimes, and your response to that was not to dispute that characterization, but indeed to describe what he said as, "Well, I think that is exactly right."

I would like to ask you, do you think the Nation of Israel has committed war crimes?

Senator HAGEL. No, I do not, Senator. I would want to look at the full context of the interview. But to answer your question, no.

Senator CRUZ. The context of that question, we played the entirety of it, and I wanted to give you that context so you could hear the question and you can hear your response. I would suggest that a suggestion that Israel has committed war crimes is particularly offensive, given that the Jewish people suffered under the most horrific war crimes in the Holocaust.

I would also suggest that for the Secretary of Defense or prospective Secretary of Defense not to take issue with that claim is highly troubling. I would also point out in 2006 your characterization of the Nation of Israel's action, and that was in a speech on the floor of the Senate, you referred to Israel's military campaign against the terrorist group Hezbollah as a "sickening slaughter".

Now I would suggest the characterizations, do you think it is right that Israel was committing a "sickening slaughter," as you said on the floor of the Senate?

Senator HAGEL. Again, I would want to read all of it, what I said. First, I have said many, many times, Senator, every nation has a right to defend itself.

Senator CRUZ. Do you think a “sickening slaughter” would constitute a war crime?

Senator HAGEL. No. Depends on were they attacked, depends on many factors. If Israel was defending itself, there was slaughter going on on both sides.

Senator CRUZ. Does one typically characterize defending yourself against terrorism as a “sickening slaughter”?

Senator HAGEL. No, but again, Senator, I would want to look at everything because——

Senator CRUZ. Okay. Let us look at another excerpt from the same interview, if we can play the second excerpt?

[Video excerpt shown.]

**Chuck Hagel interview with the Riz Khan Show, Al Jazeera, March 21, 2009**

Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgcEjIXdd3k>

**Exchange #2:**

GUEST HOST: We've got an email from Wendy Day. She writes to us from Georgia, here in the United States. And, she writes, “Can the rest of the world be persuaded to give up their arsenal when the image of the U.S. is that of the world's bully? Don't we indeed need to change the perception and the reality before asking folks to lay down their arms (nuclear or otherwise)?

HAGEL: Well, her observation is a good one and it's relevant. Yes, to her question.

Senator CRUZ. Senator Hagel, do you think it is appropriate for the chief civilian leader of the U.S. military forces to agree with the statement that both the perception “and the reality” is that the United States is “the world's bully”?

Senator HAGEL. I didn't hear her say that, by the way, of the United States, and I think my comment was it is a relevant and good observation. I don't think I said that I agree with it.

Senator CRUZ. With respect, I think the record speaks for itself. It was in writing that she said the United States is “the world's bully,” that it is the reality, and your response, you did say you agree with it. You said, “Her observation is a good one. It is relevant. Uh, yes, to her question.”

You explicitly agreed with the characterization of the United States as the world's bully, and I would suggest that is not a characterization. I think the United States has spilled more blood, more treasure standing for freedom, liberating people across the world. To go on Al Jazeera, a foreign network, broadcasting propaganda to nations that are hostile to us and to explicitly agree with the characterization of the United States as the world's bully, I would suggest is not the conduct one would expect of a Secretary of Defense.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, she said that was an observation.

Senator CRUZ. I will point out that her quote was “the perception and the reality”. With that, my time is expired. I look forward to a second round of questioning.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

Now what we are going to do, given the fact that some of those tapes there are—they need to be transcribed to be made part of the record so that people can judge exactly what was said and what was asked. I heard that first question, by the way, as a response to the need for moral leadership. I didn't hear it the way Senator Cruz did.

But in any event, it is important that the words be transcribed so they can be made part of the record. It is a rather unusual thing. I told Senator Cruz that I preferred that we have a transcript and that you be asked questions from a transcript, but that I didn't want to stop him from offering the tape of it, and he went ahead and did it.

In any event, the fair thing now is that the transcript of each of those segments be made part of the record and that we give also Senator Hagel an opportunity, should he want either on this question or, by the way, on other questions, an opportunity to answer for the record in any way he might proceed as though he were answering questions for the record.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We will be happy to provide a transcript, and we will also be making public a link both to these excerpts and to the entire transcript so that anyone who wants can view it in its entirety and assess it in context.

Chairman LEVIN. That would be very helpful. Thank you, Senator Cruz.

[The information referred to follows:]

Link to Full Clip Show:

<http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/rizkhan/2009/03/200933174623720671.html>

Clip # 1 (time stamp: 6:20)

**Host:** Well let's go to one of our viewers who's calling in from London, this is Marley from London, go ahead with your question.

**Marley:** Hello, sir, good evening, it's a very good proposition, but first of all I believe, very strongly I believe, that current leadership around the world, that there is a moral failure going on, unless they have a moral capacity to talk and do what they talk, for example, if you look at Palestine, there is no war, there is a war crime and they're not dealing with it, but in Sudan they are dealing with it, and they are really biased justice and if you look at Sri Lanka, the Tamils being killed, there is a genocidal war going on in Sri Lanka, nothing being done, so there is a certain moral failure...

**Host:** So Marley, what is your question with regards to the issue we are talking about, the reduction of nuclear weapons?

**Marley:** Yes, my question is that leaders there's a total moral failure unless we bring these leaders to a moral standard, nothing can be done, that's my question, what do you think about it?

**Host:** Ok, thank you, let me put that to the Senator.

**Hagel:** Well I think you're exactly right, and I said in my opening statement, that that leadership is critical, because we know in life, nothing is ever accomplished without leadership. I think it's interesting that the two leaders that we're talking about specifically of Russia and the United States, Mr. Obama and Mr. Medvedev, are both in their 40s. And it represents a new generation of thinking, now again, that's a long leap between that thinking and commitment to getting it done, and again, we're well aware of the difficulties, but we must start somewhere, and that kind of as the caller says, that kind of moral leadership is absolutely critical. Now, the reality is we are going to continue to have unfortunately conflict in the world, but we can't as leaders of the world stand back and just say, well there's nothing we can do about it, we owe the next generation of mankind far more than that and I do believe that if we can commit ourselves, and enough leaders will join this effort, and I believe for example the G20 here that is meeting, as they discuss this issue and other issues, I don't know of one of those leaders that would not commit to some at least moral obligation responsibility to try to rid the earth of nuclear weapons.

Clip # 2 (time stamp: 8:50)

**Host:** We've got an email from Wendy Day, she writes to us from Georgia, here in the United States and she writes: *Can the rest of the world be persuaded to give up their arsenal when the*

*image of the U.S. is that of the world's bully? Don't we indeed need to change the perception and the reality before asking folks to lay down their arms (nuclear or otherwise)?*

**Hagel:** Mmm-hm, well, her observation is a good one, and it's relevant, uh, yes to her question, and again I think that's all part of leadership, that's why this must begin with the United States and Russia. Look for example what President Obama has done in the first two months he's been in office, his Secretary of State, Mrs. Clinton, has met with the Russian foreign minister, she's been in five regions of the world, the President of the United States is out of the United States now, will be in different parts of the world over the next week, I think that is the beginning of, not just symbolism of reaching out, but in fact engaging, in listening, finding common ground to build common interest based on consensus, and we're going to have differences, we will always have differences, but we should define our relationships based not on those differences but on our common interests.

**Host:** Well, I mean, that brings us to the new administration that is here in Washington, I think that perception of the United States being a bully in the world has come largely from what the previous administration has done.

**Hagel:** Oh I think that's right, and we are now in our unfortunately 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> year in two long wars. That's not all America's fault, of course not. But I think this last administration misplayed a lot of the great good will that redounded to this country and the American people after the terrorist attacks on our country on September 11, 2001. The fact is, the past is the past, we now move forward, let's try to get to high ground and fix some of these great problems and challenges for mankind, working together, I believe we can do that.

Chairman LEVIN. Senator Hirono.

Senator HIRONO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Inhofe.

I join my colleagues in welcoming you, Senator Hagel.

We live in a complex world, and any Secretary of Defense should ask tough questions, maybe not particularly politically popular questions. I see you, Senator Hagel, as that kind of person, based on your service to our country, your conduct and responses to the questions asked of you today, and the conversation that you and I had.

Turning to your statement this morning, you talked about looking at our future threats and challenges and why DOD is rebalancing its resources toward the Asia-Pacific region. Of course, this kind of rebalance is critically important to Hawaii in our forward position in the Pacific.

Would you expand as to why and what particular economic or national security factors come into play as we rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region?

**Senator HAGEL.** Senator, you know better than most your region and its importance and why it will continue to be important to the world, but certainly to the United States. As I noted in my opening statement and you know, we have always been a Pacific power. We have been a Pacific power because we have clear economic interests there. We have diplomatic security interests there. We have strong allies there. I mentioned some of them in my opening statement.

When we look at the growth of economies, we look at trade growth, we look at population growth, the rise of China. But not just China, but that entire Asia-Pacific region, we need to stay relevant to opportunities as well as challenges in all areas, but in par-

ticular the areas that we see as emerging as to the largest, most significant economic security issues and challenges and opportunities.

It is appropriate that any nation rebalance assets. You have to be relevant to the times, to the shifts, the changes. Our world today is totally different than it was 12 years ago. Our force structure is being refit, and we are looking at a far more agile, flexible force structure as our economies are becoming more agile and flexible.

For all those reasons and more, that is why we are doing what I think is exactly the right thing to do. Doesn't mean, as I said in my opening statement, that we are abandoning anybody or any part of the world. We can't.

Senator HIRONO. Senator, as we live in times of budget constraints, will you commit to keeping me and this committee informed as you develop the strategies and contemplate force posture adjustments that go along with this kind of rebalancing?

Senator HAGEL. Yes. I look forward to it.

Senator HIRONO. I am very heartened by your perspective, turning to another question, that you always ask the question, is the policy working—worthy of the men and women that we send into battle and possibly to their deaths? I am very heartened by that kind of a perspective from someone who served our country.

What will be your top priorities as you look to care for the men and women in uniform and their families?

Senator HAGEL. As I said in my opening statement, the welfare, the safety, the success of our men and women in uniform is my top priority, has been and will continue to be, and their families.

Senator HIRONO. Do you have any specific programmatic ways that you will reflect that?

Senator HAGEL. First, to implement the law. We have a number of new laws, policies that are in the process of being implemented. We have spoken about some here today. I will assure, if confirmed, that we do that.

As I said in my opening statement, we will assure that every military man and woman and their families are given exactly the same opportunities and rights as each other and all members of the Armed Forces.

Senator HIRONO. I also take to heart your belief in the importance of the core nation and the work between DOD and the VA, and I understand that you have a strong relationship with Secretary Shinseki. With your experience as a veteran and having been a senior leader in the Veterans Administration, what will be your primary challenges and goals as you look to collaborate with Secretary Shinseki and the VA?

Senator HAGEL. It will be the same that Secretary Panetta and, before him, Secretary Gates initiated in closer collaboration between the two agencies, and that means the integration of our systems. As our men and women transition out from Active Duty into civilian life or retired life and are going to require the assistance of some veterans assistance programs, a closer integration.

We know that the backlogs now are still far, far too long to get evaluations of whether it is post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) or whatever the health issue is. I think continuing to work with

Secretary Shinseki, as Secretaries Panetta and Gates did, but strengthening that integration of those systems, of leadership, of our people understanding each other better, and maximizing the resources that each agency has and making those resources more value-added and count more.

Senator HIRONO. I had an opportunity to meet with Secretary Shinseki recently, and those kinds of collaborative efforts are not happening as expeditiously as we would like. I certainly hope that you will have a renewed sense of urgency about the outcomes of these collaborative efforts because, of course, the bottom line is it is to help our men and women who are transitioning out of uniform into civilian life.

I hope that we have that kind of commitment, strong commitment from you for outcomes.

Senator HAGEL. You have my strong commitment.

Senator HIRONO. DOD is the United States' largest consumer of energy, and we talked about that briefly when you came to see me. It is clear that the military will benefit greatly from cheaper, more stable fuel costs over the long term. Promising work is being done in this area to commercialize alternative fuels that can be produced abundantly in the United States.

Of course, this kind of collaboration is very important for Hawaii as being the most oil-dependent State in the entire country. If confirmed, will you continue to emphasize and prioritize research, development, and, where possible, deployment of renewable fuels as well as enhanced energy efficiency efforts to reduce DOD's energy costs over the long term?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, as you have noted, DOD is the largest user of certainly liquid fuels. But I think our energy budget, I don't know the exact number, but it's probably around \$18 billion a year.

Anything we can do to make any aspect of securing our country more cost effective fuel, we need to look at, and I would make that a high priority, if I am confirmed and go over to the Defense Department, to see if we could—how we do that, how we can continue to do that, because in the end, for all the reasons you know, it is just clearly in the interest of our country, our resources, and our people.

Senator HIRONO. Certainly, continuing to fund research and development efforts in these areas will accrue to us in the long term in terms of huge, huge cost savings for DOD.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator HIRONO. Thank you. My time is up.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Hirono.

Now here is the situation we have. This first vote is a 10-minute vote apparently, and all the subsequent votes are 10 minutes.

Senator Lee, I am happy to call upon you now, but you would have to kind of keep track of this yourself and have your staff keep track of it. If you want to take the risk, there may be some risk if you took your full 8 minutes.

I would be happy to recess now instead of after your questions. We are going to recess for the five votes. It will be about an hour.



Would you like to start now and then take a chance that you might not finish? Or would you rather start at the beginning after an hour recess?

Senator LEE. Thank you for that offer, Mr. Chairman.

I better not risk the possibility of missing a vote. I would prefer that you recess now.

Chairman LEVIN. We are now going to recess for about an hour. But I want you all to follow this.

At the last vote—and it may not be the fifth vote. There may be four votes. We don't know. It is up to five votes. The final vote, though, we know will be called final passage of the debt limit bill. We will start, we will begin about 5 minutes after the beginning of that vote.

We will stand in recess. [Recessed.]

Chairman LEVIN. The committee will come back to order.

Senator Lee.

Senator LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator Hagel, for joining us today and for answering the questions that have been asked to you so far. I'd like to talk to you for a few minutes about Israel. Israel is, I believe, America's most important ally, certainly in the Middle East and in many respects in the entire world. A lot of people in this body are concerned, quite appropriately, about making sure that alliance remains strong, about making sure that our interests as Americans are protected abroad. A lot of us feel like one of the best ways of protecting American national security is through that alliance in the Middle East.

On April 12, 2002, there was a Palestinian terrorist who detonated a bomb in downtown Jerusalem, killing 6 Israelis and wounding I believe about 100 others. On that day, while you were still serving in the U.S. Senate, you gave a speech on the Senate floor. You made a couple of comments that I'd like to discuss with you and ask you a little bit about.

In one segment of the speech you said: "We understand Israel's right to defend itself. We're committed to that. We've helped Israel defend that right. We will continue to do so. But it should not be at the expense of the Palestinian people, innocent Palestinian people, and innocent Israelis who are paying a high price."

Some who have read that have reacted with concern that this may be indicative of a feeling on your part that there might be some moral equivalency between on the one hand Israel's exercise of its right to defend itself and on the other hand Palestinian terrorism. Do you believe that there is a moral equivalency between these two things?

Senator HAGEL. Oh, absolutely not, Senator.

Senator LEE. Do you understand how others might read this statement in such a way that could leave them with that impression?

Senator HAGEL. I do.

Senator LEE. How do you respond to it? In other words, do Palestinians, let's say those Palestinians who have engaged in acts of terrorism, perhaps in retaliation against Israel for Israel defending itself, do they have a legitimate gripe?

Senator HAGEL. Terrorism can never be justified under any circumstances.

Senator LEE. Is their grievance legitimate?

Senator HAGEL. The Palestinians?

Senator LEE. Yes, the Palestinians who decide to strap a bomb onto themselves and detonate it or otherwise engage in acts of terror; do they have a legitimate grievance that they're expressing?

Senator HAGEL. They have grievances. A lot of people have grievances—

Senator LEE. Are those grievances legitimate?

Senator HAGEL.—but not a justification for terrorism and killing innocent people, never.

Senator LEE. Are they on par with the grievances that innocent Israelis have when they become the victims of violent acts?

Senator HAGEL. I don't think you can judge whether it's Israelis or Palestinians or anybody in the world in separating innocent victims of terrorism.

Senator LEE. I think you can in some circumstances, can't you? I mean—

Senator HAGEL. Not victims.

Senator LEE. For heaven's sakes, though—oh, okay, maybe not victims. Can you, and indeed must you not, judge when it comes to one group of people who may at least be willing to recognize the other group of people's right to exist?

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely. In fact, I'm clearly on the record on that point. In fact, in 2006 there was the Anti-Palestinian Terrorist Act that I voted for, and there are a number of other resolutions, acts, votes, speeches I've made. In my book I have said unequivocally Hezbollah, Hamas specifically, they must renounce terrorism, and first they must accept Israel's right to exist as a Jewish homeland, respect the borders, protect the borders. Absolutely, I've made that very clear.

Senator LEE. Okay. Now, later on in the same speech you asked a question. You referred to the fact, that we really need to develop peace in the Middle East, and you asked the question: "Who guarantees this peace?" You then continue by asking another question: "If in fact we expect Israel to pull back to their pre-1967 borders, who guarantees that peace?"

Does this, Senator Hagel, reflect sentiment on your part that that is a legitimate way of solving the peace process, of bringing about peace in Israel, in the Middle East, is by asking Israel to withdraw to its pre-1967 borders?

Senator HAGEL. No, not at all. What I said was, as you just quoted me, who guarantees the security of Israel's borders? Israel's borders must be secure. That's part of the fundamentals of the Quartet Principles of 2006, in fact, the U.N. Resolutions 242 and 337 and other resolutions. That's paramount, the guarantee of the security of Israel and its borders.

Senator LEE. I understand that part of the question related to how we bring about that peace, and I want to get back to that in a minute. But another part of the question started from the premise that Israel would be withdrawing to its pre-1967 borders. Do you view that as a tenable solution? Do you believe such borders are militarily defensible?

Senator HAGEL. I think that's all negotiable. The Quartet Principles of 2006, which President Bush laid down, and a two-state solution, all those issues have to be resolved. Land for peace, trading land, all those issues are final status issues that are absolutely key to the future of Israel or before Israel can agree to anything.

Senator LEE. So you're saying that you might describe a resolution of this crisis involving withdrawal to the pre-1967 borders as perhaps one among several tenable solutions?

Senator HAGEL. It's part of what's been talked about and defined in, as I said, the 2006 Quartet Principles and U.N. resolutions that that is part of a final status set of issues that have to be resolved. The United States and no other country can impose that on Israel. That is a negotiable issue, but it's been out there, and that remains to be dealt with in negotiations.

Senator LEE. Is it one that you think the United States should encourage?

Senator HAGEL. I would encourage peace and a secure, safe Israel. That's what I think most of us would want to see.

Senator LEE. Okay. Now, in 2009 you made a statement suggesting that U.S. ground troops should be sent to that part of the world and installed as U.N. peacekeepers in a "non-militarized Palestinian state". Is this something you stand behind today? Is this an approach that you think is appropriate?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, I don't have the facts behind me, in front of me, but I don't think that was a recommendation I was making. If I recall, my comments—and you may be able to give me exactly the comments—were in the context of how do you secure Israel's border, who secures Israel's border? For example, General Brent Scowcroft has suggested at times maybe this is a peacekeeping role for NATO. That was what that was all about.

Senator LEE. Senator, my time has expired. I need to ask you one more question. I understand that you have made a statement indicating that there is no justification for Palestinian suicide bombers, but that there is also no justification for Israel to "keep Palestinians caged up like animals". Did you say that, and if so do you stand by that statement today?

Senator HAGEL. I said it, and I don't remember the context or when I said it. But—

Senator LEE. Do you believe today that Israel keeps Palestinians caged up like animals?

Senator HAGEL. No. If I had an opportunity to edit that, like many things I've said, I would like to go back and change the words and the meaning. No, it was I think in a larger context. I've said many, many things over many years. It was a larger context of the frustration and what's happening, which is not in Israel's interest, to find ways that we can help bring peace and security to Israel.

If I had a chance to go back and edit it, I would. I regret that I used those words.

Senator LEE. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Lee.

Senator KAINE.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member.

Welcome, Senator Hagel. It was good to see you with my dear friend Senator Warner, decorated Navy and Marine Corps veteran from World War II and the Korean War, Secretary of the Navy, long-time member of this committee. You couldn't have a better ally than Senator Warner and it was good to see him here.

He exemplifies—and forgive my Virginia-centrism for a minute. He exemplifies something that's very important about our Commonwealth. Our map is a map of the military history of this country: Yorktown, Appomattox, the Pentagon, where September 11 occurred. There's a ceremony in Arlington tonight for the commissioning of a new amphib, the USS *Arlington*, that will be commissioned in Norfolk in April.

We care very deeply about these events. One in nine Virginians is a veteran. Not one in nine voters, not one in nine adults, but birth to death, one in nine is a veteran. When you add in Active Duty, Guard, Reserve, DOD civilian, DOD contractor, and their families, now you're talking about probably one in three of us. We care very, very deeply about all that's within DOD.

Virginians talk all the time about national security concerns and threats. Let me be plain, the threat and the concern that Virginians are now talking about more than any other is the inability of Congress to find a way forward on reasonable budget compromise. That's what's in the newspapers, that's what's in the headlines.

At the direction of Deputy Secretary Ash Carter, DOD is now cutting expenditures and planning for future cuts. We have a looming sequester on March 1 and then a CR expiration on March 27. I'm very worried at the macro level about DOD's ability to pursue and execute appropriate national security objectives in this time of congressional inability to find budget compromise.

The current CR limits flexibility, for example, of the military to appropriately tailor resources to the appropriate ends under a CR. The Navy has no flexibility to meet a \$3.7 billion operations and maintenance shortfall.

I'm new here. To me it seems like funding the military through CR is poor business, poor budgeting, poor governance. I'm worried about its effect upon the morale of all of our men and women in service.

My first question is a really simple one: Do you agree that we, Congress, must finish an fiscal year 2013 appropriations process as soon as possible to allow DOD to move forward with this year's funding decisions, rather than continuing to be bound by an fiscal year 2012 CR?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, I do. I think I've been very clear on that point all day today. You have described it accurately.

Senator KAINE. My second question is related, is about sequestration. To me, again the new guy, allowing budget sequestration—the cavalier discussions I've seen in some newspapers recently by Members of Congress about the fact that it's reality and we probably can't change it makes absolutely no sense.

I'm kind of curious and interested to see whether it might be more sensible to sort of even realign the deadlines, the sequester deadline. We are now, based on the vote we just had on the floor of the Senate, in a budgetary process where there's a strong likeli-

hood that we'll be able to produce budgets together with the House. Why would we be making short-term one-off decisions that are holdovers from a previous Congress that couldn't get it right when we are embarking upon a budget process? To my way of thinking, that's the way you ought to make revenue and spending decisions, in accord with a budget, rather than through gimmicks like sequester.

I think we're going to get out of this budget uncertainty, but when we do you will have the task, if confirmed, of being the Secretary of Defense in a resource-constrained environment and you're going to have to deal, hopefully in a more thoughtful budgetary process with Congress, on how to make priorities about spending. I'd like to have you talk a little bit about how you would approach that administrative task in a resource-constrained world, how you're going to approach that task of dealing with these fiscal realities.

Senator HAGEL. First, as I noted this morning in my opening statement, if I am confirmed I would intend to make this relationship between the Secretary of Defense and Congress a partnership, much as Secretary Panetta has done. I think it's critically important for many reasons. Let's start with the budget. You authorize, you appropriate. The Federal Government is captive to that authorization and appropriation, and each Department must work within the budgetary framework of those resources.

I have said that, like all of these big issues, it is a matter of, first of all, clearly defining the mission in its entirety as to what is the mission of DOD, then what are our priorities as they fit into our strategic interests around the world, and the how do you do it? How do you manage it? How do you lead?

That includes working closely with the Chiefs. That includes working with all the leadership within DOD. It's about teams, it's about people, and it's about building consensus in Congress as well as within the military.

Each Military Chief has a responsibility for his or her areas and Service, and that's as it should be. Obviously, Goldwater-Nichols integrated our Services, which was the right thing. I think most people agree with that. But also, the Commandant of the Marine Corps and each Chief has a responsibility to look out for the interests of their Service. The coordination of those efforts and the understanding the bigger picture are critically important. Those are all different elements, not unlike you as a governor at one time, would bring to the job.

Senator KAINE. Senator, switching gears for a minute, it is still kind of hard to contemplate that if confirmed you would be the first enlisted person to hold the position of Secretary of Defense, and I want to ask a question about especially our enlisteds. Senator Manchin touched upon it earlier, the unacceptably high rate of unemployment of folks exiting military service. I think officers have a little bit easier time, but when we see an unemployment rate among enlisteds that is higher than the national average, when they've sacrificed, when they've given, and when they have leadership and technical skills that could benefit a civilian workforce, we know something is wrong.

There have been some pilot projects through the NDAA's in 2012 and 2013 to focus on an issue that matters a lot to me, and we talked about it, how to credential Active Duty military while they are in their military occupational specialties, while they are gaining technical skills, with credentials that mean something in the civilian workforce, so that when they leave they're not just an E-5 or a gunny sergeant, which people in the civilian workforce may not understand, but they actually have the credentials that the civilian-hiring workforce does understand.

Are you committed to pushing forward on those pilot programs and expanding them so that we can get at this unemployment issue?

Senator HAGEL. Absolutely. Again, I noted that in my opening statement, Senator. I think I have some experience in that area over the years. I'm committed to that. As I said, nothing is more important than our men and women and their families. That doesn't mean just throughout their time in our service to our country, but afterward. What this country commits to them, we must fulfill that commitment.

Senator KAINE. One last comment, Senator Hagel, not a question. As the topics have come up today, when we talked about Iran and the threat of a nuclear Iran, we've often talked about it as linked with Israel's security, which it is. They're Holocaust deniers and they've threatened the security of the State of Israel. But I want to make sure that everybody in this chamber understands it's not just about the security of Israel.

The Iranian nuclear threat is a much bigger one. It is very clear that if Iran gets nuclear weapons that other nations will start to do the same thing, and that would cut completely counter to I know principles that you hold, principles the President holds. It's not just on Israel's shoulders to be worried about a nuclear Iran. It is a threat that we all need to worry about.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you. I agree. I think, just to add one point on that, you all know, of course, and many have been involved in this over the years, the current P5 Plus 1 engagement to get all five members of the U.N. Security Council together on this one issue. Now, we have variations of exactly what should be done. But I think that gives the world some indication of how Russia, China, the United States, and essentially all nations of the world view the threat of a nuclear Iran.

Senator KAINE. Thank you, Senator.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Kaine.

Senator VITTER.

Senator VITTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator, for being here, and thank you very much for your military service.

My single biggest concern, Senator, about the nomination is the dramatic flip-flops between your past statements and record and what you're saying as the nominee. They're about key core issues, and we've discussed some of those today. I wanted to focus on that, and I apologize if I go over some of the things that have come up before. I couldn't be here for most of the hearing.

In 2006, when Israel was responding to attacks by Hezbollah from Lebanon, you called that response a “sickening slaughter” and you accused Israel of “the systematic destruction of an American friend, the country and people of Lebanon”. What do you say about those quotes today?

Senator HAGEL. Well, first, I said them. I’ve been asked about them. I have said I regret saying that. It was in the larger context of a speech I made about what was going on, the 30-some days of war going on. I also included in that speech the responsibility of Hezbollah, who started the war. So it wasn’t exactly the way you just noted it. The language is exact, what you just said, but it was a larger context.

Yes, I regret that language. But I think the bigger point is, Senator—and I have noted this all morning—my unequivocal support of Israel over the years. There’s been no flip-flop on that. How I’ve voted, I’ve never voted against anything but Israel’s interests in every vote I’ve cast in the U.S. Senate. I’ve said it in my book. They’re a special, historic ally. We will always support them and defend them. I’ve said it in my speeches.

There’s no flip-flop on my support for Israel.

Senator VITTER. Is there a flip-flop on your calling their response to Hezbollah “the systematic destruction of an American friend, the country and people of Lebanon”? Do you stand by that today?

Senator HAGEL. I just said I said that, and I said that I regretted saying that. But that’s not—

Senator VITTER. Do you stand by those words, or is that a flip-flop?

Senator HAGEL. No. If I had a chance to edit those words out, I would.

Senator VITTER. That’s what I’m talking about in terms of flip-flop.

Senator HAGEL. I suppose if I had a chance to edit a lot of things in my life, Senator, I’d probably be fairly busy.

Senator VITTER. Let me move on because I have a number of these concerns. In 1998, in a Senate hearing, you said that Secretary of State Madeleine Albright had “tilted way too far toward Israel in the Middle East peace process”. Do you still think that of that peace process in 1998?

Senator HAGEL. I don’t recall the event. I don’t recall the words. I don’t know where it comes from. I don’t know the context. Again, Senator, I go back for years and years and years on different things I’ve said, but I don’t recall that or what the context was, so I don’t know.

Secretary Albright has endorsed me, by the way, to be the next Secretary of Defense. I worked very closely with Secretary Albright, as I did with President Clinton and his administration, in support of Israel.

Senator VITTER. In general, at that time under the Clinton administration, do you think that they were going “way too far toward Israel in the Middle East peace process”?

Senator HAGEL. No, I don’t, because I was very supportive of what the President did at the end of his term in December-January, December 2000, January 2001. As a matter of fact, I recount that episode in my book, when I was in Israel.

Senator VITTER. Just to clarify, that's the sort of flip-flop I'm talking about, because that's what you said then and you're changing your mind now.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, that's not a flip-flop. I don't recall everything I've said in the last 20 years or 25 years. If I could go back and change some of it, I would. But that still doesn't discount the support that I've always given Israel and continue to give Israel.

Senator VITTER. Let me go to a third thing, is actually what you said today, talking about Iran as a "legitimate elected government". Do you think the election that had to do with this Iranian Government coming to power was free and fair and legitimate?

Senator HAGEL. I noted that the term "legitimate" was not the term I should have used. I should have used "recognized". That's the more appropriate term. I was referring to the fact that it's a nation that is a member of the United Nations, it has embassies from all our allies.

Senator VITTER. What about the——

Senator HAGEL. It's a recognized nation.

Senator VITTER. What about the word "elected," because you said "legitimate elected government"?

Senator HAGEL. There was an election in Iran.

Senator VITTER. So my question specifically was, you apparently think that was a free and fair and legitimate election?

Senator HAGEL. That's not what I said.

Senator VITTER. That's why I'm asking what you meant, because you said "legitimate elected government".

Senator HAGEL. I just explained I should have said "recognized" instead of "legitimate," which I did earlier today. There was an election. There will be another presidential election in June of this year for President of Iran. Whether it's free and fair, I don't know.

Senator VITTER. Do you expect it to be free and fair and legitimate?

Senator HAGEL. I don't know.

Senator VITTER. Okay. You have no expectations one way or the other about that?

Senator HAGEL. I do know that Iran is not exactly a model democracy and it has not been. I don't have any expectations for a free, fair election.

Senator VITTER. Okay. In 2008, you wrote that a nuclear Iran might be tolerable because "sovereign nation states possessing nuclear weapons capability, as opposed to stateless terrorist groups, will often respond with some degree of responsible, or at least sane, behavior". Is that still your hope or expectation about this Government of Iran?

Senator HAGEL. Again, I'm not sure where the reference came from or the context. But what I obviously was referring to were different options that people will look at in regard to Iran getting nuclear weapons. I've always said that Iran must not get weapons of mass destruction. I've always said it's a sponsor of terrorists, of terrorism, and I've always said the military option should remain on the table to assure that Iran does not get nuclear weapons.



Senator VITTER. Again, this quote, you suggest that Iran would maybe or hopefully respond in a “responsible, or at least sane,” way. Those were the words. Is that still your expectation or hope?

Senator HAGEL. I always have hope that people respond in a sane way. But that doesn’t at all change the facts that it is a dangerous, dangerous country that’s a threat to the United States, Israel, and the entire world.

Senator VITTER. Okay. After your nomination, the Iranian Government press noted with satisfaction that the “anti-Israel” Hagel—obviously, that’s not your quote; that’s theirs—is known for “his criticism of Washington’s anti-Iran policies,” and that he “has consistently opposed any plan to launch a military strike against Iran”. Why do you think they have that impression?

Senator HAGEL. First of all, it’s not an accurate quote. I’ve never opposed military action against Iran.

Senator VITTER. Let me just clarify. It’s an accurate quote of the Iranian Government press. Why do you think they have that impression?

Senator HAGEL. It’s not an accurate statement about my position.

Senator VITTER. Right. But why do you think they have that impression?

Senator HAGEL. As I said in answer to that question earlier, I have enough difficulty understanding American politics, Senator. I surely don’t understand Iranian politics.

Senator VITTER. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. But if I might add, I also said that there have been some rather significant Israeli Government leaders recently that have said some pretty nice things about me, current Israeli leaders.

Senator VITTER. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Vitter.

Senator King.

Senator KING. Like all the other inquisitors today, Senator, I want to thank you for your service, and particularly for your willingness to put yourself through this process to serve your country once again. It’s one of my life principles never to take a job where I would have to be confirmed by a legislative body, and you’re doing it.

I also want to comment, I read one commentator that said the fact that this guy was an enlisted man in Vietnam is nice, but not really significant. I think it’s very significant. I’m a bit of a student of the Cuban missile crisis, the most dangerous moment this country has ever experienced, and anybody that studies that period, it’s hard to escape the conclusion that President Kennedy’s service on the front lines of World War II and Chairman Khrushchev’s service in his army during World War II was a significant influence on their willingness to back away from the nuclear precipice. I think it’s very important to have people with your experience in this position.

Most of the questions, probably 90 percent, today have been about policy. But the reality is, as I think you would concede, that the policy comes from the President of the United States. You’re certainly going to advise, but that’s where the policy comes from.

I'd like to ask your thoughts about management, because you're about to take on the world's most cumbersome bureaucracy, with a lot of problems and headaches and budgetary challenges.

Just share with me some thoughts about how you're going to approach the management of DOD?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, thank you. I note you were sitting there during the exchange I had with Senator Kaine about some of this, and I would, in answering your question, pick up on a couple of those observations.

First—and you too, I know, you were a Governor. So you both understand a lot of the pieces of this. No matter how big an organization is, there are still some fundamentals to leadership and management. Now, as you have noted, DOD is the largest institution certainly in this country, maybe the world. How then do you try to manage it? Well, it's not about me. The Secretary of Defense, he leads, he advises the President. But it's really about the people who have the accountability and the responsibility to manage every aspect of our defense apparatus. That includes all the officers. I think there are over 50 presidential appointees in DOD. You have obviously the military, uniformed military, 1.3 million there. So all of these people are required to manage the Department.

I think a fundamental to me in answering your question is accountability. We've had some discussions today about audits. All institutions must be accountable. Elected officials are accountable. We're all accountable. The emphasis on accountability I don't think can ever be overstated. You give managers flexibility, you give them resources, but you give them direction and expectations, and they have to be very clear, very direct, and very defined, but not to the point where you don't want their input and their ability to be flexible with their management. I think that's, in my opinion, Senator, is the key to anything, but surely it is the key to something as large as DOD.

A number of questions were asked of me today about specific programs, submarine programs, different areas of technology and acquisitions, and our superior technology. I've said I don't know enough about it. I don't. There are a lot of things I don't know about. I, if confirmed, intend to know a lot more than I do. I will have to.

But at the same time, I would never think that this, as I said earlier, is about me or I will be running anything. I will be the leader, I'll be responsible, I'll be accountable. But I have to rely on the right teams, the right people, bring those people together. Again, it's accountability and responsibility.

I would stop there, if that gives you some sense of how I would intend to do this business.

Senator KING. My theory of leadership is hire good people and take credit for what they do. That's my best advice.

You're a guy from Nebraska. You were in the Army. I'm imaging that every morning you don't get up and think about the Navy. I hope to correct that over the next few years. Particularly of concern to us right now in Maine and in other parts of the country is the multi-year procurement program which is in jeopardy because of the budget situation.

Your feelings about multi-year procurement and maintaining the industrial base, which we just have to do if we're going to be able to maintain our force?

Senator HAGEL. Governor, you probably know, and Governor Kaine does as well, that there is such a thing as a Nebraska navy. Our governors make these distinguished appointments throughout their career. Our fleet is small but mighty. But that has been my initial, early on experience with the Navy.

Industrial base, I referenced that in a couple of comments I made earlier today in responding to questions. Absolutely essential to our future that we maintain a strong, growing, credible military industrial base, for all the reasons you understand. Certainly Senator Kaine does, being from Virginia, and other Senators here who have in their States these facilities and, more importantly, private companies that represent our industrial base.

How we then prioritize our needs, how we account for and audit contracts, forward procurements, cost overruns, waste, fraud, and abuse, all part of it. This is going to be more and more essential as we are dealing with, as you have noted, a restricted budget. It may be a very restricted budget, depending on how things happen on sequestration.

The Navy is an indispensable part of our security apparatus. First, it is the one visible projection of power that we have in the world. Obviously, our rebalancing of resources in the Asia-Pacific region are some indication of that. The Persian Gulf; we have been talking all day about Iran, about Israel, but specifically Iran in the Persian Gulf. You know we have our Fifth Fleet there in Bahrain. We have two carrier battle groups in and out of that small little area. The flexibility, agility, missile defense, nuclear, all those capabilities are within the Navy.

I am a strong supporter of advancing our Navy technology and our efforts, and I will continue to do that if confirmed.

Senator KING. Thank you, Senator. I'll have some more questions at a later time. I appreciate it.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator King.

Senator Shaheen.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, thank you very much for the tremendous service that you've already provided to this country and for your willingness to consider taking on this challenge as Secretary of Defense and for your stamina at this hearing all day. You will certainly need it as Secretary of Defense.

I want to follow up on Senator King's question about the Navy, because the Navy is obviously very important to us in New Hampshire as well. Our four public shipyards are the backbone of our naval power, but according to the Navy there's a huge backlog of the restoration and modernization projects at our shipyards. According to last year's numbers, that backlog was around \$3 billion.

At Portsmouth Naval Shipyard, which Senator King, Senator Ayotte, and I are all very concerned about, that number was \$513 million. This backlog not only potentially affects our readiness, but it's also not cost effective. For example, a 2010 Government Accountability Office report pointed out that a pier project at Norfolk,

which I'm sure Senator Kaine is familiar with, if it had been addressed early it would have cost \$15 million. Because that didn't happen, the pier now is going to cost about \$85 million.

In fiscal year 2012, Senators Collins, Ayotte, and I included an amendment in the NDAA bill that requires the Pentagon to produce a shipyard modernization plan to address these shortfalls. That report's late, but it was promised in the upcoming budget submission for fiscal year 2014. Will you commit to ensuring that this modernization plan is produced and will you commit to pressing the Navy, within the fiscal constraints that I appreciate, but to fully fund the investments that are needed to save money in the long term and ensure that we continue to be very effective and efficient at our shipyards?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, I will make that commitment to do everything I can to first understand the specifics, which I don't know all the details. But your request is preliminary to effective, efficient use of our resources and planning and our national security. So I will make that commitment. If I am confirmed, I will get the details. I will assure that the Navy responds.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you. I'm sure Senators King and Ayotte join me in inviting you to come and visit the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. We hope that you will do that as soon as you're confirmed.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator SHAHEEN. I know there's been a fair amount of discussion earlier today about your involvement with the organization Global Zero and what your position is on nuclear weapons. I think it's worth re quoting what Senator Reed said about Ronald Reagan, who said that: "We seek the total elimination one day of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth." I think every President since Ronald Reagan has supported that aspirational goal, recognizing that at this point in time it is a goal.

Certainly that's what President Obama has said he supports, is that some day, probably not in this lifetime, but some day, we should hope for a world that would be free of nuclear weapons.

I know I've heard you say that you agree with those two statements, but do you also agree that as long as nuclear weapons exist that we have to maintain a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal to deter any adversaries?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, completely, absolutely. I have never had any other position but that, as I have indicated this morning and this afternoon, and will continue to take that position. As I said in my opening statement and in answer to other questions, our nuclear deterrent has probably been the core of keeping world peace and avoiding a World War III, that nuclear deterrent.

As long as there is the threat of nuclear weapons—and like you noted and President Obama noted in his Prague speech in 2009—it probably will not happen in our lifetime. But, just as you noted and Senator Reed's comments about what President Reagan laid on the table in 1986, we need to keep working on it. We need to keep moving forward, attempting to do it.

Quite frankly, if you look at the START agreements and you look at the different treaties we've had, we have brought those warheads down, under both Republican and Democratic administra-

tions, bipartisan. What Sam Nunn said this morning, he and his former colleagues Secretary Kissinger, Secretary Shultz, Secretary Perry, hundreds of national leaders in Republican and Democratic administrations over the years have supported the reduction of weapons of nuclear destruction—not unilateral, but bilateral, negotiated and verifiable.

As I said this morning, as Ronald Reagan said, “Trust but verify”. Nothing unilateral.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Again, I know there’s been a lot of discussion about your comments relative to sanctions on Iran and various options that we might pursue with respect to Iran and nuclear weapons. But I wonder again if you would confirm what your position is on the President’s current strategy of strong diplomacy, tough international sanctions, and keeping all the options on the table?

Senator HAGEL. You have just defined President Obama’s strategy on Iran, which I firmly support, strongly support. It is the wise way to do it. I don’t know if I mentioned this to you in our meeting, but I wrote a book in 2008 and I have a chapter on Iran, and I lay all that out in the chapter. As I’ve said, I don’t think President Obama went to my chapter and developed his strategy based on my chapter, but there’s nothing in that chapter that I wrote in that book in 2008 or anything I’ve ever said that deviates from where the President is.

The military option is always on the table, must be on the table, always should be the last option, always the last option. But aren’t we wiser and smarter if we can figure this out, accomplish our objectives, without having to go to war, for everybody?

Senator SHAHEEN. I hope so.

You referenced the meeting that we had last week and I very much appreciated your taking time to come in and sit down and talk about some of the statements that have been represented that you have addressed today. One of those had to do with Israel’s security. Again, I know this has been discussed at length during the day today, but I wonder if again you could reconfirm what your commitment is on Israel and the security of Israel in the Middle East?

Senator HAGEL. My support of Israel’s security is and always has been very clear. I strongly support Israel. The security of Israel is a commitment that we made to Israel in 1948 when Israel was born under American leadership, President Harry Truman. That commitment is a bond that is more than just an ally to ally. It is special, it’s historical, it’s values-driven.

I’ve never equivocated from that line. My votes in the Senate have shown that. What I’ve said publicly has shown that. I’ve said this in my book. Absolutely, and we’ll continue to do that.

Senator SHAHEEN. Thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Shaheen.

Okay, we’re going to have a 5-minute second round, and if we need a third round we will have a third round. I’m going to try to take less than 5 minutes so I can yield a couple minutes, if I still have them, to Senator Inhofe.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Earlier today, Senator Hagel, one of my colleagues made a statement that you had not responded to requests for copies of all your speeches and to requests about contributions to certain organizations I believe that you either served or had spoken to, and that you didn't have the opportunity at that time to respond to that statement. I want to give you the opportunity now, if you wish to, or if you prefer to respond for the record.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will respond for the record. But I will take this opportunity to respond. First, as far as I know—and I asked again at the break of our counsel, Ethics Office lawyers, have we responded to all requests or are we in the process of responding to every single request? The answer is yes. Some of these requests didn't come in until yesterday, specifically the financial documentation request. Copies of my speeches came in late.

We have given the committee every copy of every speech that I have that's out there, every video that I have that's out there. On paid speeches, most every one of those paid speeches, in the contract it says that they are private and not videotaped. That wasn't my decision; that was the contract of the group I spoke to. I believe every paid speech I gave I didn't have a prepared text. I gave it extemporaneously, which is something I've been doing for long before I left the Senate.

We are fulfilling every legal commitment I said and I am obligated to, and I've complied with every ethical request. I always have. I did when I was in the Senate. I'll continue to do it now. We are doing it now.

Chairman LEVIN. There was one or two other times when you did not have the opportunity to reply to a question and, in order not to use up all my time, you should feel free to do that for the record. We're going to keep this record open until close of business tomorrow for questions and for your answers until close of business Monday, which means 5 p.m. tomorrow for questions for the record, 5 p.m. on Monday for your responses to questions for the record.

At that time, would you give us the update on any additional documents, speeches, or information that you have been requested to provide which you have not yet been able to, but is in the works, so you can give us an update?

Senator HAGEL. I will. Again, I have committed and will continue to commit to complying with every legal document, legal requirement.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

I hope I have a minute or 2 that I can then yield to Senator Inhofe.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate that courtesy very, very much. I'm going to have to hurry this up a little bit because it's less time than I thought we had, I say to my good friend.

It was mentioned that one of the members up here thought I was being disrespectful during the time that I was questioning you. It was at a time when I made the statement that you have been endorsed by the ministry of Iran for your nomination to be Secretary of Defense. Do you consider that to be a disrespectful notion on my part?

Senator HAGEL. No, it's a legitimate question.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you very much.

I have kind of been the leader on postponing any further Abrams tanks or F-16s to Egypt until such time as that government is under control. This is my own statement, only representing my own thoughts. I think Morsi's an enemy. I think their military is a friend.

There was a vote just a little while ago to do away permanently with the sending of any of this equipment to Egypt. I don't think that's a good idea. What I think is a good idea is to continue to use that as leverage. If you do that, you lose the leverage. I believe that right now, Morsi has already distanced himself from the military. To me that's a first good step, and I would like to think that we could reinstate a friend in that area.

I would only ask you, would you agree with my statement that I came out with a long time ago or my bill that I introduced, I should say, and I re-introduced in a stronger way today, saying that we would withhold sending this equipment to Egypt until such time as these conditions are met? I mentioned the conditions of keeping the accords from Camp David and that type of thing. Would you consider that?

Senator HAGEL. First, that's a policy decision that the President of the United States would make. If he asks for my advice I would certainly give it to him. But to the bigger question, I think it is important that our assistance to Egypt be conditional. They play an absolutely critical role in fulfilling the commitments of Camp David for the security of Israel and elsewhere.

Senator INHOFE. I'm sorry to interrupt you, but we're almost out of time right now. I appreciate that answer.

You made one statement that I strongly disagreed with. You said that President Obama has been the strongest Israeli supporter since 1948. I have a hard time with that. I know that he's not up for confirmation; you are. But when you see statements coming out of the administration like, "The United States believes that negotiations should result in two states with permanent Palestinian borders with Israel and Jordan and Egypt," and they come out with the statements like, "We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 borderlines," these are statements I think are very damaging, and I can assure you that the leadership over in Israel feel that those statements are damaging.

Do you still feel that President Obama has been the strongest supporter of Israel since 1948?

Senator HAGEL. I do, and I will tell you very quickly why. First of all, the 2006 Quartet Principles that President Bush laid down I think cover most of the points that you've made, and I supported President Bush then and still do, what he did in developing those principles.

But when you look at the assistance this administration has given to Israel, the most significant and largest military-to-military exercise, Austere Challenge, Israeli-U.S. forces last fall, the additional moneys that we put into Iron Dome, the President's position, we have your back——

Senator INHOFE. I've answered the question. That's fine. I appreciate it.

Senator HAGEL. I think it's hard to——

Senator INHOFE. But one other subject before we run out of time here, and it's one that I know you're very interested in. You actually were a co-sponsor of the Missile Defense Act of 1999 and I was, too. So we agreed. Times have changed since that time. At that time people thought having the capabilities was confined to the Soviet Union at that time, or Russia, and the United States. A lot has happened since then.

I often say that one of the things I disagreed with most in the first budget that this President had was when he did away with the ground-based interceptor site in Poland. I think most people are aware that was built for protection of Western Europe and the Eastern United States. I'm satisfied that we have, even with the reduction of ground-based interceptors on the west coast, which I disagreed with, but I still think we have adequate protection on the west coast. It's from the east coast, and right now our intelligence still says today that Iran will have the weapon capability and the delivery capability by 2015. That's why it was supposed to be there.

Now there's a discussion saying to cover that void we need to have a third site. Do you support a third site of ground-based interceptor? It would be on the east coast somewhere.

Senator HAGEL. I'm aware of the NDAA authorization and instruction for a third site and an environmental impact statement. I don't know enough of the details. If I am confirmed and go over there, I will get into it. But to respond to that, which I will for the record, I just don't know enough about it.

Senator INHOFE. Okay, if you'd respond for the record. I think it's very significant and I think that most people are looking at this with this void. You have a period of time between 2015—nobody disputes the capability that Iran will have at that time. It's not even classified. But there is still a void of about 6 years between that and when we would have the capability to knock down what has to be knocked down unless we have a third site in place. I am hoping that maybe for the record you'll come back and say that you support the third site.

[The information referred to follows:]

If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the analysis Congress requested in section 221 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2013 to evaluate additional missile defense locations in the United States, including on the east coast, will be delivered on a timely basis, and that Congress remains informed about the Department's analysis about how to best protect the U.S. Homeland.

Senator INHOFE. The last thing I'll mention, if you'll forgive me, Mr. Chairman, when Senator Hirono talked to you she talked about your efforts and her expectations on your being involved in using DOD for all these environmental things. I would suggest to you that's why we have a Department of Energy. When I asked you the question, will you refrain from doing some of the things that have been done in the past in this administration, such as forcing the Navy to pay \$26 a gallon for 450,000 gallons of fuel that you could buy for \$3 and other things, it's billions of dollars that we're paying which we could be using for warfighting. I see an inconsistency in your answer to me and your answer to the Senator from Hawaii.



Senator HAGEL. My answer to the Senator from Hawaii was, I believe—they can read it back—that I am committed to all efficiencies that we can find in DOD which are in the interest of our country. I didn't commit to any one program.

Senator INHOFE. Or any program that would be a costly program on experimentation, such as the programs that I've just mentioned, clearly are in the jurisdiction of the Department of Energy and they're the ones supposed to be doing it. Don't you agree that we should be confining ourselves to enhancing our warfighter capabilities?

Senator HAGEL. Well, of course. But I think within that realm certainly the kind of money that we spend, as you've noted, on fuel, that should include some not only sense of that, but are there things that we can be doing with our research and technology in DOD, why wouldn't we? It just seems to make sense.

Senator INHOFE. Yes, we should as a government, but that's what the Department of Energy is supposed to be doing. When you said, as you suggest, the high cost of fuel, yes, it's a high cost because we're paying 10 times as much as we would have to pay, money that we could be putting toward our warfighting efforts. That's my point.

Senator HAGEL. Yes, I agree, but why wouldn't we be looking at all options if we have the kind of sophisticated research and technology that DOD does and has possession of? Why wouldn't we be enlarging that? I don't know anything more specific to or central to our security than energy.

Senator INHOFE. I know my time has expired. We're spending literally millions, actually some billions of dollars, on some of these experimentations that again are not in the purview of this. Right now we're stalling 179 F-35s that we just recently are putting off. I always say that if they put them off indefinitely, that's just a cut; it's not a put-off. Those are things that we should be doing right now.

We're looking at the *Ohio*-class sub. We should be doing that right now, but we've postponed it. If we were to spend the money that we're spending on the environmental causes on warfighting, I think it would do us better good. Apparently you don't agree with that.

Senator HAGEL. I've said what I said, but I will commit this to you, Senator, that, as I said to the Senator from Hawaii, I will, if I'm confirmed, will obviously look at all these programs. I'll have to.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

Senator Manchin.

Senator MANCHIN. Thank you.

Sir, I feel like I want to apologize for some of the tone and demeanor today.

With that being said, if I could ask you this, since we're so again talking about things you have done, things you have said over the years. How did you get to Vietnam? I want to go back there. Were you ordered to go to Vietnam? Were you sent there? Or how was your orders?

Senator HAGEL. Actually I got to Vietnam through kind of an interesting route. I volunteered for the draft, as my brother did a

month after me. During that time in 1967 the draft was coming down with pretty heavy levies. You recall.

Senator MANCHIN. I was there.

Senator HAGEL. I know your story. They wouldn't take you, not because you weren't smart enough, of course, but they wouldn't take you because of your knees. I know you tried to bribe your way in, but they still wouldn't let you. I admire you for that effort and I know your story.

I went to basic training, advanced infantry training. My brother followed me everywhere a month after me. After advanced infantry training, I was selected to be one of nine first class then-Top Secret shoulder-fired heat-seeking missile called the Redeye gun. At the time it was classified, and it was built to bring down low-flying Soviet MiGs coming over Germany, eastern Germany, down the Fulda Gap.

We went to White Sands Missile Range and spent 2 months training. It was all classified, couldn't get calls in or out. We were then quietly, all nine of us, ordered to go to Germany and be integrated into NATO units without any fanfare or anybody knowing about it.

I got my orders to go to Germany. I went to Fort Dix, NJ, in November 1967. My eight fellow soldiers and I were getting packed up to get the bus to go out to the airport to take a flight to Germany, and I just decided if I was going to be in the military it didn't make much sense to go to Germany. I'd never been to Germany. My great-grandparents were from Germany. Probably a pretty good place, I thought, but I had to go where there was a war.

So I took my orders down to the orderly, told him I was Private Hagel, I had orders to go to Germany, here are my orders, and I wanted to volunteer to go to Vietnam. The office was a bit quiet. They put me in a holding room. They brought priests, rabbis, ministers, psychiatrists. All came in to examine me, thinking that something was wrong, I was running away from something or I had killed somebody.

After 2 days of testing me to see if it was okay, they held me, which—I scrubbed barracks for 5 days before they could cut new orders. So they gave me new orders to go to Vietnam, sent me home for 5 days, and then on to Travis Air Force Base in San Francisco, and I got to Vietnam December 1967, got back to the United States December—

Senator MANCHIN. There is no reason any one of us should ever be concerned about your willing to do anything that you possibly can to defend this country and making sure that we defend against all foreign enemies, wherever they may be?

Senator HAGEL. I hope not, Senator. I mean, we can disagree on policies, but I think my life and my commitment to this country is pretty clear, and I'm proud of it.

Senator MANCHIN. On that, sir, I would say that Israel, the spokespeople for Israel, support you. They've come to me and they tell me they support you. Have you gotten that?

Senator HAGEL. There are a lot of pro-Israeli groups that have formally come out and endorsed me, support me, which I'm grateful for.

Senator MANCHIN. From what I've heard today, it sounds like Iran has wishful thinking.

Senator HAGEL. Evidently Iran supports me.

Senator MANCHIN. The President has asked you to serve at this level, so he has confidence in you.

Senator HAGEL. The President did ask me to serve. I said in my opening statement I am grateful and honored by that trust and confidence, and I will do everything in my power never to do anything that would disabuse that confidence and trust for this country.

Senator MANCHIN. One final question very quickly, if I may. As you see the role of Secretary of Defense—and I know we've talked about and you've been questioned on policy, and I know you're not going to be in a policy position. You're going to be basically following policy, not making policy. But if you could just wrap it up, what we should expect from your position as Secretary of Defense?

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Senator. If I am confirmed, as I noted in my opening comments, I would see this relationship, Senator, as a partnership. I'm going to need your help. I'm going to need your advice. I'm going to need your collaboration.

Many people on this authorization committee have a great deal of experience in this business, many far more than I do, as is the case in Congress, both the Senate and the House. I will need that. I will call upon that.

I won't be in a policymaking position, as you note. I also committed to all of you—and those of you who served with me know this—I'll always be honest with you. You'll never have to worry about that. I'll listen to you. I'm sure we won't always agree, but I'll say it straight, and I'll give you and the President my honest, most informed advice always.

Senator MANCHIN. Thank you. I'll say one more thing. Where I come from there's an old saying: If you can't change your mind, you can't change anything.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Manchin.

Senator SESSIONS.

Senator SESSIONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator Hagel. You're holding up well. But it's an important office and you're asked to lead our Defense Department. I know you know the seriousness of that and it's exceedingly important.

You have to know, and particularly in recent years, there has been tension in Congress between the executive branch and Congress over a number of issues. One of them is national missile defense, and that's a subcommittee I'm a member of and we've wrestled with that over the years, and had pretty consistently a bipartisan congressional vote on those issues. We voted again this year a unanimous Armed Services Defense Authorization Bill, unanimous out of committee, under Chairman Levin's leadership and Senator McCain.

But I'm looking today, I believe in the National Journal, the Obama administration is moving to begin new U.S.-Russian talks on further drawdowns of the Nation's nuclear arsenal. That's also

been an issue of concern, but I believe we've been staying fairly bipartisan and unified on that.

But your report is what causes a great deal of concern, this study of the Global Zero group. But I just note that Vice President Biden is set to meet with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov this weekend during the Munich security conference. National Security Advisor Tom Donilon will then head to Moscow in February. President Obama and then-President Medvedev signed the bilateral New START Treaty in 2010 calling for deployment of strategic nuclear arsenals involving 700 delivery systems.

Now, as I read the Global Zero report that you co-authored just last year, less than a year ago, you call for the elimination of all ICBMs, all tactical nuclear weapons, most of the bombers, I think 76 B-52s eliminated, leaving only 18 bombers and 10 submarines. So instead of 700 delivery systems that was part of the New START, it looks like you're down to about 28 delivery systems. So this introduced dramatic concern.

There are worries on Capitol Hill, the National Journal reports, that the administration could revise its missile shield strategy or go ahead with cutbacks to the U.S. stockpile as a means of drawing Russia into new negotiations. Foreign Policy Magazine reported ahead of your unannounced discussions with Lavrov, House committee chairman, subcommittee chairman, Mike Rogers asked that they have assurance as to what's going on there, essentially.

I would note that the last year's defense authorization bill calls for briefings on these discussions to Congress, to the Armed Services Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee. It says "Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this act and not less than twice each year thereafter, the President or the President's designee shall brief the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate on the dialogue between the United States and the Russian Federation on issues related to limits or controls on nuclear arms, missile defense systems, and long-range conventional strike systems." The deadline I believe for that briefing would be March 2 this year.

So a first question to you: If you're confirmed in this position, will you honor that request as part of the NDAA?

Senator HAGEL. The request for the briefing?

Senator SESSIONS. Briefings, yes, the requirements for the briefings. Will you keep Congress advised on any discussions dealing with national missile defense and dialogue with Russia on national missile defense and nuclear arms and long-range conventional strike systems?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, I commit to do that.

Senator SESSIONS. Also, there's a Sense of Congress on certain agreements: "It is the Sense of Congress that any agreement between the United States and the Russian Federation related to nuclear arms or missile defense systems or long-range conventional strike systems, obligating the United States to reduce or limit Armed Forces or armaments of the United States in any militarily significant manner may be made only pursuant to the treat-making power of the President as set forth in Article II, Section 2, Clause 2, of the Constitution of the United States."

That is a Sense of our Congress that any significant alteration of those deeply important relation between our two nations, the two most powerful nuclear nations in the world, would be done by treaty. Will you support that concept and before making significant changes present those changes to Congress pursuant to a treaty, and not as a either secret or open bilateral agreement?

Senator HAGEL. Your question is will I commit to a briefing on all this?

Senator SESSIONS. No. Whether or not that any significant changes that would occur in our relationship on those issues, significant—"in any militarily significant manner may be made only pursuant to the treaty-making power of the President". We would ask that that be presented to this Congress because we have treaties already that impact so much of this and Congress believes that any changes should also be made by treaty.

Senator HAGEL. Without getting into specifics of it, let me just commit to obviously consultation with Congress, with the authorizing committee, yes.

Senator SESSIONS. It seems like we've not been consulted on the Biden trip and the Donilon trip. We expect that to be done. What's been going on is disturbing to us. The President said to Mr. Medvedev that we'll have more flexibility after the election, and he was clearly responding to these issues, missile defense I think in particular and maybe nuclear issues also. He wasn't consulting with the American people, wasn't telling us or Congress what he planned to do, but he was apparently willing to discuss it with the Russian leaders.

I guess I'm asking you, will you comply with the treaty-making matters? If these agreements are significant militarily, I believe they should be done by treaty and not by personal agreements between our two leaders.

Senator HAGEL. I would commit to fulfilling any treaty obligations and any commitments to Congress and any consultations that Congress needs to be part of, absolutely.

Senator SESSIONS. I'm not sure that answered the question, because Congress is concerned about these kind of negotiations that are going on. We do not have—the President also has made it clear he believes in zero nuclear weapons. That is his policy for America. I think it's utterly unrealistic. It's just amazing to me, and that could lead us into unwise decisionmaking.

Congress has a responsibility to the American people to ensure the national defense. We need to know and have you share those negotiations with us, and changes that impact our security relationships between us and Russia should be done by treaty, as they've been done in the past.

Senator HAGEL. I've never discussed any of the specifics of this with the President. I know he knows and believes and is committed to treaties. That's the purview of the U.S. Senate, as the Senate passed the New START treaty. All that goes into that negotiation with, in this particular case, Russia certainly Congress has to be involved in that.

Senator SESSIONS. That's very important, Senator Hagel, I just have to tell you, because there's unease here that may not be in the works. There's been some discussion for some time about pri-

vate unilateral or bilateral negotiations in which Congress is not involved, that impacts the national security of our country. That's why this was passed, just passed. So we expect you to comply with that, and I take your testimony that you would comply with that.

Senator HAGEL. I will comply with all requirements and laws, absolutely.

Senator SESSIONS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Sessions.

Senator KING.

Senator KING. Senator Hagel, one of the first meetings I had after I began running for this office last summer was with a group of veterans, going all the way from World War II right up through Iraq and Afghanistan. I want to share with you one of the ideas that came out of that meeting because it's been touched upon today, and that is the issue of employability and employment of particularly recent veterans. The suggestion was made that the Army and the military has recruiters, people who help to bring people in, and perhaps it might make some sense for them to have the reciprocal of recruiters, outplacement people to deal with soldiers who are, men and women, who are about to leave, because there's an information gap, is what the veterans told me, between leaving the military Active Duty and then going into the Veterans Administration jurisdiction. There's a gap there.

You don't really need to respond, but that's a suggestion I might make, where it would be tremendously helpful to provide that kind of information—what the programs are, what's available, what the scholarships are, how the GI Bill works, all those things, to people. I'm sure it's done to some extent now, but to really regularize that and increase it, to be comparable to the effort that's put into recruiting.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Senator. I will think about that. I had not thought exactly about that potential, but I would say that as we think through how do we accommodate and fulfill commitments and assist our veterans, I think we have to open up all vistas of new thinking and that is one that would deserve some exploration and if I'm confirmed I look forward to pursuing the idea with you.

Senator KING. Thank you.

I'm also serving on the Intelligence Committee and one of the issues—and you talked about this in your statement and it's been touched upon some today—is the whole issue of counterterrorism. Counterterrorism involves the actions of a number of agencies and bodies of the U.S. Government. I would commend to you that I think it deserves some real thought as to where DOD ends, stops, and the CIA begins in terms of action and counterterrorism action.

I think it would be worthwhile for you, if you are confirmed, to meet with Mr. Brennan, if he's confirmed, to talk about the coordination between the two agencies, so we don't end up with similar, if not identical, functions in different regions of the world with whole different command structures, rules of engagement, and all of those kinds of things.

I think counterterrorism sort of spans, covers the gap or the relationship between traditional defense and the Intelligence Community.

Senator HAGEL. That is an area that is becoming more and more relevant, complicated, title 10 versus title 50 and all those dynamics. If confirmed, yes, if Mr. Brennan is confirmed, we'll be spending some time together.

Senator KING. A final thought, and I know you've touched upon this. I don't think we can adequately emphasize the importance of the cyber threat. That may well be the war of the future. My sense is that we're all talking about it, but I'm not sure we have the sense of urgency. I know Secretary Panetta has increased or proposed the increase of that capacity. But people can die and our society could be brought to a standstill without a rocket ever taking off or an airplane penetrating our air space, and I hope that will be a point of emphasis because, as I say, I think that may be the next war.

Senator HAGEL. I agree. I noted it in my opening statement. I agree with everything you've said. This is a huge issue that continues to loom large over our future and our security, and it will have, if confirmed, a lot of my attention.

Senator KING. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you.

Senator KING [presiding]. In the absence of the chairman, Senator Ayotte, I believe it's your opportunity.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator KING. Wow, that was fast.

Senator AYOTTE. You've been promoted very quickly.

Senator KING. Really, that's astounding. [Laughter.]

Senator AYOTTE. First of all, we've all expressed our deep respect for your service to our country, but also let me thank you for your endurance. We appreciate it.

I wanted to ask you about a speech that you made in 2007. It was at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and it was a speech titled "The United States and Iran at Dangerous Crossroads". In that speech you, in referring to Iran, you said that "the strategy of containment remains relevant today".

I wanted to ask you about that statement that you made in 2007 about "the strategy of containment remains relevant" with regard to Iran today. Now, that was in 2007, but why would you say that, first of all? Then, isn't that inconsistent with what you've been saying today with regard to containment?

Senator HAGEL. I don't have the speech in front of me and I think there was more to it than just that few words that you quoted. If I recall, the entire speech was about how do we deal with Iran. If I recall, what I was inventorying in specific reference to containment was within that inventory what are the options. I don't think that speech says that I support it.

Senator AYOTTE. No, but you said that it was relevant to the discussion with Iran, and I guess I would ask you to say why do you think that that was a strategy that we should have considered? It was obviously one of the things you mentioned.

Senator HAGEL. I didn't say it was a strategy, I don't think. As I said, in the context of how do we deal with—

Senator AYOTTE. I don't want to be unfair, but I think, just to be clear, the quote that you said was "The strategy of containment remains relevant." So why is it relevant with regard to Iran?

Senator HAGEL. The bigger point is what I was saying, I think—I haven't looked at that speech since I gave it, probably, but I do recall some of it. The point was, what is the range of options that we would have to look at, the world would look at. Again, I didn't advocate it, I didn't recommend it, I didn't support it.

Senator AYOTTE. Was it that containment was one of the options?

Senator HAGEL. Yes. I mean, of course. When you look at the whole range of what your options are, that certainly would be one of them.

Senator AYOTTE. Do you think containment's one of the options now?

Senator HAGEL. No, I don't know. But it doesn't make any difference what I think. It's when you look at range, it's like the Global Zero report. That was not a recommendation report. That was a range of goals, aspirations, possibilities. That report never said we recommend the following. If I recall that speech, I think that was the same kind of what's the range of options.

Senator AYOTTE. Senator, I want to be clear: It does matter what you think, and obviously your understanding and thought process on these issues is very important to us. So as a follow-up, I know that Senator Vitter had asked you about a portion of the book that you wrote, "America, Our Next Chapter," and it was in that book you had said that "The genie of nuclear armaments is already out of the bottle no matter what Iran does." Obviously, North Korea, other powers. "In this imperfect world, sovereign nation states possession nuclear weapons capability, as opposed to stateless terrorist groups, will often respond with some degree of responsible, or at least sane, behavior."

Do you believe that Iran responds or will respond with some degree of responsible or sane behavior?

Senator HAGEL. First of all, it's not what I suggested in that quote.

Senator AYOTTE. Well, it's in the context of Iran, but I'm asking you just straightforwardly: Do you think that the Iranian regime responds—you talked about the difference between nation states versus, for example, stateless terrorist organizations. Do you believe, in the context of Iran, do you believe that the Iranian regime responds with some degree of responsible, or at least sane, behavior, or will respond like that?

Senator HAGEL. So far they have not, and I have said and I've said in that same book that you're quoting from, that Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism. I've said that many times. So no is the answer to your question.

Senator AYOTTE. If they haven't been responding with a level of, with a degree of responsible or sane behavior and, as you say in your book, that it's a state sponsor of terrorism, I'm also struggling with the question of why you would have thought that it was appropriate for us to have direct, unconditional talks with Iran, because here we have a regime that doesn't respond in a responsible or sane behavior, is a state sponsor of terrorism, and what we



thought we could—why that would be an appropriate manner for us to address them?

Senator HAGEL. Well, first, I said “engagement”. I think we should talk. We actually are indirectly in the P5 Plus 1. We have been. I think that’s responsible. I think it’s always responsible to try to talk first.

North Korea, I don’t consider North Korea a responsible, sane administration, but we are talking to North Korea. We’ve been talking bilaterally to North Korea. We’re talking with the Party of 6 to North Korea. I think that’s wise. I think it’s always wise to try to talk to people before you get into war.

Senator AYOTTE. But I think that you were beyond the P5. You refer to direct discussions with our two countries, and also for establishing diplomatic ties with our country.

Senator HAGEL. Again, when I talked about the possibility of diplomatic ties or even I said, I think, in 2002 encouraging Iran to join the World Trade Organization, I’ve always thought that that’s smarter more wiser, if you can push, help push, institutions like China into world bodies, because when they go into world bodies they have to comply with some semblance of international behavior. It doesn’t mean they always will. They won’t. They cheat. But I think we’re smarter to do that.

Senator, I’ve never thought engagement is weakness. I never thought it was surrender. I never thought it was appeasement. I think it’s clearly in our interest. If that doesn’t work, then I think the President’s position and his strategy has been exactly right: Get the United Nations behind you, get the international sanctions behind you, keep military options on the table. If the military option is the only option, it’s the only option.

Senator AYOTTE. Just to be clear, I don’t think that all engagement is weakness, either. But I think there’s a huge distinction when we’re dealing with a regime that is the largest state sponsor of terrorism, and given the fact that they have a long history, including in Iraq, with assisting the militias to murder our troops, including what they’ve done with Hezbollah and Hamas, what they’re doing now in Syria. I think there’s always a distinction in how we deal with different players around the world, is my point.

I know that my time has expired and I will submit for the record questions that I think are very important about the *Virginia*-class submarine. I share the important work done at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard with my colleagues Senator Jeanne Shaheen and also I know Senator King is very focused on that, and maintaining our submarine fleet. I know that Senator Blumenthal asked you about that as well.

I do have concerns that part of the Global Zero report does recommend that the *Ohio*-class submarine would actually be diminished down to 10. I’ll follow up with those questions and the record. I have to go now. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. I’d be glad to respond. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN [presiding]. Thank you, Senator Ayotte.

Senator Donnelly?

Senator DONNELLY. No.

Chairman LEVIN. Okay. Senator Fischer.

Senator FISCHER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator Hagel. It's been a long day and I do appreciate your answers to these important questions.

When we spoke last week, we talked somewhat about the sequester, also budget concerns, the modernization of our nuclear forces. Especially being from Nebraska, you understand the importance of STRATCOM and its mission as it deals with deterrence that we use in this country and that we've used for many, many years and I believe has been very, very successful and it's a good point for us.

Today you also in your opening discussed the need to modernize our defensive forces. You spoke to Senator Blunt, also Senator Blumenthal, about the need to modernize our Navy.

I guess I would like to hear your thought process about how we're going to do this. Where's the money coming from? How are you going to advise the President in making these decisions? Because we're looking at sequester, we're looking at budget constraints. How is this all going to tie together, and what would be your advice to the President on how the Pentagon is going to address all of those budget constraints?

Senator HAGEL. Let's start with where we are. The Pentagon is adjusting, and I think responsibly, to our future based on the Budget Control Act of 2011. You know the details of that. The Chiefs have submitted plans. I think as we rebalance and refit and unwind the second war and all the other dynamics that are changing since the last decade, it gives us some new opportunities: audits, all the acquisition focus, accountability. We are being forced, DOD, to take a hard look at its priorities.

But as I've said before, it begins with mission and then the resources to fulfill that mission, and then what are the priorities within that mission.

To your specific question, how do you finance it all, well, if sequestration would take effect then all of this is going to be affected. That's exactly right. We've deferred some decisions. We've set back some of the schedules on some of our ships, planes, decisions on a number of things.

It isn't just the dollars that affect this, but it's the planning, it's the flexibility. It's the ability to bring all this together and then project and plan.

So in no way—I hope I did not give any indication that we were going to be able to continue to do everything for everybody everywhere. That's just not a reality.

Senator FISCHER. We can't.

Senator HAGEL. We can't.

Senator FISCHER. How do you decide, though? You've made commitments to members here today on philosophy, on working with this committee. Do we have a commitment to build up the Navy? Do we have a commitment to STRATCOM so that they can continue their mission of deterrence? Do we have those commitments?

How do you decide what's going to be the priority? What will your advice be? Is STRATCOM important? Should that be a priority? Would it be a priority in your advice to the President?

Senator HAGEL. The Pentagon is working off the Defense Authorization Act of 2013, which this committee passed. That is the directive that frames the budgetary restraints, except if sequestration takes effect. That prioritizes, to your point, being what's important,

what do you budget for, what do you finance. We have to manage that.

If I am confirmed, then I'll be working closely with our Chiefs and all of our managers and decisionmakers on how we do this. On STRATCOM, I think STRATCOM is vitally important to the future of this country. It's been my position when I was in the Senate. It was my position long before I was in the Senate. Of the nine combatant commands—STRATCOM is one of them—that's a key command.

We have to continue to fund our commands and find ways to do that. But that's going to require some tough choices and hard decisions.

Senator FISCHER. Right. Also, I believe we need to make sure we don't have hollow forces out there as well.

My time's up. Once again, I thank you. I thank you for your service. I thank you for being here today. I thank you for your willingness to continue to serve the people of this country.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, thank you.

Senator FISCHER. Thank you.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Fischer.

Senator Blunt.

Senator BLUNT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Again, I join everybody else, Senator Hagel, in thanking you for staying today and the answers you've given.

One of the things we were frustrated about was the difficulty of getting information on the groups you've spoken to in the last year, and of course the hundreds of groups you've spoken to in the course of your career would be too much to ask. I do have three comments from groups that I'm going to enter into the record, two comments you made before groups, one the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee conference in 2002; another Arab-American audience in 2007; and then in 2006, the one I'll put in the record right now and just enter the others, the Council on American-Islamic Relations Forum. "University of Chicago Professor John Mearsheimer praised Hagel for not being pro-Israel. He said 'Potential presidential candidates for 2008, like Hillary Clinton, John McCain, Joe Biden, and Newt Gingrich, were falling all over themselves to express their support for Israel. The only exception to that rule was Senator Chuck Hagel.'" Unfortunately, I don't have anything to go with that of what you might have said.

But some of the concerns of being—I used to say when I was the Whip in the House that you could count on the House and the Senate to be, among other things, always pro-Israel, and I think that's been the mainstream of our views. I've seen a number of times, in fairness to you, where you've said you're pro-Israel, but that doesn't mean you have to be reflexively for everything that Israel is for.

These statements are what they are. They're the things that were reported from comments you made that are out of the context of the other comments. But I'm going to put those all in the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, July 2007, pages 44-45

#### Arab-American Activism

#### AAI's Gibran Awards Gala an Event To Remember

HUNDREDS OF ARAB Americans, elected officials, community activists and leaders gathered to celebrate the humanitarian achievements of Global Impact, Search for Common Ground, and Cardinal Theodore McCarrick at the ninth annual Kahlil Gibran "Spirit of Humanity" Awards gala on April 25 at the J.W. Marriott Hotel in Washington, DC. Teresa Isaac received the fourth annual Najeab Halaby Award for Public Service in recognition of her dedicated service as a community leader and then as mayor of Lexington, KY at the Arab American Institute's annual dinner.

Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) received applause when she pledged to continue to push for a ban on cluster bombs, and when she called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq.

Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-NE), who is considering a run for the presidency, said he believes Israel and the United States have a "special relationship." He recounted a conversation with an activist who said the senator wasn't a friend of Israel because he couldn't be relied on as an "automatic vote."

Hagel resented being told that if he wants backing from the pro-Israel community, his support for Israel should be automatic. "First, I am an American senator," Hagel said to wild applause.

Hagel also said he would not sacrifice his friendships in the Arab and Muslim world to please pro-Israel groups. "No relationship should be founded on holding hostage other relationships," he insisted. "Why must it be a choice? It is not a choice."



Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-NE)  
(Photo D. Hanley).

Governor of New Mexico Bill Richardson, a Democrat, told Arab Americans that, as president, he would close the Guantanamo Bay prison. The prisons at Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, he said, had made Americans "very, very ashamed."

Richardson, who served as U.S. ambassador to the U.N. in 1997 and '98, promised that in his first week in the White House he would name a Middle East peace envoy to try to get the peace process between Israel and Palestine moving again. "You have to be pushing very strongly for a two-



Gov. Bill Richardson (D-NM)  
(Photo D. Hanley).

state solution," he maintained. "The cornerstone of American foreign policy is diplomacy and dialogue."

Richardson also said he would remove U.S. troops from Iraq and talk to Syria and Iran about Iraq's security.

Dr. James J. Zogby, founder and president of AAI, presented an award to Cardinal Theodore E. McCarrick, the recently retired Catholic archbishop of Washington, DC who has spent his life serving the powerless. McCarrick's support for interfaith understanding and human rights kept the issue of Mideast peace on the agenda of the U.S. Conference of Bishops.

Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs Dina Powell, the highest-ranking Arab American in the Bush administration, described emigrating from Egypt with her parents as a 5-year-old who

couldn't speak English. When she grew up her parents told her to do whatever she wanted—as long as she became an engineer, lawyer or doctor. She bewildered them but made them proud, she said, when she ended up serving the president of their adopted country. (Powell subsequently resigned to join the Goldman Sachs Group.) "In America everything is possible," she concluded.

Another beloved Arab American, Pulitzer Prize winner and *Washington Post* Middle East correspondent Anthony Shadid, gave a stirring speech about the need to build a bridge for peace between the U.S. and Arab world. Once an Arab-American gets that hyphen he or she can never go back, Shadid said, but "you can serve as a bridge. And in this age of walls and borders that divide, a few more bridges might actually help."

—Delinda C. Hanley



## Hagel: Support for Israel not 'automatic'

By · April 26, 2007

U.S. Sen. Chuck Hagel told an Arab-American audience that his support for Israel was not "automatic." Hagel (R-Neb.), who is considering a run for the presidency, told the Arab American Institute's annual dinner that he believes Israel and the United States have a "special relationship," but resented being told by a pro-Israel activist that if he wants backing from the pro-Israel community, his support for Israel should be "automatic." "First, I am an American senator," Hagel told the AAI audience in Washington on Wednesday, to applause. He also said he would not sacrifice his friendships in the Arab world to please pro-Israel groups. "No relationship should be founded on holding hostage other relationships," Hagel said. "Why can't I have that relationship" with Israel and its allies "not at the expense of my friends in the Arab world, in the Muslim world? Why must it be a choice? It is not a choice."

Senator BLUNT. Also, earlier today I asked you about the comment about the bloated Pentagon. I want to get this straight. You said that that, those comments, were before the sequestration bill passed, and they were after. Sequestration passed on August 2. The Financial Times interview was on August 29. What you said on August 29 in that Financial Times interview was you said "I think"—August 29, 2011. The quote out of the article was:

"The Defense Department I think"—this was your quote. "The Defense Department I think in many ways has been bloated. Let's look at the reality here. The Defense Department's gotten everything it wanted the last 10 years and more. We've taken priorities, we've taken dollars, we've taken programs, we've taken policies out of the State Department, out of a number of other Departments, and put them over in Defense."

So that "bloated" comment was after sequestration. Of course, this is the Department you now, 18 months later, if this nomination is approved, would be running. Again, where do we find that, those bloated things in the Defense Department, and what are you prioritizing? Another way to ask what Ms. Fischer was asking maybe is, are we going to let money drive strategy here or strategy drive the money? As Secretary of Defense, which of those positions are you going to take and how are you going to advocate, here's the money we need for the strategy we must have until we get to the reality of here's the money you have, now do the best you can with it? I hope you're an advocate for strategic-driven spending in the Pentagon, rather than just the caretaker of the money that winds up there.

Senator HAGEL. Senator, thank you. There are a lot of pieces and I know we have time issues, but let me start this way. First, on the comments I made in the Financial Times interview, again as I addressed that today, that was an extensive interview about a lot of things. So I was 3 weeks off.

Senator BLUNT. Well, you were after the sequestration bill had passed, though. So you were talking—

Senator HAGEL. Not sequestration; the Budget Control Act.

Senator BLUNT. But that's what included—they were talking here about what would happen if you took these cuts.

Senator HAGEL. That's what I was talking about. But the Budget Control Act that was passed was implemented a few months later, which I agreed with, and obviously the majority of Congress did as well, to try to find \$1 trillion overall in our Government in savings and \$490 billion is coming out of DOD for the next 10 years.

But to your bigger point, you start there with the reality of what Congress has passed, what Congress has decided to appropriate for each Federal agency. In this current fiscal year that we're living in, it's a \$525 billion operating budget and \$88 billion for overseas contingencies. DOD works within the framework of those numbers.

I've said a number of times here that I agree with you that budget alone should not drive our national security, of course not. What is the mission, as I've said? What are the priorities, which you just brought up about different projects that Senator Fischer and others have asked me about? How are going to fund everything? Should you fund everything?

Do times change? Are there different threats? Ten years ago, we put a lot of money in the Defense Department budget; there was no such thing as a cyber warfare threat. Do we need to do more there?

Do we need to change our force presence in Asia? We've decided we're going to do that. That changes things. We're moving marines around in the Pacific. That wasn't the case 10 years ago.

So things change. You manage and you direct your efforts and you lead based on the security interests of your country first. If I am confirmed, Senator, I will be a strong, have to be a strong advocate for the Defense Department. That will be part of my job. But that doesn't mean that I don't have some responsibilities for efficient use of the taxpayers' dollars and effective use of the taxpayers' dollars.

Senator BLUNT. Just the opposite, you do have that responsibility.

Senator HAGEL. I do, that's right.

Senator BLUNT. But I think the point is we want to be sure that you're advocating for the money you think you need to strategically accomplish what we can. Then obviously at the end of the day you have to deal with the will of the process to provide the money you have. But we ought to let the money as much as possible be defined by the strategy rather than the other way around, Senator.

Senator HAGEL. I agree with that.

Senator BLUNT. I'm once again out of time.

Senator HAGEL. I agree with that, Senator. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Blunt.

Senator Reed.

Senator REED. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, we have listened all afternoon to a series of questions about what you said in 2002, in 2006, in 2007. I expect, though, if you're confirmed as the Secretary of Defense the President of the United States will not turn to you and ask you about your floor speeches, as elegant as they were. He will ask you if you're prepared to advise him on matters of literally life and death, that you have prepared DOD to address every contingency in a thoughtful way, knowing the costs and the benefits; that he assumes, as I do and as you've stated repeatedly, your staunch commitment to our allies, in particular in the context today of the State of Israel; and that you are fundamentally committed to the welfare of our troops and families because you have seen as a soldier that ultimately they are the difference in our military.

Looking not backwards to a series of individual quotes and footnotes, but looking ahead, if you are there and the President turns to you, can you give us—and I think you can; I'm convinced of that—the confidence that you will be prepared to give him the advice he needs to make life and death decisions which he as Commander in Chief must make?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, when the President asked me to consider this job I didn't want another job. I was not looking for another job. Lilibet and I had a pretty good life since I left the Senate, nothing personal. But the friendships that we've maintained here and valued here and the experiences we had here we will treasure for always. Highest privilege of my life, serving in this body.

I say that because I wasn't looking for another job. The President asked me to come see him and we had a long conversation one night, just the two of us, over an hour. We talked about the job, the world, security, the future. Within the context of that conversation, we got down into what about this job.

I didn't try to sell him on the job, that I could do it. In fact, when he asked me about why am I qualified or why would I be uniquely qualified, I said I'm not. There are a lot of very qualified Americans who could do this job. I don't think a lot of them in the sense that they're out there everywhere. I think there are some qualifications for this job. But I'm not the only one.

I said: "Mr. President, I'm not going to sit here and try to convince you that I'm the right person. You know me, you know my record, you know what I believe." I've had the opportunity to work with him pretty closely over the last 4 years as I served as co-chairman with you and Senator Levin's former colleague, Senator Dave Boren from Oklahoma, on the President's Intelligence Advisory Board. That's allowed me to stay pretty current with intelligence and make a contribution maybe a little bit there. In the last 4 years I've served on Secretary Gates', Secretary Panetta's Policy Advisory Boards.

I do have some understanding, as I told him, of this. But why I think when Lilibet and I talked about it I agreed to go forward with this is because of the tremendous opportunities and the important time that we are living in and the opportunities we now have to help make a better world. I think the next few years are going to be as defining and as important in this country truly as any few years post-World War II.

I told the President he was here at a very defining time, and if I can help him do that, if I can help this country, I want to do it. The experiences I'll bring to the job, Senator, I think I have a pretty varied background on a lot of things. I think always in the end, like any job, judgment is the ultimate determinant of everything. I think experience is a factor, varied experience, responsible experience. But that all adds up to judgment. I hope, if I'm confirmed, I can do those things to give the President and this country wise, informed, honest advice, and I will do everything within my power to do that.

Senator REED. Thank you very much.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Reed.

Senator CRUZ.

Senator CRUZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Hagel, thank you for remaining through what has been a very long hearing.

I'd like to ask some additional questions to further explore your positions and your record, and begin with asking: Are you familiar with an individual named Chas Freeman?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, yes.

Senator CRUZ. He was, if I understand correctly, a vice chairman at the Atlantic Council; is that correct?

Senator HAGEL. When I became Chairman of the Atlantic Council after I left the Senate to replace General Jim Jones, he was one of many board members and I think was a vice chairman. But I never really worked with him in the Atlantic Council, but I know him, yes.

Senator CRUZ. You and he were part of a group that traveled last year to China together; is that correct as well?

Senator HAGEL. No, that's not correct.



Senator CRUZ. Okay. There have been press reports to that effect.

Senator HAGEL. Those press reports are incorrect. I have never been on any trip with Chas Freeman.

Senator CRUZ. There have also been press reports that has described Mr. Freeman as helping coordinate efforts to defend your nomination. Is that an accurate characterization?

Senator HAGEL. I haven't spoken with Chas Freeman in years. I don't know of any activity that he's involved in to endorse me. There are a lot of people I appreciate are endorsing me and supporting me, but I haven't talked to Chas Freeman in years.

Senator CRUZ. Is he someone whose judgment you respect?

Senator HAGEL. I think Chas Freeman has been an important public servant for this country. There are a lot of different opinions that people have on different issues. I don't agree with everybody and it's pretty clear everybody doesn't agree with me. So that's okay.

Senator CRUZ. Do you consider his views well within the mainstream?

Senator HAGEL. What views are you speaking about, Senator?

Senator CRUZ. His views on the Middle East and on the Nation of Israel?

Senator HAGEL. I'm not actually that familiar with all of his views. I can't speak for Chas Freeman.

Senator CRUZ. All right. Let's move on to your record then. You stated in your prepared remarks: "My overall world view has never changed." I have to admit I find that difficult to reconcile with statements and positions you've taken for over a decade and what seems to me a fairly significant shift since you've been nominated for Secretary of Defense.

What I'd like to do is go through some past statements, past positions of yours and just clarify if you agree with them or not, beginning with number one. In 2001, you voted against legislation sanctioning Iran. Now, am I correct you no longer agree with that position; you think sanctions against Iran are a good policy today?

[The information referred to follows:]

In 2001, Senator Hagel voted against legislation sanctioning Iran for its pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and support for international terrorism.

Senator HAGEL. I have said on the record multilateral international sanctions—

Senator CRUZ. Do you agree with sanctions against Iran?

Senator HAGEL. I'm sorry?

Senator CRUZ. Do you think sanctions against Iran are a good idea today?

Senator HAGEL. Yes, yes. Yes, I always have.

Senator CRUZ. So it's fair—I'm trying to characterize your—I'm trying to understand your views and characterize them fairly. It's fair to say you no longer agree with the position in 2001 that we should not be sanctioning Iran?

Senator HAGEL. That was a unilateral sanction and the Bush administration—

Senator CRUZ. Today do you think unilateral sanctions are a bad idea?

Senator HAGEL. It's a different time now because we now have international sanctions on. I've supported the President's position——

Senator CRUZ. Senator Hagel, please answer the question I asked. Today do you think unilateral sanctions would be a bad idea?

Senator HAGEL. Not today, 12 years later.

Senator CRUZ. So that is not a view you'd agree with today?

Senator HAGEL. Because times have changed. We now have international sanctions on them.

Senator CRUZ. The second slide: In 2007, you voted against legislation designating the Iranian Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist group.

Senator HAGEL. That's correct.

[The information referred to follows:]

In 2007, Senator Hagel voted against legislation designating the Iranian Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist group.

Senator CRUZ. You no longer agree with that policy. Today your position is the Iranian Revolutionary Guard is a terrorist group; is that correct?

Senator HAGEL. The Revolutionary Guard is part of the Iranian Government. The reason I voted against——

Senator CRUZ. Sir, I'm not asking the reason. I'm asking for your views today. Do you believe the Iranian Revolutionary Guard is a terrorist group, yes or no?

Senator HAGEL. It is part of a state sponsor of terrorism, so it's part of Iran, which I've said is a sponsor of state terrorism.

Senator CRUZ. Is that a yes?

Senator HAGEL. That vote wasn't that question. That vote gave——

Senator CRUZ. I'm asking your views today. Do you believe the Iranian Revolutionary National Guard is a terrorist group?

Senator HAGEL. It is part of a terrorist—it is part of a government that supports terrorism.

Senator CRUZ. Is that a yes or a no?

Senator HAGEL. It's the answer I just gave you.

Senator CRUZ. All right, we'll move on to the next one. In 2008, you also voted against comprehensive Iran sanctions. We've already discussed that today you agree with sanctions, so that is another position——

[The information referred to follows:]

In 2008, Senator Hagel voted against the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability and Divestment Act in the Senate Banking Committee.

Senator HAGEL. That again was a unilateral sanction that the Bush administration was opposed to, and the Secretary of State of this country, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, wrote that.

Senator CRUZ. Sir, my time is limited. I understand that you want to give reasons for the past positions. We've discussed the reasons. I'm simply trying to clarify your positions today.

If you look at number four, in 2010 you stated you're not sure it's necessary to keep all options on the table with regard to Iran's nuclear program. Do you agree with that position today or is that no longer your position?

[The information referred to follows:]

In 2010, Senator Hagel told the Atlantic Council he was “not so sure it is necessary to continue to say all options are on the table” regarding Iran’s nuclear program.

Senator HAGEL. I don’t recall that. I have always said that all options remain on the table. I don’t recall that speech.

Senator CRUZ. So this is not your position today? I’m just trying to understand.

Senator HAGEL. No, it’s not. I have said that all options must remain on the table, including—in fact, in an op-ed I wrote with two former CENTCOM commanders last year—

Senator CRUZ. The final one I’m going to ask you: In a 1998 Senate hearing, you stated that the United States has “tilted too far towards Israel in the Middle East peace process”. Do you continue to agree with this position or is that no longer your position today?

[The information referred to follows:]

In a 1998 Senate hearing, Senator Hagel said that the United States has “tilted too far toward Israel in the Middle East peace process.”

Senator HAGEL. I don’t remember that, the context of the hearing or the speech or all the things I said in it. No, I don’t think the United States has tilted too far to Israel. I support the President’s position on Israel. I’ve said in my book and other speeches that I strongly support Israel.

Senator CRUZ. So you do not agree with this policy? I will point out that I have a list of 10 other statements in the past which I’m pretty confident if I asked you you would say you do not agree with, and they’re all statements and quotes from you.

In my judgment, your record as a U.S. Senator—and you and I don’t know each other. We do not have a personal relationship. But I think your record and your past statements as a U.S. Senator demonstrate greater antagonism for the Nation of Israel than any member of this body, and also demonstrate a greater willingness to stand against sanctions, stand against military action, stand against any strong position against Iran, Hamas, Hezbollah, terrorists.

That ultimately is why the Washington Post described your foreign policy views as “near the fringe of the Senate”. That raises, I think, very serious questions about your suitability to serve as the Secretary of Defense. In my view, having a Secretary of Defense who is not viewed as supporting credible, strong military action makes it more likely the United States will be drawn into military conflict, and I think that would be a very unfortunate outcome.

Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Cruz.

That ends the second round. If you want an opportunity to comment on that. If not, I will ask you some other questions.

By the way, Senator Ayotte, in reaction to one of the things you said about it doesn’t matter what I believe, I think what you were—first of all, I think it does matter. We all would agree it very much matters what you believe. But I think what you were pointing out is that ultimately what matters is what the President believes. I think that’s what you were aiming at.

Senator HAGEL. That's exactly what I was aiming at, and that's what I meant to say, that's right. Thank you.

Chairman LEVIN. I'm now going to ask you the standard questions that I've delayed, and these are just the questions we ask of every nominee.

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

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

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

Senator HAGEL. I'm sorry? I didn't hear.

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

Senator HAGEL. No.

Chairman LEVIN. Will you ensure that your staff complies with deadlines established for requested communications, including questions for the record in hearings?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Chairman LEVIN. If you are confirmed, will you cooperate in providing witnesses and briefers in response to congressional requests?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

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

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Chairman LEVIN. Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear and testify upon request before this committee?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Chairman LEVIN. Do you agree that you will 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?

Senator HAGEL. Yes.

Chairman LEVIN. Now, we've completed our second round and that means that if there's other questions remaining, we can take a few minutes for them. Is there anybody that wants to? Yes, Senator King.

Senator KING. One very brief question. In watching television over the last week or so, I've seen an ad questioning your nomination, a television ad. I just wondered if you or any of the people that have worked on preparing you for this has any idea who's sponsoring that ad, because it's not apparent from the ad itself? Have you gotten to the bottom of that?

Senator HAGEL. Senator, first, I have not seen any of those ads. I know they're there. I long ago figured out the better way to live life is not get drug down in the underbrush of these kinds of things. So I don't pay attention to it. My focus is on what's important about this assignment, this job, if I am confirmed, and in particular this committee and this body, and preparing myself hopefully for what matters with the possibility that the U.S. Senate confirms me for this job.

I have not asked anybody that question. I don't know, have never seen the ads.

Senator KING. Thank you very much, and thank you for your testimony today. You've been forthright and strong, and again I appreciate your commitment to this country.

Senator HAGEL. Thank you, Senator.

Chairman LEVIN. Another question?

Senator CRUZ. Very briefly, I wanted to thank you for your commitment to this committee, number one, to provide a complete accounting and copies of the speeches you've given; and number two, to respond to the letter that you received 2 days ago requesting specific financial information. I appreciate your commitment to do that.

I also would ask you—in our discussion about Chas Freeman you said you were not particularly close with him, but that your understanding was his views were within the mainstream, if that's a fair characterization.

Senator HAGEL. No, I didn't say in the mainstream. I said I don't know.

Senator CRUZ. Okay. What I would ask you to do also as a follow-up is to review in particular a speech that Mr. Freeman gave on March 4, 2011, at the Palestine Center in Washington, DC, and give me your judgment in terms of whether you agree with the views on the Middle East and the views of the Nation of Israel that are expressed in that speech. In particular, I would be interested in your views on the fifth paragraph of that speech.

In my view, the views expressed in that speech are not accurate and not within the mainstream, and I would be interested if you concur in that assessment or if you have a different assessment.

Chairman LEVIN. That's a question you're asking for the record?

Senator CRUZ. For the record, yes.

[The information referred to follows:]

(From transcript - Cruz) Israel

p. 270 line 23

**Question:** What I would ask you to do also as a follow up is to review in particular a speech that Mr. Freeman gave on March 4, 2011 at the Palestine Center in Washington, D.C. and give me your judgment in terms of whether you agree with the views on the Middle East and the views on the nation of Israel that are expressed in that speech, and in particular, I would be interested in your views on the fifth paragraph of that speech. In my view, the views expressed in that speech are not accurate and not within the mainstream. And I would be interested if you concur in the assessment or have a different assessment?

**Chas Freeman, May 4, 2011 – Speech at the Palestine Center in Washington, DC.**

**Paragraph 5:** “Similarly, the cruelties of Israelis to their Arab captives and neighbors, especially in the ongoing siege of Gaza and repeated attacks on the people of Lebanon, have cost the Jewish state much of the global sympathy that the Holocaust previously conferred on it. The racist tyranny of Jewish settlers over West Bank Arabs and the progressive emergence of a version of apartheid in Israel itself are deeply troubling to a growing number of people abroad who have traditionally identified with Israel. Many – perhaps most of the most disaffected – are Jews. They are in the process of dissociating themselves from Israel. They know that, to the extent that Judaism comes to be conflated with racist arrogance (as terrorism is now conflated with Islam), Israeli behavior threatens a rebirth of anti-Semitism in the West. Ironically, Israel – conceived as a refuge and guarantee against European anti-Semitism – has become the sole conceivable stimulus to its revival and globalization. Demonstrably, Israel has been bad for the Palestinians. It is turning out also to be bad for the Jews.”

**Answer:** As I told you at the hearing, I have not even spoken with Chas Freeman in several years and do not support his comments. The views expressed in the speech by Mr. Freeman that you reference are his own, and, in my opinion, wrong. As a supporter of Israel, I do not agree with these views and I find them to be both inaccurate and deeply concerning. As I have said consistently throughout my career, Israel has a right to defend itself. Israeli efforts to protect its citizens against the actions of terrorist organizations, including Hamas and Hezbollah, are part of Israel’s right to self-defense. Palestinians will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection, and Palestinians will never realize their independence through unilateral actions. I continue to believe, as I did when I cosponsored and voted for the

Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006, that any partner for peace must renounce violence, abide by previous agreements, and recognize Israel’s right to exist. Negotiations between the parties are the only viable path to peace and the two-state solution, with two states living side by side in peace and security: the Jewish State of Israel and an independent Palestinian State.

I am pleased that Israeli and U.S. leaders agree that the U.S.-Israel Defense relationship is stronger than ever. I intend to work to continue to strengthen the relationship and I am looking forward, if confirmed, to working closely with my Israeli counterparts.



The Jerusalem Fund  
2425 Virginia Ave, NW  
Washington, DC 20037

202.338.1958 (main)  
202.333.7742 (fax)

info@theterusalemfund.org  
Google Map

## Hisham B. Sharabi Memorial Lecture

Wednesday, May 4, 2011

7

148

Tweet

Share

**Video and Edited Transcript**  
**Amb. Chas Freeman**  
**Transcript No. 352 (4 May 2011)**

**4 May 2011**  
**The Palestine Center**  
**Washington, DC**

**Amb Chas Freeman:**

I am honored to have been asked to give the annual [Hisham B.] Sharabi [Memorial] Lecture here at the Palestine Center. As all of you know, Dr. Hisham Sharabi helped found this Center, as well as the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University. He was a great figure in the study of Arab politics and society. He was also an indefatigable advocate of Palestinian rights. I never met him, but I feel privileged to speak to you today in his memory. My topic is the tragic consequences of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians for them, for their region, for their backers and for the world as a whole.

The saga of the Holy Land, ancient and modern, reminds someone with no personal connection to it of nothing so much as the Book of Job in the Hebrew Bible. There seems to be something about Palestine that afflicts the innocent, tests the righteous and causes incomprehensible suffering to past and present inhabitants. Israeli Jews and Palestinians both claim descent from the ancient peoples of the lands they now contest. Their competing narratives are at the heart of the perverse drama there. In this drama, the spiritual descendants of Jews who left Palestine assert a religious duty to dispossess the biological descendants of those who chose to remain.

Over the course of centuries, the Jews of the diaspora were grievously persecuted by Christians. This experience helped to inspire Zionism. It culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. Meanwhile, under Byzantium and the Caliphate, all but a few of the Jews of Palestine sought refuge in conversion to Judaism's successor faiths: Christianity and Islam. As an ironic result, the homegrown descendants of Palestine's original Jewish population – the Palestinians – now suffer because newcomers proclaim them to be interlopers in lands they have inhabited from time immemorial. And yet another Jewish-descended diaspora – this time, Christian and Muslim – has been ejected from Palestine to suffer in exile. Not even the most imaginative writer of fiction could have composed an account of traumatic suffering and human tragedy comparable to that which Zionists and Palestinians have undergone and continue to inflict on each other.

The moral harm that these distant cousins continue to do to each other is huge. So is the damage they are doing to their sympathizers and supporters abroad. The resort to terrorist acts by Palestinians, especially suicide bombings in crowded public places, has caused them to forfeit much of the international sympathy their cause would otherwise enjoy. The massacre of civilians in the West by Arabs enraged by western support for Israeli mistreatment of the Palestinians and other affronts has generated intense European and American suspicion of all Arabs. The diffusion of Arab rage to

MAY 2013

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31





**Tweets** **Follow**



Palestine Center  
@PalestineCenter

25m

WATCH LIVE: In one hour, Juan Cole delivers the Sharabi Memorial Lecture on Palestinians and Statelessness bit.ly/bJRvFL



Palestine Center  
@PalestineCenter

2h

TODAY: Juan Cole delivers the Sharabi Memorial lecture on the problem of Statelessness for Palestinians bit.ly/Y7m3H6 @jrcole Expand



Palestine Center  
@PalestineCenter

1 May

TOMORROW: Prof. @jrcole delivers the Sharabi Memorial lecture bit.ly/Y7m3H6



Palestine Center  
@PalestineCenter

30 Apr

RT @RobertMackey Critics of Israel Occupation Say Calm Before New Violence Was Illusion nyl.ms/12QjdN @MairavZ @YoussefMunawer

**Tweet to @PalestineCenter**

non-Arab regions of the realm of Islam has aroused global antipathy to Islam even as it has inspired acts of terrorism among Muslims.

Similarly, the cruelties of Israelis to their Arab captives and neighbors, especially in the ongoing siege of Gaza and repeated attacks on the people of Lebanon, have cost the Jewish state much of the global sympathy that the Holocaust previously conferred on it. The racist tyranny of Jewish settlers over West Bank Arabs and the progressive emergence of a version of apartheid in Israel itself are deeply troubling to a growing number of people abroad who have traditionally identified with Israel. Many – perhaps most of the most disaffected – are Jews. They are in the process of dissociating themselves from Israel. They know that, to the extent that Judaism comes to be conflated with racist arrogance (as terrorism is now conflated with Islam), Israeli behavior threatens a rebirth of anti-Semitism in the West. Ironically, Israel – conceived as a refuge and guarantee against European anti-Semitism – has become the sole conceivable stimulus to its revival and globalization. Demonstrably, Israel has been bad for the Palestinians. It is turning out also to be bad for the Jews.

The early Zionists were mostly secular in orientation. So was the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But, as the struggle between Jewish settlers and Palestinians proceeded, it became increasingly infused with religious fervor. On both sides, parties espousing sectarian extremism displaced secular nationalist movements. Religious dogmatism transformed what was at first a secular struggle between competing local nationalisms into a Jewish and Muslim holy war for land in Palestine. In holy wars, compromise is equated with heresy. This tragic mutation of the conflict is now reflected in increasing global animosity between Muslims, Jews and their Christian Zionist supporters. (Christian Zionists perversely support the Jewish state in order to hasten the arrival of Judgment Day, when they expect Israel to be devastated and the world to be purged of its Jews. Such people, however Rube Goldberg-like the theology by which they propose to annihilate the Jews, are strange allies for Zionists to embrace!)

The ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians has killed and wounded many people. It has done even graver damage to the humane principles at the heart of both Judaism and Islam. Among Jews and Muslims in Israel and Palestine the golden rule has been largely forgotten. The principle that one should not do to others what one would not wish done to oneself had been integral to both faiths. In the Holy Land, God's love has been replaced with murderous indifference to the rights of others in a sickeningly bloody bilateral contest to terrorize civilian populations. Ethical voices on both sides exist but they are less and less audible. Amoral and unscrupulous zealots have the podium. Their right to speak in their religious community is seldom challenged. Their utterances blacken the reputations of both religions.

Obfuscatory euphemisms are, unfortunately, the norm in the Holy Land. But rhetorical tricks can no longer conceal the protracted moral zero-sum game that is in progress there. A people without rights confronts a settler movement without scruples. A predatory state with cutting-edge military technology battles kids with stones and resistance fighters with belts of nails and explosives. Israel's Cabinet openly directs the murder of Palestinian political leaders. There have been about 850 such extrajudicial executions over the past decade. Israel is vigorously engaged in the collective punishment and systematic ethnic cleansing of its captive Arab populations. It rails against terrorism while carrying out policies explicitly described as intended to terrorize the peoples of the territories it is attacking or into which it is illegally expanding. Meanwhile, the elected authorities in Palestine – indeed, most Palestinians – associate themselves with suicide bombers and unguided missiles that indiscriminately murder Israeli civilians. Each side has suspended moral constraints in order to cause the other to suffer in the hope that it will capitulate to such coercion. To a distressing extent, moreover, each side has also been able to enlist unreasoning support for its cause and the indiscriminate condemnation of the other by powerful supporters abroad.

As always in such mayhem, truth and the law have been the first to go missing. Israel regularly attributes to others the very things it itself is doing. It has become notorious for its refusal to accept objective scrutiny or criticism. It routinely rebuffs international investigators' examination of allegations against it, even when mandated by the U.N. [United Nations] Security Council. Instead, it stages self-indulgent acts of self-investigation calculated to produce exculpatory propaganda. As a result, Israeli government spokesmen – who once were presumed to represent the intellectual integrity for which Jewish scholars have always been renowned – now have no credibility at all except among those committed to the Zionist cause. Meanwhile, regional and international respect for the rule of law, especially humanitarian law, has been greatly degraded. This is a special irony.

Humanitarian law and the law of war are arguably the supreme moral artifacts of Atlantic civilization. Jewish lawyers made a disproportionate contribution to the crafting of both. The resulting legal principles were intended to deter the kinds of injuries and injustices that European Jews and other minorities had long suffered and to protect occupied populations from persecution by their occupiers. Both objectives are very relevant to contemporary Palestine. It is, however, hard to find any principle of due process, the several Geneva Conventions, or the Nuremberg trials that has not been systematically violated in the Holy Land. Examples of criminal conduct include mass murder, extra-judicial killing, torture, detention without charge, the denial of medical care, the annexation and colonization of occupied territory, the illegal expropriation of land, ethnic cleansing and the collective punishment of civilians,



including the demolition of their homes, the systematic reduction of their infrastructure and the de-development and impoverishment of entire regions. These crimes have been linked to a concerted effort to rewrite international law to permit actions that it traditionally prohibited, in effect enshrining the principle that might makes right.

As the former head of the Israeli Defense Forces' (IDF) Legal Department has argued:

"If you do something for long enough the world will accept it. The whole of international law is now based on the notion that an act that is forbidden today becomes permissible if executed by enough countries . . . . International law progresses through violations."

A colleague of his has extended this notion by pointing out that:

"The more often Western states apply principles that originated in Israel to their own non-traditional conflicts in places like Afghanistan and Iraq, then the greater the chance these principles have of becoming a valuable part of international law."

These references to Iraq and Afghanistan underscore the extent to which the United States, once the principal champion of a rule-bound international order, has followed Israel in replacing legal principles with expediency as the central regulator of its interaction with foreign peoples. The expediently amoral doctrine of preemptive war is such an Israeli transplant in the American neo-conservative psyche. Neither it nor other deliberate assaults on the rule of law have been met with concerted resistance from Palestinians, Arabs, or anyone else, including the American Bar Association. The steady displacement of traditional American values – indeed, the core doctrines of western civilization – with ideas designed to free the state of inconvenient moral constraints has debased the honor and prestige of our country as well as Israel.

American determination to protect Israel from the political and legal consequences of any and all of its actions has also taken its toll, not just on the willingness of others to credit and follow the United States, but also on the authority of international organizations and the integrity of international law. The United Nations Security Council was conceived as the ultimate arbiter and enforcer of an international order in which law could protect the weak and vulnerable from the depredations of the strong. The world has occasionally allowed its sympathy for Palestinians, as underdogs, to override its legal judgment, but the U.S. has routinely exercised its veto to prevent the application of well-established principles of international law to Israel. The Security Council has been transformed from the champion of the global rule of law into the enemy of legality as the standard of global governance. Repeated American vetoes on behalf of Israel have reduced the United Nations and other international fora to impotence on fundamental questions of justice and human dignity. Confidence in these institutions has largely disappeared. Thus, the Israel-Palestine dispute has shaped a world in which both the rule of law and the means by which it might be realized have been deliberately degraded. We are all the worse off for this.

Israel's strength and prosperity depend on American government and private subsidies as well as Washington's political and legal protection. For Israelis, the moral hazard created by such irresponsible indulgence and unsparing American support has been a tragedy. It has enabled Israel to follow its most self-destructive inclinations by relieving it from the requirement to weigh their consequences. It has bred hubris that encourages the Jewish state to pursue short-term advantage without consideration of the resulting risks to its long-term viability. For the Palestinians, America's slavish support of Israel has meant an unending nightmare, trapping them in a limbo in which the protections of both law and human decency are at best capriciously applied. For the United States, deference to Israel's counterproductive policies and actions has become a debilitating drain on American power to shape events by measures short of war. The United States is now so closely identified with the Jewish state that Americans cannot escape perceived complicity with any and all of its actions, whether we agree or disagree with them. In the eyes of the world, Israel's behavior is a reproach to the American reputation as well as its own.

Perceived American double standards and hypocrisy on matters related to the Israel-Palestine conflict account for much of the recent decline in international admiration and deference to U.S. leadership in the Middle East and elsewhere. In 2006, when free and fair elections in Palestine produced a government that Israel detested and feared, the United States joined Israel in seeking to isolate and overthrow that government, thus setting aside and discrediting America's long-professed dedication to the spread of democracy in the Middle East and elsewhere. In 2006 and 2008, the United States encouraged Israeli military actions against Lebanese and Palestinian civilians that were both more brutal and sustained than those that Col. [Muammar] Gaddafi has recently carried out against his fellow Libyans. Far from calling for no-fly zones over Lebanon and Gaza, however, the U.S. government continued to supply Israel with gifts of ammunition, including cluster bombs and white phosphorus, as the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] expended its stocks of them on Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population centers, facilities and infrastructure.

U.S. sponsorship of the late, lamented "peace process" began as a demonstration of American diplomatic power, the indispensable role of the United States in Middle Eastern affairs, and the necessity of all interested in peace to defer to America. The "peace process" has ended by discrediting American power and diplomacy. It has failed to deliver either the self-determination for Palestinians or the acceptance of

Israel by its neighbors envisaged in the Camp David Accords. Instead, Israel's deepening commitment to "settler Zionism" has uprooted ever greater numbers of Palestinians while alarming and affronting other Arabs and Muslims. Four decades of American diplomacy is now seen in the region as having been an elaborate diplomatic deception, yielding nothing but the continual enlargement of the Jewish state at Palestinian expense.

This failure of the American-led "peace process" is all the more telling because it occurred despite the existence of a compelling, existential interest in the achievement of a formula for cohabitation on the part of both Israelis and Palestinians. This interest is clearly reflected in the eagerness of Palestinian officials to negotiate a basis for peaceful coexistence with Israel that is revealed in the official record of the Israel-Palestine negotiations recently leaked to and by Al-Jazeera. The abject pleading of Palestine's negotiators for peace, to which these documents attest, contrasts with the callous determination of their Israeli counterparts not to take yes for an answer. Yet the security and prosperity of Israelis and Palestinians alike is dependent on each accepting the other. Without Palestinian agreement, Israel cannot define its borders or enjoy acceptance by any of its neighbors. Without Israel's agreement, Palestinians cannot achieve self-determination within a defined territory. Without mutual respect and tolerance, neither Israel nor Palestine can hope to live in peace for long. Animosity breeds threats, and no military hegemony is forever.

The inability of the United States to build on the obvious shared interests of Palestinians and Israelis is, at best, damning testimony to the incompetence of those Americans who have made a career of processing peace without ever delivering it. At worst, it is compelling evidence of the extent to which they have functioned as "Israel's lawyers," rather than as mediators sincerely attempting to produce a mutually respectful and therefore durable *modus vivendi* between Israelis, Palestinians and other Arabs. As such, it is a reflection of the inordinate influence of right-wing Israelis on American policies and the people chosen to implement them. I have had personal experience of this on more than one occasion.

In late November 1988, shortly after the election of George H. W. Bush as [United States] president, I was invited to lunch by a senior Israeli official with whom, in pursuance of U.S. policy, I had worked closely to expand Israel's diplomatic and military presence in Africa. I had come to like and respect this official. He wished to thank me, he said, for what I had done for his country. I was pleased. Over lunch, however, he asked me what I planned to do in the new administration, adding, "Tell me what job you want. We can get it for you." The casual arrogance with which this representative of a foreign power claimed to be able to manipulate the staffing of national security positions in the U.S. government was a stunning belittlement of American patriotism. Twenty years later, I was to be reminded that agents of foreign influence who can make appointments to national security positions in the United States can also unmake them.

Under the circumstances, the consistent pro-Israel bias of American officials charged with the management of the Israel-Palestine conundrum and their lack of empathy for the Palestinians are in no way a surprise. A passionate attachment to one side is inconsistent with mediation of its disputes with another. The absence of empathy is fatal to the craft of diplomacy. Such disabilities account, at least in part, for the failure of the decades-long labors of American officials to produce anything but political cover for the ongoing displacement of Palestinians from their homes. The ultimate achievement of American peace processors has been to bring great discredit upon themselves and the United States. American diplomacy on the Israel-Palestine issue is becoming less and less relevant to events in the region and increasingly unacceptable to the world as a whole.

A new milestone in this journey to diplomatic ignominy was reached on February 18 this year, when the United States vetoed a resolution in the U.N. Security Council that had been cobbled together from earlier official American statements. The resolution condemned the expansion of Israeli settlements and called for it to end. In doing so, it echoed numerous previous Security Council resolutions as well as the "Road Map." All fourteen other members of the Council, including America's closest allies, spoke vigorously in favor of the resolution, which had been sponsored by 130 member states. The debate and the vote on that resolution were an unambiguous vote of no confidence in American as well as Israeli policy.

This repudiation of U.S. leadership and Israeli expansionism seems certain to be reiterated even more unmistakably when the [U.N.] General Assembly convenes in September. The international community will then take up the question of whether to underscore its near-unanimous rejection of Israel's claim to any territory beyond its pre-1967 borders by recognizing an independent Palestinian state there and admitting that state to the United Nations. The United States no longer has the political credibility necessary to control the diplomatic context in which Israel operates.

The displacement of the United States from its previously unchallenged primacy in Middle Eastern diplomacy comes amidst other momentous changes in the strategic landscape in the region. The U.S. government's failure to stand by its longtime protégé, [former Egyptian President] Hosni Mubarak, convinced leaders elsewhere who, like Mubarak, had linked their fate to America that Washington is a faithless friend and impotent protector. The decades-long inclination of conservative Arab rulers to curry favor with Washington by acquiescing in American policies has been gravely impaired, perhaps irreparably. But the deep disenchantment with America of the dissidents who overthrew Mubarak was not overcome by the Obama

administration's belated abandonment of him. A majority of Egyptians want to annul the Camp David Accords. Whether Egypt does so or not, a much larger majority of Egyptians want their country generally to decouple its foreign policy from that of the United States. As goes Egypt, so very likely goes Jordan. Arab deference to American – and hence to Israeli – interests and dictates will manifestly be much less in future than in the past.

There is a great deal of apprehension in Israel over these developments and not a little consternation in Washington's think tanks and belief tanks about them. The storm warnings are up, and for good reason. Had Israel and the United States planned it, we could hardly have contrived a *status quo* less likely to be accepted as legitimate by a democratized Middle East. If contemporary Israel represents the future, it is certainly problematic. But as is so often the case with clouded situations, there may be a bright side to the changes in progress.

Given the protracted failure of U.S. diplomacy in the Israel-Palestine arena, Palestinians and others may be forgiven for believing that it is time to entrust peacemaking to other parties who are more objective, less politically constrained and less emotionally biased. Others in Europe and elsewhere have taken alarmed note of the adverse effects of the unending conflict on Israel, on the Palestinians, on Arab politics, on regional stability, on inter-religious relations, on the moral standing of global Jewry and Islam, on Arab and Islamic relations with the West, on international law and organizations and on world order. Media outside the United States have taken progressively more balanced and nuanced note of the human suffering in the Holy Land. Europeans and others now evidence a considerably greater sense of urgency about these problems than Americans have done. The notion that only Americans have the capacity to manage conflict resolution in the Middle East will no longer withstand scrutiny. One recalls the role of Norway in crafting the Oslo Accords. Perhaps, now that the United States has struck out, it's someone else's turn at bat.

A new game is clearly beginning. A self-confident, religiously tolerant but secular Turkey has emerged as a major influence on regional affairs and as an inspiration to its democrats. Arab diplomacy is being invigorated by the aftereffects of the revolutions in Egypt and elsewhere. There is mounting pressure on all Arab governments to accord greater deference to popular opinion in both domestic and foreign policy. The Middle East will no longer allow itself to be the diplomatic playground of great powers outside it. There will, however, be new opportunities for interested outside parties to forge diplomatic partnerships with those in the region. Most are looking for new beginnings, new relationships and new ideas. All see an urgent need to end the racist oppression and humiliation of Arabs in the Holy Land. These injustices are at the root of regional instability. They empower extremist and terrorist movements in the Middle East and beyond. They threaten the future of the Jewish state.

Diplomatic partnerships between outside powers and Arab governments for the purpose of crafting a durable peace in Palestine – as opposed to stabilizing the iniquitous *status quo* – have long been conspicuous by their absence. In 2002, the Arab League announced a revolutionary peace proposal in Beirut. Israel and the United States shelved it with minimal acknowledgment. Its potential remains unexplored. It has a limited shelf life but there may still be an opportunity to make use of it.

The Arabs are thinking anew. It is time for Israel to engage in new thinking of its own. Israel has shown great skill at deflecting the peace proposals of others and subjecting them to campaigns of diplomatic attrition. It has never made its own specific proposal of peace to the Palestinians. It has demanded respect for the dignified autonomy of its Jewish identity but has offered no reciprocal recognition of Palestinian identity. Perhaps it is time for Israel to do these things. Its changed strategic environment, the diminished capacity of the United States to protect it from the political and legal consequences of its conduct and changing attitudes toward it in the Jewish diaspora foretell an end to the moral hazard from which the Jewish state has suffered. For the first time in decades, Israel will have to take into account the risks to its future as it contemplates actions in the present. In the interest of its own survival and prosperity, it may begin to make wiser and more farsighted decisions. We must hope so.

There can, of course, be no peace between Israelis and Palestinians unless there are governments that can commit both sides to terms. Part of the Israeli strategy of deferring peace so as to seize more land for settler Zionists has been a multifaceted effort to ensure that no one has the authority to speak for all Palestinians. The United States has effectively colluded in this strategy of divide and rule, especially since the 2006 elections brought Hamas to power. If Israel is to have peace, however, rather than perpetual rejection by both Palestinians and other Arab and Muslim neighbors, it needs a unified Palestinian leadership with which to strike a deal. Thanks to the skill of Egyptian diplomacy, such a Palestinian government of national unity is now a real prospect. In the interest of peace, the region and the world should welcome and encourage Palestinian unity rather than succumb to Pavlovian impulses to condemn it.

However distasteful they may find it to do so after all that they have suffered at Israeli hands, Palestinians, including Gazans, must collaborate with Israel to achieve peace. But it is equally true that there can and will be no peace for Israel until there is peace for the Palestinians, including those in diaspora. The United States has proven incapable of creating strategic circumstances conducive to serious, as opposed

to make-believe negotiations between the warring parties in the Holy Land. Perhaps, however, such circumstances are nonetheless finally emerging, allowing Palestinians and Israelis to attempt a fresh start at achieving peaceful coexistence. They must look to themselves, to others in the region, and to new, non-American mediators to accomplish this.

That Palestinians and Israelis find a mutually agreeable basis for peaceful coexistence is essential not only to their own well-being but to that of the wider world. Only they can make the decisions necessary to achieve this. But, in our own interest, the rest of us must help them as best we can. The adverse consequences of the Israel-Palestine conflict have penetrated and extended far beyond the two parties to the holy war now raging in Palestine. The benefits of peace there would be equally deep and wide.

*This transcript may be used without permission but with proper attribution to The Palestine Center. The speaker's views do not necessarily reflect the views of The Jerusalem Fund.*

Chairman LEVIN. Okay. Any other questions for the record need to be submitted, as I said before, by tomorrow at 5 p.m.

I assume, Senator Cruz, that when you said that he's agreed to provide all of the speeches, it would be all the speeches that he has access to; is that fair?

Senator CRUZ. That he has or that he can get copies of. I would certainly hope and expect that he would engage in reasonable efforts to get copies of speeches if he doesn't have them in his immediate files.

Chairman LEVIN. We'll say that if you have easy access or reasonable access to speeches you've given, even though you don't have them, that we would expect that you could provide this as well, as well as the other information you indicated you're perfectly happy to submit, you just haven't had the time to get it ready.

Senator HAGEL. Mr. Chairman, I will commit to that and every request, as we have. As I said, some of this I didn't see until yesterday. But everything that is out there that we can find, we'll make every effort to get it and provide it.

Chairman LEVIN. We very much appreciate that, and your openness in your responses today.

Again, the record will be open until tomorrow, as I said, at 5 p.m. But your answers we would hope and expect would be in by Monday at 5 p.m., because we would very much like to move this nomination forward to a resolution, first on this committee, and that timetable would help us move in an expeditious way.

We thank you. We thank your family and your friends.

Unless there are other questions, we will now stand adjourned. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 5:50 p.m., the committee adjourned.]

[Prepared questions submitted to the Hon. Chuck Hagel by Chairman Levin prior to the hearing with answers supplied follow:]

#### QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

##### DEFENSE REFORMS

*Question.* The Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 and the Special Operations reforms have strengthened the warfighting readiness of our Armed Forces. They have enhanced civilian control and clearly delineated the operational chain of command and the responsibilities and authorities of the combatant commanders, and the role of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They have also clarified the responsibility of the Military Departments to re-

cruit, organize, train, equip, and maintain forces for assignment to the combatant commanders.

Do you see the need for modifications of any Goldwater-Nichols Act provisions?

If so, what areas do you believe might be appropriate to address in these modifications?

Answer. I believe that the success of our Armed Forces since the enactment of the Goldwater-Nichols Act amply demonstrates that the act has enhanced the ability of our Armed Forces to defend our Nation and to operate successfully as joint forces under our combatant commanders. If confirmed, I will evaluate the implementation of the act, and will make recommendations for modifications if necessary. At present, I am aware of no need to make changes to the act.

#### DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

*Question.* Section 113 of title 10, U.S.C., provides that the Secretary of Defense is the principal assistant to the President in all matters relating to the Department of Defense (DOD). Subject to the direction of the President, the Secretary of Defense, under section 113, has authority, direction, and control over DOD.

Do you believe there are actions you need to take to enhance your ability to perform the duties of the Secretary of Defense?

Answer. I believe title 10 provides the Secretary of Defense appropriate, sufficient, and clear authority to lead DOD and to serve as the principal assistant to the President on all matters relating to the Department. I do not foresee needing to take any actions to enhance the ability of the Secretary of Defense to execute assigned duties.

*Question.* What changes to section 113, if any, would you recommend?

Answer. At present, I believe that section 113 provides sufficient legal authority to the Secretary of Defense to allow him to perform his two primary functions. I do not foresee needing to recommend changes to section 113.

#### QUALIFICATIONS

*Question.* What background and experience do you have that you believe qualifies you for this position?

Answer. I volunteered for the draft and then volunteered to go to Vietnam after I received orders to go to Germany. I served a 12-month tour which included the Tet Offensive in 1968. I rose to the rank of infantry sergeant. For 10 of those months, I served alongside my younger brother Tom. I understand what it is like to be a soldier in war. I also understand what happens when there is poor morale and discipline among the troops and a lack of clear objectives, intelligence, and command and control from Washington. I believe that experience will help me as Secretary of Defense to ensure we maintain the best fighting force in the world, protect our men and women in uniform, and ensure that we are cautious and certain when contemplating the use of force.

When I returned from Vietnam, I graduated from the University of Nebraska, using the G.I. Bill. Because of that benefit, I co-authored with fellow Vietnam veteran Senator Jim Webb, the new G.I. Bill which became law in 2008. I know the importance of providing our military personnel and their families with the benefits they need, not only while in the military, but once they return to civilian life, and I will not forget that if I am confirmed as Secretary of Defense.

I was wounded twice during my tour in Vietnam. In 1981, I was appointed by President Reagan and confirmed by the Senate to be Deputy Administrator of the Veterans Administration. I later resigned because of inadequate support for Vietnam veterans suffering from Agent Orange and other Vietnam veterans programs that were being eliminated. I have worked with, and on behalf of veterans' organizations my entire life. I know when the system is working, and when it is failing. The past decade of war has produced tens of thousands of wounded warriors. Many are still on Active Duty. Others have or are transitioning to civilian life. All need the best care we they can give them. Because of my own experiences, I will honor that commitment to veterans and their families if I become Secretary of Defense.

While I do not believe anyone can be fully prepared to manage an organization as large and complex as DOD, I believe that I have significant management experience that gives me a strong sense of what needs to be done. Most important is building and working with teams. This is always an essential foundational element of management and leadership. In the 1970s, I was the Chief of Staff to a U.S. Congressman and then later Manager of Government Affairs for Firestone Tire and Rubber Company. In the early 1980s, I co-founded Vanguard Cellular Systems, Inc., a publicly traded company, which became one of the largest independent cellular systems in the country. I also served as President and Chief Executive Officer of the World USO; the Chief Operating Officer of the 1990 Economic Summit of Indus-

trialized Nations (G-7 Summit) in Houston, TX; Deputy Commissioner General of the United States for the 1982 World's Fair; President of the Private Sector Council and president of an investment bank. I have also served on boards of some of the world's largest companies.

Finally as a U.S. Senator from Nebraska for 12 years, I have a legislative record of continuing and unwavering support for our military and our national security. I have voted to authorize the use of military force and I have questioned the military and foreign policy decisions of our leaders. I believe this experience has prepared me to make the tough decisions and to know that I am accountable for those decisions.

#### PRIORITIES

*Question.* If confirmed, you will confront a range of critical issues relating to threats to national security and ensuring that the Armed Forces are prepared to deal with these threats.

In your view, what are the major challenges confronting the next Secretary of Defense?

*Answer.* The next Secretary of Defense will be confronted with a myriad of challenges stemming from an ever more complex global environment. Some of the challenges we know today, but many will continue to unfold as we conclude over 10 years at war and look to the future of our military posture. In an ever changing world with both state and non-state actors developing nontraditional tools of war, the United States will be challenged by technological advancements that bring the battlefield to both space and cyberspace. Terrorist organizations continue to proliferate throughout the world and have a significant presence in places such as Yemen, Somalia and North Africa, areas that pose great risk for regional stability. With the ever present threat of Iran, the next Secretary of Defense must be vigilant in pursuing the goal of preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, and must maintain our unshakeable commitment to Israel's security. As the United States begins to rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region, the Department will be faced by new challenges in this vital part of the world. Piracy, maritime security, disaster relief efforts, and, of course, continued vigilance to terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapons name just a few known challenges. All of these things come while the United States is fighting its own battles at home to take care of its service men and women returning from over ten decades of war with rising medical costs and advanced medical conditions. Keeping the faith with our military men and women must remain a high priority to ensure the military itself stays as strong and faithful as its parts. While these are some of the few challenges we know, there are far too many that are not yet apparent. We must be prepared for any contingency we may face in the coming years all while doing so in the confines of this austere budget environment.

*Question.* Assuming you are confirmed, what plans do you have for addressing these challenges?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I plan to work with the President, Congress, and with senior civilian and military leaders of DOD to come up with comprehensive plans to address each issue. No single issue will have a single simple answer. This will be an iterative process that will employ the full force of Government. It will necessitate strong relationships I plan to maintain and strengthen with our allies and partners throughout the globe. We will define our post-2014 presence in Afghanistan and create a new relationship and partnership with Afghanistan. To counter terrorism, we will look into how we use our special operations forces and the development of new technologies and surveillance techniques. As long as nuclear weapons exist, we must maintain a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal to deter any adversary. I am committed to considering all options to counter Iran and its aggression, and to maintain U.S. support for missile defense systems in Israel. With the rebalance to the Asia Pacific, our training and specializations will change as the battlefield and necessary skills of our servicemembers change. As our troops transition out of over 10 years of war, I will look at the services available for our men and women, both those that continue to serve and those that transition to civilian life. If confirmed, I plan to continue the work of Secretary Panetta to address issues of the force, such as the unthinkable problem of sexual assault within our ranks. I will continue the implementation of the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" and the opening of positions to women. I will give great attention to all issues that confront our country and our military to ensure the reputation and strength of the United States.

*Question.* If confirmed, what broad priorities would you establish in terms of issues which must be addressed by the Secretary of Defense?

Answer. If confirmed, it would be a priority to ensure the stable transition out of Afghanistan in the next few years, to maintain U.S. military and technological superiority against enemies both known and unknown, and to keep the faith with our men and women in the military standing guard to protect this great and vibrant country.

#### CHAIN OF COMMAND

*Question.* Section 162(b) of title 10, U.S.C., provides that the chain of command runs from the President to the Secretary of Defense and from the Secretary of Defense to the combatant commands. Section 163(a) of title 10 further provides that the President may direct communications to combatant commanders be transmitted through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and may assign duties to the Chairman to assist the President and the Secretary of Defense in performing their command function.

Do you believe that these provisions facilitate a clear and effective chain of command?

Answer. I believe that having a clear and effective chain of command is essential to successful military operations, and that these provisions of law lay the foundation for such a chain of command.

*Question.* In your view, do these provisions enhance or degrade civilian control of the military?

Answer. In my view, these provisions significantly enhance civilian control by codifying the placement of the President, as Commander in Chief, and his principal assistant for military matters, the Secretary of Defense, where they can best exercise civilian control of the military: in the top two positions of the military chain of command.

*Question.* Are there circumstances in which you believe it is appropriate for U.S. military forces to be under the operational command or control of an authority outside the chain of command established under title 10, U.S.C.?

Answer. I believe that all military forces normally should operate under the chain of command established under section 162 of title 10, U.S.C. However, in certain sensitive operations a temporary exception to that chain of command may be appropriate. I understand that only the President may approve such an exception and the President retains overall command responsibility, as also recognized in section 162. Any military personnel supporting such sensitive operations remain accountable to the military chain of command, including the Uniform Code of Military Justice. If confirmed, I will provide the President with my best advice regarding any operation where an exception to the established chain of command may be appropriate.

#### ADVICE OF THE SERVICE CHIEFS AND THE COMBATANT COMMANDERS

*Question.* Section 151 of title 10, U.S.C., provides, in part, that the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the principal military adviser to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense and that if any member of the Joint Chiefs submits to the Chairman advice or an opinion, in disagreement with, or advice or an opinion in addition to, the advice presented by the Chairman, the Chairman shall present that advice or opinion at the same time he provides his own advice to the President, the National Security Council, and the Secretary of Defense. Section 163 of title 10, U.S.C., provides that the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff serves as the spokesman for the combatant commanders, especially on the operational requirements of their commands.

What changes in law, if any, do you think may be necessary to ensure that the views of the individual Service Chiefs and of the combatant commanders are presented and considered?

Answer. If confirmed, I will welcome and carefully consider the advice of the individual members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the combatant commanders. I believe that the current law provides ample authority for such a close, advisory process. If I find in the future that changes may enhance this process, I will work with the Department and Congress to implement those changes.

*Question.* What is your view on the appropriate role of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff?

Answer. The Chief of the National Guard Bureau brings an important perspective to the Joint Chiefs and to the Department on matters affecting the National Guard. In my view, the Chief of the National Guard Bureau should fulfill his duty as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in a manner consistent with the laws governing the role of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau and the role of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

## USE OF MILITARY FORCE

*Question.* The question as to whether and when U.S. forces should participate in potentially dangerous situations is one of the most important and difficult decisions that the national command authorities have to make. Prior Secretaries of Defense and Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have proposed criteria to guide decision-making for such situations.

What factors would you consider in making recommendations to the President on the use of force?

*Answer.* Committing our troops to any military operation is a grave decision, and one I, if confirmed, would make carefully and cautiously. In making a recommendation to the President on the use of military force, I would consider all the factors previous Secretaries of Defense have identified. These would include: national interest and strategic objectives; domestic and international legal basis for action; our ability to achieve our objectives and achieve a successful outcome through use of force; the unique need for military force and alternative means, particularly non-military, for achieving our interests; the risks to our other interests and our force; and the sufficiency of sustained public support for use of force.

*Question.* What circumstances should pertain for you to recommend that the President employ preemptive force?

*Answer.* The United States must reserve the right, consistent with longstanding principles of self-defense, to use military force if intelligence or other information clearly demonstrates that force is necessary to prevent or blunt an imminent attack on the United States or an ally. If confirmed, in advising the President regarding the use of force to preempt an attack, I would consider such factors as: the nature and immediacy of the threat; the probability of an attack; whether a pattern of activity demonstrates the intent of an actor to carry out an attack; the likely scale of the attack and the injury, loss, or damage likely to result absent preemptive action; and the likelihood that there will be other opportunities to undertake effective action in self-defense. I would also ensure that, if force is determined to be necessary, we adhere to standards that govern the use of force and work to strengthen our legitimacy in taking action, including seeking broader international support.

*Question.* What degree of certainty do you believe is necessary before the United States would use preemptive force?

*Answer.* Any decision to use preemptive force must be informed by the best available intelligence regarding the threat that is to be countered. There should always be a sound factual basis for concluding that force is necessary to protect the United States or an ally from attack. If confirmed, I would examine the underlying intelligence critically as such a decision must not be taken lightly. I do not believe, however, that it is necessary that we know the precise timing, location, or nature of the hostile attack as a prerequisite to using force to counter or stop an attack on the United States or an ally.

## NATIONAL SECURITY BUDGET REDUCTIONS

*Question.* Part 1 of the Budget Control Act (BCA) enacted on August 2, 2011 established budget caps designed to realize \$917 billion in budget savings in Federal discretionary spending over the period from fiscal year 2012 to fiscal year 2021. As a result, the administration's DOD current budget plan for fiscal years 2012 to 2021 is \$487 billion lower than the \$6.14 trillion it had projected a year earlier for the same 10-year period. This reduction amounts to nearly 8 percent compared to the previous plan.

Do you believe that defense spending reductions of this magnitude (absent a sequester) can be accomplished without significant adverse impact on our national security?

*Answer.* Based on my review to date, my answer is yes. I believe the Department's strategy can be accomplished within the constraints of the BCA. But only if the Department has to retain the flexibility to adjust the size of its forces and infrastructure, and take steps to control its costs, in accordance with the administration's present strategy and budget.

*Question.* How would you assess the national military strategy to deal with the changed budget environment?

*Answer.* I believe the Department has taken a hard look at the new security environment and developed a strategy that appropriately allocates reduced defense resources to the highest priority needs and ensures our national security objectives are met. If confirmed, I will further assess the strategy according to changes in the security environment and continued fiscal pressure.

*Question.* What are the standards by which you will measure the adequacy of DOD funding, if confirmed?



*Answer.* If confirmed, I would measure the adequacy of DOD funding by its ability to ensure that the Department is able to meet the country's security challenges and preserve the strongest military in the world.

*Question.* If confirmed, in this era of budget austerity, how will you prioritize the objectives of completing the mission in Afghanistan, resetting of the force, investing in the future force, and meeting ongoing operational commitments around the world?

*Answer.* Right now, I believe the Department can implement the administration's present strategy, which carefully balances the above objectives. I understand that the immediate needs of completing the mission in Afghanistan and ongoing operational commitments cannot jeopardize resetting the force and investing in our future. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that budget decisions are made carefully so that we maintain a healthy balance among those near-term and longer-term objectives. I will continue to refine the Department's spending in line with the priorities of the President's strategic objectives. However, if multi-year reductions in funding take place (such as those required by sequestration), the Department would need to significantly revise the defense strategy and, in all probability, would need to make some hard choices about which of our current national defense capabilities we could afford to retain.

#### READINESS OF THE ARMED FORCES

*Question.* The Joint Chiefs recently stated that "the readiness of our Armed Forces is at a tipping point. We are on the brink of creating a hollow force due to an unprecedented convergence of budget conditions and legislation that could require the Department to retain more forces than requested while underfunding that force's readiness."

How do you currently assess the readiness of the Armed Forces?

*Answer.* I am deeply impressed by the caliber and capabilities of our military forces. It is vitally important that they be ready to respond to the Nation's needs, and I am concerned that further budget cuts will negatively affect readiness. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the readiness of the force.

*Question.* Do you agree with the Joint Chiefs that readiness is at tipping point?

*Answer.* Maintaining ready forces is a priority, and I am concerned by the Joint Chiefs' assessment. If confirmed, I will work with the Joint Chiefs to better understand the basis of their assessment and how we can most effectively address the readiness challenges our military faces.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you assess the impact of budget conditions on the issue expressed by the Joint Chiefs of a hollow force?

*Answer.* My sense is that the concerns the Joint Chiefs have expressed about readiness come from a variety of factors, including the challenges of recovering from 10 years of operational stress, of transitioning to a broader range of operations, and of doing all of this in the face of fiscal austerity and budget uncertainty. If confirmed, I will carefully monitor how all of these factors are posing risks to readiness and will work closely with the military and civilian leadership of the Department to mitigate those risks to the greatest extent possible.

*Question.* How would you define a hollow force?

*Answer.* A hollow force is one that has been rendered incapable of performing the mission that we expect it to conduct. With a hollow force, units do not have the resources, personnel, equipment, and training necessary to make them capable or ready to execute the defense strategies that secure our country.

#### BUDGET UNCERTAINTY AND SEQUESTRATION

*Question.* DOD is currently facing budget uncertainty due to the fact that it is operating under a Continuing Resolution (CR) through at least March 27, 2013 and due to the possibility that, absent a budget deal, the BCA will require a sequester of security funding totaling more than \$40 billion starting on March 1, 2013. DOD officials have noted that, if CR is extended through the end of the current fiscal year, in its current form, readiness would suffer. They have also noted that a sequester could seriously threaten our ability to implement our current defense strategy. Secretary Panetta has stated that a sequester would have a "devastating" impact on DOD.

What is your understanding of the impact a full-year Continuing Resolution would have on DOD?

*Answer.* A year-long CR reduces the Department's funding flexibility by putting it into a straightjacket, spending money on last year's priorities not this year's. Continuing Resolutions force the Department to operate inefficiently because it does not know what projects will be funded or at what level of funding. The money provided

in the Continuing Resolution does not provide sufficient funding in the right places, particularly critical operating accounts which could harm military readiness. In addition, Continuing Resolutions generally push the Department to use month-to-month contracts and prohibits doing “new starts” in military construction or acquisition programs, which leads to inefficiency and backlogs in contracting.

*Question.* What do you believe would be the impact on DOD of a full sequester in fiscal year 2013?

*Answer.* As Secretary Panetta has repeatedly stated, sequestration—both the size and the arbitrary manner of these cuts—would be devastating to the Department. It would harm military readiness and disrupt each and every investment program. Based on my assessment to date, I share his concerns. I urge Congress to eliminate the sequester threat permanently and pass a balanced deficit-reduction plan. Impacts of sequester could include the need to revise the defense strategy, fewer day-to-day global activities reducing our presence and partnerships, less training including cuts to flying and steaming hours which would reduce readiness, near universal disruption of investment including 2,500 procurement programs, research projects, and military construction; reduced and delayed weapons system buys with resulting price increases, furloughs and hiring freezes for civilian workers resulting in reduced maintenance of weapons systems, oversight of contracts and financial systems; negative effects on morale and welfare of the force including recruiting and retention problems.

*Question.* What is your understanding of the impact that the combination of a full-year Continuing Resolution and a sequester would have on the readiness of the Armed Forces?

*Answer.* It is my understanding that under this scenario, the Department would be forced to cut over \$40 billion from our budget in a little over half a year, using a mechanistic formula to do it. It would result in 20 percent cuts in the Department's operating budgets. As the Joint Chiefs have warned, such cuts, if allowed to occur, would damage our readiness, our people, and our military families. It would result in the grounding of aircraft and returning ships to port, reducing the Department's global presence and ability to rapidly respond to contingencies. Vital training would be reduced by half of current plans and the Department would be unable to reset equipment from Afghanistan in a timely manner. The Department would reduce training and maintenance for nondeploying units and would be forced to reduce procurement of vital weapons systems and suffer the subsequent schedule delays and price increases. Civilian employees would be furloughed for up to 22 days. All of these effects also negatively impact long-term readiness. It would send a terrible signal to our military and civilian workforce, to those we hope to recruit, and to both our allies and adversaries around the world.

*Question.* If confirmed what role would you play toward enacting a fiscal year 2013 Defense Appropriations Bill and avoiding a sequester?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would continue to urge Congress to pass a full-year appropriations bill for DOD and for other Federal agencies so that the Department and other Federal agencies may be run efficiently, with the ability to adapt to changing circumstances, as the taxpayers expect and deserve.

#### FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT AND BUSINESS TRANSFORMATION

*Question.* DOD spends billions of dollars every year to acquire, operate, and upgrade business systems needed to support the warfighter, including systems related to the management of contracts, finances, the supply chain, and support infrastructure. Despite these expenditures, the Department's business systems are stovepiped, duplicative and non-integrated. Also, the Department's ability to leverage these systems to transform how it conducts its business missions has been frustrated by its resistance to re-engineering its business processes effectively. As a result, the Department remains unable to produce timely, accurate and complete information to support management decisions. For this reason, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) has identified defense financial management and business transformation as exposing taxpayer dollars to a “high risk” of waste, fraud, and abuse.

If confirmed, how would you ensure that the financial management and business transformation problems of DOD receive priority attention at the senior management level and throughout the defense enterprise?

*Answer.* Improving financial management capability is very important, especially in light of the fiscal challenges facing the Department and the country. I understand plans exist to continue the improvement of the Department's business processes and, if confirmed, I will ensure that senior leadership—including the Chief Financial Officer, the Deputy Chief Management Officer, and the Chief Information Offi-

cer—focus appropriate attention on this effort by holding them accountable for progress against these plans.

*Question.* Do you support the objective of having the Department achieve an auditable financial statement by the end of fiscal year 2017?

Answer. Yes, I support the effort and will maintain the Department's commitment to producing audit-ready financial statements by the congressional deadline of September 2017, with an audit beginning by the end of calendar year 2017.

*Question.* What steps would you take if the Department fails to reach this goal?

Answer. I would want to evaluate the nature of the problem, the reasons the goal was not met, and the remediation options available to get the Department back on track before determining the actions to be taken.

*Question.* Do you support the objective of having the Department achieve an auditable statement of budgetary resources by the end of fiscal year 2014?

Answer. Yes, I agree with current priorities that focus first on the budgetary information most useful in managing the Department. I understand there is a plan to ensure the budgetary statement is ready to be audited by September 2014.

*Question.* What steps would you take if the Department fails to reach this goal?

Answer. I understand the plan to meet that deadline has received a very high priority at all levels of the Department, and if confirmed, I would sustain this as a high priority and hold senior leadership accountable for reaching this goal. If problems are encountered that would put this goal at risk, I would evaluate the nature of the problem, the reasons the goal was not met, and the remediation options available to get the Department back on track. I would also ensure that Congress is kept apprised of the Department's progress.

#### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE AND DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS COLLABORATION

*Question.* The Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs (VA) have in recent years increased collaboration between the respective departments to support servicemembers as they transition to veteran status. This support includes access to health and mental health care, improved disability evaluation, and coordination of compensation and other benefits.

If confirmed, what role would you expect to play in ensuring that the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs achieve the administration's objectives in DOD and VA collaboration?

Answer. I have been working to improve the transition of our servicemembers to civilian life for most of my life. If confirmed, I am looking forward to taking a very active role in this area. The Department of Veterans Affairs Secretary Eric Shinseki is a longtime friend and if confirmed, I will continue the close partnership with him that has existed under Secretaries Gates and Panetta. I will continue the practice of holding regular Secretarial-level meetings and will closely monitor the progress of the many important joint initiatives between the two Departments.

#### SYSTEMS AND SUPPORT FOR WOUNDED WARRIORS

*Question.* Servicemembers who are wounded or injured in combat operations deserve the highest priority from their Service for support services, healing and recuperation, rehabilitation, evaluation for return to duty, successful transition from active duty if required, and continuing support beyond retirement or discharge. Yet, as the revelations at Walter Reed Army Medical Center (WRAMC) in 2007 illustrated, the Services were not prepared to meet the needs of significant numbers of returning wounded servicemembers. Despite the enactment of legislation and renewed emphasis, many challenges remain, including a growing population of servicemembers awaiting disability evaluation.

What is your assessment of the progress made to date by DOD and the Services to improve the care, management, and transition of seriously ill and injured servicemembers and their families?

Answer. I believe that important progress in the care, management, and transition of seriously ill and injured servicemembers has been made in the years since the revelations at WRAMC, though there is more work to be done. It will be a top priority to ensure the best quality care for our seriously ill and injured servicemembers and their families. My understanding is Secretary Panetta directed a detailed review of the Integrated Disability Evaluation System (IDES). If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to reviewing the details of that effort. I will also work closely with the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to ensure that the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs programs are fully complementary and that wounded servicemembers experience a seamless system of care as they transition to veteran status.

*Question.* What are the strengths upon which continued progress should be based?

*Answer.* My understanding is that significant progress has been made in linking an individual with their medical record in a central data repository, and making this information available to any DOD medical treatment facility or Veterans Affairs facility. This appears to provide seamless health care to our members. If confirmed, I will continue to partner with the VA in this area. Although I believe there is more work to be done in improving the care of our seriously ill and injured servicemembers and their families, this issue is a top priority of the senior leadership of the Department and a strength that I will continue to build on. I will also look to build on the close collaboration between the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs in caring for our servicemembers, veterans, and their families.

*Question.* What are the weaknesses that need to be corrected?

*Answer.* One weakness is the lack of sufficient mental health care providers at both the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs. While this is mostly a function of the overall shortage of people with this specialty, I know DOD is working hard to address this problem, through increased funding and recruitment. Another weakness that I am aware of is that Veterans Affairs and DOD have multiple caregivers, overwhelming patients and their families. I understand Secretary Panetta and Secretary Shinseki signed an agreement to help wounded warriors navigate through our systems, by naming a lead care coordinator for each wounded warrior. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the implementation of this agreement and work to improve upon it. There is also duplication and overlap in the various services and care programs provided by the Department, the Military Services, and Veterans Affairs, and I would want to make sure that all such programs are fully coordinated, easily accessible, and comprehensible for our wounded, ill, and injured servicemembers and their families.

*Question.* If confirmed, are there additional strategies and resources that you would pursue to increase support for wounded servicemembers and their families, and to monitor their progress in returning to duty or to civilian life?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would look to build on innovative programs and partnerships—both with other Federal agencies, as well as with State and local governments and private and community organizations—that support our wounded, ill, and injured servicemembers and their families. For instance, the Intrepid Fallen Heroes Fund has added invaluable to the care and treatment of servicemembers and veterans with traumatic brain injury (TBI) and psychological health issues through the National Intrepid Center of Excellence, and they are in the process of building state-of-the-art satellite treatment centers at nine of DOD's largest installations. I am also heartened by cross-agency efforts like the \$100 million investment announced last year by the Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs to improve diagnosis and treatment of mild TBI and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the adequacy of access to care and care management for Federal civilian employees who are ill or injured in theater, including evaluation and response to traumatic brain injury and post-traumatic stress?

*Answer.* My understanding is that Federal civilian employees who are injured or ill in theater have been treated by theater military treatment facilities just as Active Duty members would be. Once medically evacuated out of theater, depending on their medical needs, they are transferred to an appropriate civilian institution. If confirmed, I would seek to ensure that Federal civilian employees in theater receive the quality care and care management befitting those who put themselves in harm's way on behalf of the Nation.

*Question.* Studies conducted as a result of the revelations at WRAMC pointed to the need to reform the disability evaluation system (DES). The IDES was established to integrate the DOD and Department of Veterans Affairs disability systems to improve and expedite processing of servicemembers through the DES.

What is your assessment of the need to further streamline and improve the IDES?

*Answer.* While the introduction of the joint IDES has on the whole been an improvement over the separate Departments of Defense and Veterans Affairs legacy systems, there is still much room for further improvement, particularly with regard to timeliness. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continues to press forward, in close collaboration with Veterans Affairs, with further improvements to the IDES.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you address any need for change, particularly the Army's problem with an increasing number of soldiers who are not medically fit for deployment, but who remain on Active Duty while they process through the lengthy IDES process?

*Answer.* I am aware that this is an issue, particularly for the Army. I do not have specific recommendations at this time, but if confirmed, I will work with the leadership of the military services on ways that we can better balance the need to provide servicemembers with a timely and fair disability evaluation with the need to maintain acceptable levels of deployable personnel.

## HOMOSEXUAL CONDUCT POLICY

*Question.* The law commonly referred to as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” was repealed effective September 20, 2011. As part of the implementation of this repeal, the Secretary of Defense appointed a benefits review group to conduct a review of all potential benefits that could be made available to same-sex spouses. The report of this review group is long overdue and has been repeatedly delayed.

What is your view of the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell?”

*Answer.* I fully support the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” and value the service of all those who fight for our country. I fully support gay and lesbian men and women serving openly in the U.S. military and am committed to a full implementation of the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the implementation of the repeal of this law?

*Answer.* I understand that the senior military leadership have engaged in a year-long monitoring process and found that repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” has not had any impacts on readiness, effectiveness, unit cohesion, recruiting, and retention. At the same time, I realize that there is still some work to be done to achieve the full implementation of repeal, particularly with regard to the benefits available to the families of gay and lesbian servicemembers.

*Question.* What is the status of the report of the benefits review group? When is this group expected to issue its report?

*Answer.* I understand that this review is not taking the form of a report, per se, but has involved assembling detailed information on individual benefits (including whether each such benefit might be made available under current law, and options for how to do so) to support decision making by the senior civilian and military leadership of the Department, and also that those decisions are currently under active consideration. If confirmed, I will review the work that has been undertaken during the course of the benefits review and will work closely with the DOD civilian and military leadership to move forward expeditiously on this issue.

*Question.* What is your view on the issue of providing military benefits to same-sex partners?

*Answer.* As I have stated previously, I fully support the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” and value the service of all those who fight for our country. If confirmed, I will do everything possible to the extent permissible under current law to provide equal benefits to the families of all our servicemembers.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you ensure that completion of the report of the Benefits Review Group is expedited and provided to Congress?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will work closely with the DOD civilian and military leadership to move forward expeditiously on this issue and will inform the appropriate congressional committees of decisions as they are made.

## RELIGIOUS GUIDELINES

*Question.* The Independent Review Related to the Tragedy at Fort Hood observed that “DOD policy regarding religious accommodation lacks the clarity necessary to help commanders distinguish appropriate religious practices from those that might indicate a potential for violence or self-radicalization.” Recommendation 2.7 of the Final Recommendations urged the Department to update policy to clarify guidelines for religious accommodation and Recommendation 2.8 urged the Department to task the Defense Science Board to “undertake a multi-disciplinary study to identify behavioral indicators of violence and self-radicalization...”

What is your view of these recommendations?

*Answer.* Ensuring appropriate accommodations for the free exercise of religions and protecting servicemembers from violence and harm are both of vital importance. It is my understanding that, pursuant to Recommendation 2.7, the Department updated its policy on religious accommodation to ensure religious freedoms and practices are accommodated to the fullest extent possible considering mission readiness, discipline, and unit cohesion. Regarding Recommendation 2.8, the Department did task the Defense Science Board (DSB) to undertake a study. The DSB recently completed their study and found that it could not determine a specific list of behaviors that would indicate risk of violent/extremist behavior. If I am confirmed, I will review the implementation of the recommendations of the Fort Hood Review.

*Question.* What is your understanding of current policies and programs of DOD regarding religious practices in the military?

*Answer.* It is my understanding that policies and programs of DOD regarding religious practices in the military seek to ensure servicemembers’ rights to observe the tenets of their respective religions, as well as to hold no specific religious conviction or affiliation.

*Question.* In your view, do these policies appropriately accommodate the free exercise of religion and other beliefs without impinging on those who have different beliefs, including no religious belief?

*Answer.* Yes, in my view, current policies appropriately accommodate the free exercise of religion for all servicemembers in the pluralistic environment that is the U.S. military. If confirmed, I will continue to monitor and assess these policies.

*Question.* In your view, do existing policies and practices regarding public prayers offered by military chaplains in a variety of formal and informal settings strike the proper balance between a chaplain's ability to pray in accordance with his or her religious beliefs and the rights of other servicemembers with different beliefs, including no religious beliefs?

*Answer.* It is my understanding that existing policies provide the military chaplains with sufficient guidance that allows them to balance, in both formal and informal settings, their own faith practices with the rights of others who may hold different or no religious beliefs. I recognize that this at times can be a difficult balance to achieve, and if confirmed, I would work with the civilian and military leadership of the Department and with Congress to ensure DOD continues to do so.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you work to ensure that a scientific factbased approach to understanding radicalization will drive the Department's relevant policies on this topic?

*Answer.* Yes. If confirmed, I would review the Department's existing policies and its plans to address these challenges and determine what, if any, changes should be made. I agree that any changes to how the Department approaches this issue should be based on a solid scientific and factual foundation.

*Question.* Current policy in the Department gives discretion to military leaders to decide whether requests to waive uniform and appearance standards should be granted based on religious beliefs.

In your view, do DOD policies appropriately accommodate religious practices that require adherents to wear items of religious apparel?

*Answer.* It is my understanding that current policies allow for consideration of accommodations of religious apparel that do not interfere with the performance of military duties. If confirmed, I would work with the Military Services to ensure that they strike the right balance between military uniform and appearance standards and personal religious practices.

#### MUSLIMS IN THE U.S. MILITARY

*Question.* Are you concerned that the attack at Fort Hood could lead to harassment or even violence against Muslims in the military?

*Answer.* The attack at Fort Hood was a tragedy. It is essential that the circumstances surrounding the attack not compromise the military's core values regarding the free exercise of religion and treating every servicemember with dignity and respect. Each servicemember has the right to practice his or her religious faith without fear of persecution or retribution.

*Question.* If confirmed, what strategies would you advocate to address the potential for harassment or violence against Muslims in the U.S. military?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will not tolerate harassment or mistreatment against Muslims in the military, or against any servicemember based on their religious faith. This sort of behavior or any form of cruelty and maltreatment is inconsistent with the military's core values, detracts from combat capability, and has no place in the Armed Forces. I will expect commanders and leaders at all levels to maintain an environment that promotes dignity and respect, and will hold them accountable for preventing harassment or mistreatment.

#### SEXUAL ASSAULT PREVENTION AND RESPONSE

*Question.* Sexual assaults continue to be a significant issue in the military. Victims of sexual assault report that they are victimized twice: first by attackers in their own ranks and then by unresponsive or inadequate treatment for the victim and failure of the chain of command to hold assailants accountable. The Annual Report on Sexual Harassment and Violence at the Military Service Academies, released in December 2012, documents that while the military academies are in compliance with DOD policies, sexual assault and harassment remain a problem in each academy. Sexual assaults continue to be a persistent problem in the Services, as evidenced by the ongoing prosecutions of military training instructors for sexual misconduct with trainees at Air Force basic training at Lackland Air Force Base. Secretary Panetta has recently announced several new initiatives to address the sexual assault problems in the military, including comprehensive assessments of initial training of enlisted personnel and officers, creation of special victim capabilities, and

limiting initial disposition authority to Special Court-Martial Convening Authorities in the grade of O-6 or higher.

What is your assessment of the Department's policies for prevention and response to sexual assaults in the military?

Answer. Sexual assault will absolutely not be tolerated in DOD. It is a direct affront to the military's core value to protect all members of the Armed Forces. Current levels of sexual assault are unacceptably high. I know that the Department has put considerable effort into the development and implementation of new policies and procedures to prevent the crime of sexual assault, support victims, and hold offenders appropriately accountable. But I also know that more needs to be done. Secretary Panetta and the Joint Chiefs of Staff have made this issue a top priority. If confirmed, will do the same, and ensure that the Department continues its commitment to address sexual assault in a comprehensive and persistent manner.

*Question.* What is your view of the steps the Services have taken to prevent and respond to sexual assaults in combat zones, including assaults against contractor personnel?

Answer. I do not have enough information to make a comprehensive assessment of sexual assault prevention and response in deployed environments at this time. It is my understanding that any deployed personnel who are victims, whether servicemembers, civilians, or contractors, receive appropriate emergency medical care and support. I also firmly believe that there must be strict accountability for those who perpetrate such assaults in deployed areas. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continues to address sexual assault in a comprehensive manner—across all Services, in all locations, and for all personnel.

*Question.* What is your view of the adequacy of the training and resources the Services have in place to investigate and respond to allegations of sexual assault?

Answer. It is my understanding that all Services have established guidelines for a 24-hour, 7-day-a-week sexual assault response capability for victims in all locations, including deployed areas. With regard to investigations, I understand the Department has multiple efforts underway to enhance its ability to investigate and respond to sexual assault, child abuse, and domestic violence. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to sustain and build on these enhanced capabilities for the investigation of "special victim" crimes.

*Question.* What is your view of the willingness and ability of the Services to hold assailants accountable for their acts?

Answer. I strongly believe that anyone who commits a sexual assault in the military needs to be held accountable. The Department has a zero tolerance policy, but that is not enough. Accountability is key. To this end, I fully support Secretary Panetta's decision to elevate initial disposition of sexual assault cases to the level of Colonel or Navy Captain, or higher. This action helps ensure our more seasoned, senior commanders determine what actions are appropriate in response to allegations of sexual assault. It is my belief that military commanders are essential to making sexual assault prevention and response efforts successful. But in order to hold assailants accountable, we must have victims who are willing to come forward and report these crimes. To do that, victims need to have confidence in our system of military justice. That is why I also look forward to hearing more about the impact of the Air Force's pilot program assigning an attorney to each victim of sexual assault who requests one to represent them. I believe this could be a very good way to increase the number of victims who are willing to come forward.

*Question.* If confirmed, what actions will you take to ensure senior level direction and oversight of efforts to prevent and respond to sexual assaults?

Answer. If confirmed, I will make sexual assault prevention and response a personal priority and will work closely with the Secretaries of the Military Departments and the Chiefs of the Military Services to ensure that DOD maintains the current high level of senior leadership focus on this issue.

#### INCREASED USE OF NATIONAL GUARD AND RESERVES

*Question.* Over the last 2 decades, the National Guard and Reserves have experienced their largest and most sustained employment since World War II. Numerous problems have arisen over time in the planning and procedures for mobilization and demobilization, e.g., inadequate health screening and medical response to service-connected injuries or illnesses, antiquated pay systems, limited transition assistance programs upon demobilization, and inefficient policies regarding members of the Individual Ready Reserve. Reserve Force management policies and systems have been characterized in the past as "inefficient and rigid" and readiness levels have been adversely affected by equipment shortages, cross-leveling, and reset policies. The recently enacted section 12304b of title 10, U.S.C., authorizes Service Secretaries to

mobilize for up to 365 consecutive days Reserve component units and individuals in support of pre-planned combatant command missions. Current defense strategy provides for a reduction in conventional ground forces, an increase in special forces, and the establishment of a rotational presence in Europe, the Middle East, and anywhere U.S. interests are threatened. Some in the press have called this a "lily pad" approach, and it potentially dovetails with an operational view of the Reserve components.

What is your assessment of the Reserve and how it will fit into this new strategy of smaller, more lethal forces rotating into and out of many locations of strategic interest?

Answer. The Reserves and National Guard have clearly proven the ability to accomplish any assigned mission overseas or at home. They will continue to play a vital role as we move out of the past decade of war in Iraq and Afghanistan and the Department shapes the force to implement the new defense strategy and to respond to the challenges of a new era.

*Question.* What is your understanding of the appropriate size and makeup of the Reserve components in light of the current defense strategy?

Answer. I understand that questions about the size and makeup of the Active and Reserve components are currently under consideration as the Department continues to implement the new defense strategy and respond to the current fiscal environment. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Services and the Chief of the National Guard Bureau to determine the most effective mix and makeup of Active, Reserve, and Guard personnel to support the defense strategy.

*Question.* What is your assessment of advances made in improving Reserve and Guard component mobilization and demobilization procedures, and in what areas do problems still exist?

Answer. I understand that there have been many advances made in policies and procedures governing the utilization of the Guard and Reserves, as well as advancing the pre- and post-Active Duty benefits. These have given Reserve component personnel the ability to plan for periods of utilization followed by substantial time performing inactive duty at home. This provides a predictable cycle of Active Duty and increases readiness by utilizing the Reserve components on a more regular basis. If confirmed, I will ensure these procedures are continually assessed to ensure they are providing the Reserve components the support they need and deserve.

*Question.* What do you consider to be the most significant enduring changes to the enabling of an operational reserve aimed at ensuring Reserve component and Guard readiness for future mobilization requirements?

Answer. In my view, the most significant and enduring change in this area has been the use of the Reserve component as a full partner in the overall force at large. In particular, the experience and skills that members of the Reserve component have gained from preparing and deploying over the past decade have notably increased the overall readiness of the Reserve component, and the Department will continue to make use of these enhanced skills and readiness in the future.

*Question.* Do you see a need to modify current statutory authorities for the mobilization of members of the National Guard and Reserves or to further enhance their ability to perform various national security missions?

Answer. I appreciate Congress' willingness in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2012 to increase authorities to fully use the Reserves as a rotational force. If confirmed, I will consider this question in light of the new strategy, but at the present time I believe that appropriate policies and procedures are in place and no laws need to be changed.

#### DWELL TIME

*Question.* While dwell time is improving as our forces draw down in Afghanistan, many Active Duty military members are still not experiencing the dwell time goal of 2 years at home for every year deployed.

In your view, when will the Active component dwell time goal be met?

Answer. I understand that all of the Services, on average, are meeting or exceeding the Department's dwell time goal of 2 years at home for every year deployed, or 1:2, for the Active component. If confirmed, I will continue to monitor this issue closely.

*Question.* When will dwell time objectives be met for the Reserve components?

Answer. I understand Reserve component dwell time is improving, but has not reached the Department's dwell time goal of 5 years at home for every 1 year of active duty, or 1:5. If confirmed, I will continue to work toward the goal of a 1:5 dwell time ratio for the Reserve component for all of the Services.



## ACTIVE-DUTY AND RESERVE COMPONENT END STRENGTH

*Question.* The Department last year announced its 5-year plan to reduce Active Duty end strengths by over 100,000 servicemembers by 2017, and the Reserve components by another 21,000 over the same period. These cuts do not include any additional personnel reductions that could result from sequestration or any agreement to avoid sequestration.

Do you agree with this plan to reduce Active Duty and Reserve component end strengths?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will review the plan, but I believe that we must be able to balance end-strength, readiness, and modernization. The end strength drawdown allows us to achieve the right size force and keep it modern. The plan is designed to maintain capable and ready military forces while managing reductions in a way that “keeps faith” with servicemembers who have been at war for the past 10 years. While the plan will reduce Active Duty end strength by 100,000, I believe the Department has scaled back the Reserve component cut to less than 21,000 (17,000). Preserving the Guard and Reserve reduces the risk of reductions and hedges against uncertainty by providing capacity and capability that can be called up if needed. As future national security conditions change, the Department’s planned drawdown could change accordingly.

*Question.* What is your view of how these planned end-strength reductions will affect dwell time ratios?

*Answer.* The Army and Marine Corps end strength reductions are synchronized with plans for the drawdown in Afghanistan. The Department’s dwell time goal is 1:2 Active, 1:5 for Reserves. With some exceptions, the current dwell is 1:1 Active, 1:5 Reserve. If the Afghanistan force drawdown stays on track, the duty/dwell ratio goal for components should be achieved. If confirmed, I will carefully monitor the dwell time of our servicemembers since it is critical that dwell times be sufficient to preserve the wellbeing of our force.

*Question.* What effect would inability to meet dwell time objectives have on your decision to implement the planned end strength reductions?

*Answer.* Preserving the All-Volunteer Force is a top priority, so it is important to avoid stressing the Active and Reserve components. If confirmed, I would assess our ability to achieve our strategic missions and dwell time objectives prior to and during implementation of the planned Army and Marine Corps strength reductions.

*Question.* What additional military personnel reductions do you envision if the Department were required to sequester funding as outlined in the BCA?

*Answer.* The President notified Congress of his intent to exempt all military personnel accounts from sequester for fiscal year 2013, if a sequester is necessary. However, if the Department were required to sequester funding, I believe that it would first require a revision of the Defense Strategic Guidance announced by the President last January. The current strategy could not be met with the significantly diminished resources that sequester would impose. The revised strategy could very well impact all components of our workforce—Government civilians and contractors in the near-term as well as Active Duty and Reserve component military if the sequester continues beyond fiscal year 2013.

*Question.* In your view, what tools do the Department and Services need to get down to authorized strengths in the future, and which of these require congressional authorization?

*Answer.* The workforce management tools that Congress provided in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 will be useful for the drawdown. The Department continues to examine whether other workforce management authorities are needed and will submit those to Congress as necessary. In addition, in the event that the Department has to sequester funding, the Department would likely revisit the size of all components of the workforce—Active Duty military, Reserve component military, Government civilians, and contractors. After such a review, the Department might require, and would then request, additional authorization for tools to meet reduced end strength goals.

## RECRUITING STANDARDS

*Question.* Recruiting highly qualified individuals for military service during wartime in a cost-constrained environment presents unique challenges.

What is your assessment of the adequacy of current standards regarding qualifications for enlistment in the Armed Forces?

*Answer.* Today’s enlistment qualification standards are well-defined, supported by years of experience, and have stood the test of time. They are driven by the need to provide the Services with men and women who are prepared to adapt to the rigors of military life and meet performance requirements. The adequacy of these

standards is evidenced by over 11 years of continuous armed conflict manned by a high quality All-Volunteer Force.

*Question.* In your view, is there any way to increase the pool of eligible enlistees without sacrificing quality?

*Answer.* My understanding is the Services are always exploring ways to improve their ability to expand the recruiting market without sacrificing quality. As an example, this year the Department expanded its ability to enlist graduates with alternative diplomas while minimizing first term attrition. The Services also may be able to augment their screening procedures by incorporating other measures, such as temperament, to identify applicants who are likely to adapt well to the military. If confirmed, I will work with the Services to continually find new ways to expand the recruit market.

#### WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

*Question.* The issue of the appropriate role of women in the Armed Forces is a matter of continuing interest to Congress and the American public. Last year, DOD released a report to Congress, required by section 535 of the Ike Skelton National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2011 (Public Law 111-383), reviewing the laws and policies restricting the service of female members of the Armed Forces, and provided notice to Congress that the Department would open positions in ground combat units at the battalion level to women in occupational specialties for which they are already qualified to serve, and would eliminate the so-called co-location policy. According to the report, the changes resulted in over 14,000 positions being opened to women that were previously denied. Since then, the Marine Corps opened training positions at its Infantry Officer course to female marines, and the Army recently announced opening some special operation aviation positions to female servicemembers.

What is your view of the appropriate role for women in the Armed Forces?

*Answer.* Women are indispensable to our military. They have served ably alongside their male counterparts in Iraq and Afghanistan in a variety of roles. I support the expansion of opportunities for women to serve. If confirmed, I will ensure that the process of opening previously closed positions takes place expeditiously and at the same time that our readiness and ability to defend the Nation are not compromised by these changes.

*Question.* Do you believe additional specialties should be opened up for service by women? If so, which specialties?

*Answer.* On January 24, 2013, Secretary Panetta rescinded the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule and directed the integration of women into previously closed positions by January 1, 2016. If confirmed, I will continue implementation of that new policy, including its emphasis on the effectiveness of the fighting force and the development of gender-neutral standards.

*Question.* Do you believe any changes in the current policy or legislation regarding women in combat are needed or warranted?

*Answer.* I am not aware of further necessary changes at this time. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the implementation of the January 24, 2013 policy and if I see that additional policies or legislation are needed, I will make recommendations.

#### RISING COSTS OF MEDICAL CARE

*Question.* In testimony presented to Congress in February, 2009, the Assistant Director of the Congressional Budget Office asserted that "medical funding accounts for more than one-third of the growth projected for operations and support funding between 2009 and 2026." In April 2009, Secretary Gates told an audience at Maxwell Air Force Base that "health care is eating the Department alive." In recent years, the Department has attempted to address the growth in overall health care costs through various fee increases on military retirees.

What reforms in infrastructure, benefits, or benefit management, if any, do you think should be examined in order to control the costs of military health care?

*Answer.* It is essential that the Department take steps to control the costs of military healthcare while ensuring it continues to provide for our military personnel, their families, and retirees. I understand the Department included proposals in the fiscal year 2012 and 2013 President's budgets that would slow the growth of healthcare costs while preserving the quality and range of health care. These proposals include increasing enrollment fees and deductibles for retirees and increasing pharmacy co-pays. Not many of these proposals were accepted by Congress. If confirmed, I will review initiatives in this area and look for further opportunities as we must continue to look for savings in this area.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the long-term impact of rising medical costs on future DOD plans?

*Answer.* As I understand the situation, health care consumes nearly 10 percent of the Department's budget and could grow considerably over the next decade, taking an ever larger bite out of our ability to invest in enhanced warfighting capability. However, I realize that the healthcare benefit is a key component of retention for our men and women in uniform so I will work closely with the military and civilian leadership in the Department to find reasonable and responsible ways to stem this growth without breaking faith with our servicemembers, their families, and retirees.

*Question.* If confirmed, what actions would you initiate or recommend to mitigate the effect of such costs on the DOD top-line?

*Answer.* I cannot make specific recommendations at this time. If confirmed, I am committed to continuing to review military health care. Any changes must keep the faith with our troops, be transparent, preserve the quality and range of health care, and protect wounded warriors, medically-retired, and the families of those who died on Active Duty. Given today's budget environment, we must continue to look for savings opportunities, and this should include military health care.

#### PERSONNEL AND ENTITLEMENT COSTS

*Question.* In addition to health care costs, personnel and related entitlement spending continues to grow and is becoming an ever increasing portion of the DOD budget.

What actions do you believe can and should be taken, if any, to control the rise in personnel costs and entitlement spending?

*Answer.* I understand personnel and entitlement costs make up a significant portion of the Department's budget and have risen sharply over the past 10 years. The Department has proposed several initiatives in an attempt to slow the rate of growth while continuing to attract and retain the right number and quality of personnel. If confirmed, I am committed to exploring options to find savings and more efficient alternatives to help control the rise in personnel and entitlement costs while still fully supporting the All-Volunteer Force.

*Question.* In your view, can the Department and the Services efficiently manage the use of bonuses and special pays to place high quality recruits in the right jobs without paying more than the Department needs to pay, or can afford to pay, for other elements of the force?

*Answer.* I understand that targeted bonuses and special pays are very effective tools for achieving the Department's personnel strength and quality objectives and are generally much more cost-effective than across-the-board pay increases. Like any compensation program, these tools must be continually monitored to ensure they are used both efficiently and effectively and that the Department is receiving best value for its dollars.

#### MILITARY COMPENSATION AND RETIREMENT COMMISSION

*Question.* The NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 establishes a commission to review all elements of the military compensation and retirement systems and to make recommendations to modernize those systems to ensure the long-term viability of the All-Volunteer Force, enable a high quality of life for military families, and to achieve fiscal sustainability for the compensation and retirement systems.

Do you agree with the need for a comprehensive study of the military compensation and retirement systems?

*Answer.* I believe it is appropriate to perform a comprehensive review of the military compensation and retirement systems to ensure we have the right mix of pay and benefits to support our members.

*Question.* Do you support the goals of the Commission?

*Answer.* Yes. I am committed to ensuring any proposed changes to the mix of pay and benefits keep faith with those who are serving today and with those who have served in the past.

#### DEPENDENT CARE AND FLEXIBLE SPENDING ACCOUNTS

*Question.* The 10th Quadrennial Review of Military Compensation recommended providing dependent care and flexible spending benefits to Active Duty servicemembers. Providing these benefits would seem consistent with the initiatives of First Lady Michelle Obama and Dr. Jill Biden on behalf of military families. It would appear that no new legislative authority is needed for the Department to provide these benefits to servicemembers and their families.

If confirmed, would you extend these benefits to the Active Duty servicemembers and their families?

Answer. Taking care of our servicemembers and their families is a top priority of DOD. If confirmed, I will examine the option of flexible spending accounts for military families to determine if they are an appropriate part of our extensive benefits package for servicemembers and their families in this time of fiscal austerity.

#### SUICIDE PREVENTION AND MENTAL HEALTH RESOURCES

*Question.* The numbers of suicides in each of the Services continues to concern the committee. The Army released a report in July 2010 that analyzed the causes of its growing suicide rate and examined disturbing trends in drug use, disciplinary offenses, and high risk behaviors. In addition studies conducted by the Army, of soldiers and marines in theater, showed declines in individual morale and increases in mental health strain, especially among those who have experienced multiple deployments.

In your view, what role should DOD play in shaping policies to help prevent suicides both in garrison and in theater and to increase the resiliency of all servicemembers and their families, including members of the Reserve components?

Answer. Suicides by military members are tragic—every suicide is one too many. It is a complex problem that plagues our entire society—there are no easy answers or quick solutions. I think Secretary Panetta put it best when he said that suicide is perhaps the most frustrating challenge he has come across as Secretary of Defense. I believe that DOD must take a multi-faceted approach to preventing suicides that involves leadership responsibility, access to quality behavioral health care, efforts to improve mental fitness and resiliency, and increased research on causes and means of preventing suicide. If confirmed, I will push for enhancements to DOD's policies and programs in each of these areas.

*Question.* What is your understanding of the action that the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Army are taking in response to the July 2010 Army report, and the data in Chapter 3 in particular?

Answer. My understanding is that the Department has taken multiple actions to address the rise of suicides since the release of the Army's July 2010 report as well as the report of the DOD Suicide Prevention Task Force in September 2010. In particular, in November 2011, the DOD established the Defense Suicide Prevention Office to serve as the oversight authority for the implementation, standardization, and evaluation of suicide and risk reduction programs and policies.

*Question.* If confirmed, what actions will you take to ensure that sufficient mental health resources are available to servicemembers in theater, and to the servicemembers and their families upon return to home station?

Answer. I am firmly committed to implementing the President's Executive Order on "Improving Access to Mental Health Services for Veterans, Servicemembers, and Military Families." I look forward to reviewing the 12-month national suicide prevention campaign that DOD and VA are developing as part of the implementation of this Executive Order and will ensure that DOD does all it can to ensure that it is providing sufficient, high-quality behavioral health care to servicemembers and their families.

#### MILITARY QUALITY OF LIFE

*Question.* The committee is concerned about the sustainment of key quality of life programs for military families, such as family support, child care, education, employment support, health care, and morale, welfare and recreation services, especially as DOD faces budget challenges.

How do you perceive the relationship between military recruitment and retention and quality-of-life improvements and your own top priorities for the Armed Forces?

Answer. Quality-of-life programs that address family readiness needs must be available to families of our military members wherever they may be located. Changes in our basing, deployment patterns, and force structure, as we implement our new strategy and respond to the current fiscal environment, will pose some additional challenges in delivering these programs. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the impacts of such changes to ensure the needs of our military families continue to be met.

*Question.* If confirmed, what further enhancements to military quality of life would you consider a priority, and how do you envision working with the Services, combatant commanders, family advocacy groups, and Congress to achieve them?

Answer. I recognize that the well-being of the force, as well as recruiting and retention efforts, are significantly impacted by quality of life programs. I look forward to working with Congress, family advocacy groups, the Services, and combatant

commanders to ensure we have a comprehensive, accessible, and affordable suite of programs.

#### FAMILY READINESS AND SUPPORT

*Question.* Military members and their families in both the Active and Reserve components have made, and continue to make, tremendous sacrifices in support of operational deployments. Senior military leaders have warned of growing concerns among military families as a result of the stress of frequent deployments and the long separations that go with them.

What do you consider to be the most important family readiness issues for servicemembers and their families?

Answer. It is the Department's responsibility to help prepare military families to cope with the challenges inherent with military service. In order to build and sustain resilient military families, the Department must continue to focus on programs that enhance their social, financial, educational, and psychological well-being.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you ensure that family readiness needs are addressed and adequately resourced?

Answer. Sustaining family programs in the current fiscally constrained environment will be challenging, but it is of vital importance. If confirmed, I will seek to protect funding for family readiness programs to the greatest extent possible and will examine all such programs to ensure that they are operating efficiently so that available resources are going to their best and most effective uses.

*Question.* How would you address these family readiness needs in light of global rebasing, deployments, and future reductions in end strength?

Answer. Changes in our basing, deployment patterns, and force structure, as we implement our new strategy and respond to the current fiscal environment, will pose some additional challenges to maintaining family readiness. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the impacts of such changes to ensure the needs of our military families continue to be met.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you ensure support is provided to Reserve component families related to mobilization, deployment and family readiness, as well as to Active Duty families who do not reside near a military installation?

Answer. I believe that DOD has a responsibility to ensure access to quality programs, information and resources to families, regardless of their location. Military OneSource is an excellent example of a resource that is not tied to location, but allows families to access information and referral by the internet or by phone with live consultants available 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week. Maintaining a strong network of community-based providers, and partnerships with State and local governments are also key in ensuring local resources are readily available to servicemembers and their families, particularly Reserve component families and Active component families who do not live near a military installation. If confirmed, I will evaluate these programs to ensure we are meeting the needs of these military families.

*Question.* If confirmed, what additional steps will you take to enhance family support?

Answer. I believe there are opportunities to improve the efficiency and accessibility of the resources and programs that DOD, other Federal agencies, State and local governments, and community organizations provide to support servicemembers and their families. If confirmed, I will explore these opportunities and how we can better coordinate efforts among the various entities providing family support.

#### DETAINEE TREATMENT POLICY

*Question.* Do you support the policy set forth in the July 7, 2006, memorandum issued by the Deputy Secretary of Defense stating that all relevant DOD directives, regulations, policies, practices, and procedures must fully comply with Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you support the standards for detainee treatment specified in the revised Army Field Manual on Interrogations, FM 2-22.3, issued in September 2006, and in DOD Directive 2310.01E, the Department of Defense Detainee Program, dated September 5, 2006?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you ensure that all DOD policies promulgated and plans implemented related to intelligence interrogations, detainee debriefings, and tactical questioning comply with the Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and the Army Field Manual on Interrogations?

Answer. Yes.

*Question.* Do you share the view that standards for detainee treatment must be based on the principle of reciprocity, that is, that we must always keep in mind the risk that the manner in which we treat our own detainees may have a direct impact on the manner in which U.S. soldiers, sailors, airmen, or marines are treated, should they be captured in future conflicts?

*Answer.* Yes. reciprocity is a critical component and underlying value of our detainee treatment policies. As a Vietnam veteran, I also view this principle of reciprocity as a way to protect our U.S. soldiers, sailors, airmen, or marines, should they be captured in future conflicts.

#### COORDINATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

*Question.* After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Congress established the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and DOD established the U.S. Northern Command and an Assistant Secretary of Defense for Homeland Defense and Americas' Security Affairs.

What is your assessment of the current situation regarding cooperation and coordination between DOD and DHS on homeland security and civil support matters, and what will be your goals in this regard if you are confirmed?

*Answer.* Recent disaster responses, including the Department's efforts in response to Hurricane Sandy, show that DOD and DHS have a strong relationship. This success is a result of active engagement the Department has at all levels with DHS and many other of the Department's domestic interagency partners. Elements of the Department work very closely on a daily basis with the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the U.S. Secret Service, the U.S. Coast Guard, and U.S. Customs and Border Protection. The Department and DHS have successfully exchanged liaison and coordination staff officers to cement this collaborative approach at the working level. While a Member of Congress I voted to establish the DHS and have been pleased to see its success. If confirmed, my goal would be to continue to bolster the strong relationship between the Departments of Defense and Homeland Security.

*Question.* Do you believe the current mechanism for DOD to respond to the needs of domestic government agencies for DOD support in the event of a natural or man-made disaster is appropriate, or do you believe it needs to be modified?

*Answer.* The mechanisms for the Department to respond to the needs of domestic agencies appear to be working effectively. It is my understanding that the Department acted on 60 requests for assistance from FEMA during the Hurricane Sandy response last year, including helping to restore power, providing millions of gallons of fuel for first responders and residents, and removing water from the Brooklyn Battery tunnel, the longest underwater tunnel in North America. I understand that the Department also responded to some 21 other requests for assistance from FEMA for a variety of other disasters in 2012, as well as providing assistance to other Federal agencies, including the U.S. Forest Service for wildland firefighting and the U.S. Secret Service for protection of the President during special events such as the recent Inauguration. If confirmed, I will work with the Department's partner agencies to ensure that the current mechanisms remain effective and, where opportunities arise, pursue improvements.

#### IRAQ LESSONS LEARNED

*Question.* Did you agree with the President's decision on the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Iraq? If so, why? If not, why not?

*Answer.* Yes. I supported the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Iraq by December 2011 in accordance with the November 2008 U.S.-Iraq Security Agreement. It was the right decision. Our military men and women in uniform had completed their mission. We now have a strong relationship with a sovereign Iraq. Our drawdown has allowed us to advance our strategic partnership based on mutual interests and mutual respect.

*Question.* In your view, what aspects, if any, of the departure/drawdown of U.S. forces would you have modified?

*Answer.* I would not have modified the withdrawal of all U.S. combat forces by December 2011. I believe that the deadline helped the Iraqi Security Forces step up and take responsibility for the security of their people. This has allowed us to deepen our partnership with a sovereign Iraq, based on mutual interests and mutual respect.

*Question.* What do you believe are the major lessons learned from the Iraq invasion and the follow-on efforts to stabilize the country through 2011?

*Answer.* I believe we must think very carefully before we commit our Armed Forces to battlefields abroad. Our forces deserve policies and planning worthy of the

sacrifices they make in combat. Our Nation learned a number of lessons in Iraq—from the invasion, to the stabilization, to the withdrawal of our forces. These lessons include ensuring appropriate planning and preparation for a range of outcomes and events, setting clear and realistic strategic objectives, appreciating the limitations of military force and the necessity of engaging all levels of national power (political, economic, cultural, intelligence), recognizing the value and difficulty of building partnership capacity, enhancing interagency coordination, and improving our oversight of wartime spending and contracting. One of the most important lessons is that the U.S. Government must prepare for combat, post-combat, and securing the peace. The U.S. military must plan and train with civilian counterparts, be prepared to operate effectively in all phases of conflict, and improve cultural, linguistic, and partnering and advising skills within our force.

*Question.* What is your understanding and assessment, if any, of the Department's adaptations or changes in policy, programs, force structure, or operational concepts based upon these lessons learned?

*Answer.* I understand the Department has taken a number of steps to institutionalize the lessons from Iraq across policy, doctrine, organization, and training. The Department is committed to maintaining a focus on cultural and linguistic capabilities as well as the new operational approaches in counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, and security force assistance. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the Department continues to evaluate and implement lessons learned.

*Question.* If confirmed, what additional changes, if any, would you propose making to policy, programs, force structure, or operating concepts based on the lessons of combat and stability operations in Iraq?

*Answer.* I do not feel I know enough at this time to provide not have additional recommendations. If confirmed, I will study and evaluate the Department's efforts to retain and refine the lessons learned, expertise, and specialized capabilities that have been developed over the past 10 years of counterinsurgency and stability operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

*Question.* You called for an international mediator under the auspices of the U.N. Security Council to engage Iraq's political, religious, ethnic, and tribal leaders. Would you advocate that same course of action for Afghanistan?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will closely monitor the Afghan-led reconciliation process and make recommendations on any changes I think would be helpful. However, within the administration, the Afghanistan reconciliation process is led by the Department of State. They are in a better position to advise on the need for a U.N. Security Council role.

*Question.* Based on the lessons learned during the departure of military forces from Iraq, if confirmed, how would you shape U.S. enduring presence in Afghanistan in the post-2014 environment?

*Answer.* The U.S. presence post-2014 is an issue being discussed between the President and the Government of Afghanistan. If confirmed, I would work to ensure that the United States retains criminal and civil jurisdiction over U.S. forces in the Bilateral Security Agreement now under negotiation; if it does not, I will not support a continued U.S. military presence.

#### STABILITY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS

*Question.* The January 2012 DOD Strategic Guidance called for U.S. forces to be ready to conduct limited counterinsurgency and other stability operations if required, and to retain and continue to refine the lessons learned, expertise, and specialized capabilities that have been gained over the past 10 years of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. At the same time, the Strategic Guidance states that, "U.S. forces will no longer be sized to conduct large-scale, prolonged stability operations."

In your view, how should strategic guidance for DOD manage risk and articulate the types of missions or operations U.S. forces will or will not be expected to execute or accomplish?

*Answer.* The Department's strategic guidance documents should set clear priorities that enable senior Departmental leadership to determine appropriate trade-offs in military missions and force structure. Senior leadership deliberation on these trade-offs should be informed by a comprehensive, strategic understanding of risk to our defense and national security objectives. As strategy is implemented, the Department should continue to test it to determine areas of risk and develop mitigation options. If confirmed, I will aim to have any risk the Department bears be both manageable and acceptable; although budget uncertainty will make this a difficult task.

*Question.* In your view, what are the appropriate roles and responsibilities, if any, between DOD and other departments and agencies of the Federal Government in the planning and conduct of stability operations?

*Answer.* Coordinated and integrated interagency efforts are essential to the conduct of successful stability operations. The United States should emphasize non-military means and military-to-military cooperation to address instability and reduce the demand for significant U.S. force commitments to stability operations. In general, the Department should be in a support role to other U.S. Government departments and agencies in the planning and execution of most stability operations. However, if directed, the Department will lead stability operations activities to establish security, to restore essential services, to repair and protect critical infrastructure, and to deliver humanitarian assistance. Once acceptable levels of security and public order have been established, the Department should seek to transition lead responsibility to other U.S. Government agencies, foreign governments and security forces, or international governmental organizations.

*Question.* In developing the capabilities necessary for stability operations, what adjustments, if any, should be made to prepare U.S. Armed Forces to conduct stability operations without detracting from its ability to perform combat missions?

*Answer.* As our campaigns over the last 12 years have demonstrated, it is no longer an either/or choice between stability operations and combat. After almost 2 decades of hard-earned lessons in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Balkans, and elsewhere, I understand the Services have made great strides in their combined abilities to conduct stability operations. If confirmed, I will seek to maintain the stability operations expertise the Department has gained, and to ensure that the Services have the mechanisms necessary to expand their capacities, should our military forces be called upon to conduct comprehensive and sustained stability operations.

*Question.* Do you believe that the U.S. Government needs to establish new procedures to manage stability operations? If so, why?

*Answer.* Collaborative and coordinated planning with interagency and international partners is fundamental to the successful management and the effectiveness of U.S. Government stabilization and reconstruction activities. We must have a strong combined ability to conduct effective interagency planning. If confirmed, I will review the Department's procedures to identify potential improvements in the current processes and procedures used to manage stability operations across the U.S. Government and, as necessary and possible, expand the Department's support to other departments and agencies in their stability operations planning and execution.

*Question.* With the drawdown of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, what is your view on the future disposition of foreign and security force funding authorities including 1206 (Global Train and Equip), the Global Security Contingency Fund (GSCF), and other security force assistance authorities?

*Answer.* Today's security challenges cannot and should not be addressed by the United States alone. We need partnerships that combine our unique capabilities with the unique strengths of our allies and partners. Future challenges will likely emphasize the importance of our collaboration with capable partners. I understand that in order to meet our counterterrorism challenges, the Department shares these two authorities with the State Department to train and equip foreign security forces in a more rapid fashion than traditional Foreign Military Financing. Section 1206 is an important part of the Department's "toolbox" for responding to urgent and emerging counterterrorism challenges and stability operations, and that the GSCF is in its initial pilot phase. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department effectively and efficiently leverages authorities that enable our security force assistance efforts. These efforts are important to the Department's ability to build the capacity of foreign partners to help them develop effective and legitimate security institutions that can provide for their countries' internal security, and contribute to regional and multilateral responses to threats and instability.

*Question.* In your view, is there a roll for DOD in improving the operational capabilities of the African Standby Brigades?

*Answer.* The Department can help improve the capabilities of the individual countries contributing forces to the African Standby Brigades. Direct training can make a qualitative difference in the capabilities of partner countries and increase the effectiveness of the regional organizations that mandate such operations. In terms of helping the Standby Brigades once they are established, I understand that there are Presidential Determinations authorizing work with some regional organizations. In the cases where the Department is able to engage, I understand that habitual training and exercises can help strengthen the Brigades' operational capabilities.



## SECURITY SITUATION IN IRAQ

*Question.* What is your assessment of the current security situation in Iraq?

*Answer.* The overall security situation is stable, yet challenges remain. It is critical for Iraq to resolve its internal boundary disputes and political differences without the use or threat of force. I am concerned about the intent of al Qaeda in Iraq to exploit political and sectarian differences to breed instability. The Iraqi Security Forces have proven themselves capable of countering this threat to date and I believe that our continuing partnership with Iraq should aim to help Iraq against this terrorist threat.

*Question.* What are the main challenges to stability and security in Iraq over the coming months?

*Answer.* The main challenges to internal stability and security in Iraq are al Qaeda in Iraq, slow political progress, and sectarian-motivated groups who would use violence to advance their cause. Moreover, the unresolved status of territories claimed by the Kurdistan Regional Government has the potential to create fissures that can be exploited by extremist groups, and could lead to an escalation of tension between Kurdish and central government forces. While plenty of stumbling blocks exist, it is important that the Iraqi political parties continue to look to the political process to resolve their differences. Continuing to encourage dialogue and respect for the constitutional process will be crucial to ensuring long-term stability. The United States must also closely watch the impact that events external to Iraq, such as the deteriorating situation in Syria, have on Iraqi stability and security.

## U.S.-IRAQ STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP

*Question.* The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq at the end of 2011 has been described as the beginning of a new chapter in the strategic relationship between the United States and Iraq. The U.S.-Iraq Strategic Framework Agreement sets out a foundation for a normalized U.S.-Iraqi relationship in areas of mutual economic, diplomatic, cultural and security interests. Secretary of Defense Panetta and the Iraqi Minister of Defense recently signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for Defense Cooperation between the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Iraq and the DOD of the United States.

How do you envision the U.S.-Iraq strategic relationship developing in the coming years and what are your priorities for that relationship?

*Answer.* The United States should seek a normal, productive relationship and a strategic partnership with a sovereign Iraq—analogous to the partnerships we have with other countries in the region and around the world. If confirmed, I will continue to strengthen our military-to-military relationship with Iraq, and further its reintegration into the region.

*Question.* What do you see as the greatest challenges for that relationship over the coming years?

*Answer.* Iraq faces several tough challenges as the Nation's new government matures and works through internal differences, and it will be important to continue to engage Iraq during a time of change. We have moved from occupiers to partners, and that can be a hard transition. But recent turmoil in the broader Middle East highlights the importance of active U.S. engagement and maintaining strategic partnerships with regional partners based on mutual interests and mutual respect. We must maintain focus on Iraq in order to advance broader U.S. objectives of peace and security in the region.

*Question.* What is your understanding and assessment of the recently concluded MOU? In your view, does this agreement on defense cooperation promote U.S. interests with respect to Iraq and the region?

*Answer.* My understanding of the MOU is that it represents mutual understandings regarding future expansion of defense cooperation. In a time of great uncertainty in the region, Iraq will play an increasingly important role in ensuring stability and it is critical that we continue to work together to ensure stability and peace in the region.

## OFFICE OF SECURITY COOPERATION IN IRAQ

*Question.* In the NDAs for Fiscal Years 2012 and 2013, Congress authorized the Secretary of Defense to support the transition in Iraq by providing funds for the activities and operations of the Office of Security Cooperation in Iraq (OSC-I). In the report accompanying the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, the conferees expressed their expectation that the administration will accelerate the transition of the OSC-I to a normalized status comparable to Offices of Security Cooperation in other countries in the region, and that funding for OSC-I activities and operations will be

transitioned out of DOD to other sources, as is the case for offices of security cooperation in other countries.

Do you support the transition of the OSC-I to a normalized office of security cooperation comparable to those in other countries in the region?

Answer. Yes. The OSC-I, under Chief of Mission authority, is the foundation for our long-term security partnership with Iraq. If confirmed, I will continue Secretary Panetta's work to normalize the OSC-I, in coordination with the Department of State, which has lead for the U.S. Mission in Iraq.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you ensure that the transition of the OSC-I to a normalized status, including funding from sources other than the DOD, is completed in a deliberate manner?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with the Department of State, which has lead for the U.S. Mission in Iraq, to normalize the OSC-I and transition to traditional security assistance and security cooperation funding sources.

*Question.* What timeframe would you use as a target to transition OSC-I to a normalized status?

Answer. I am unable to comment on the specific timing as I have not reviewed the detailed plans and it is a decision to be made with the Department of State, which has lead for the U.S. Mission in Iraq. If confirmed, I will review the planning for OSC-I normalization and work closely with the Department of State.

#### AFGHANISTAN STRATEGY

*Question.* Do you support the current strategy for Afghanistan? In your view, is that the right strategy?

Answer. Yes. I support the strategy that the President has set forth and that we are now implementing, and I believe it is the right strategy. I believe that any strategy should be reviewed and adapted over time, and, if confirmed, will give my best advice to the President and consult with Congress on this critical issue.

*Question.* If confirmed, are there changes you would recommend to the U.S. strategy in Afghanistan?

Answer. I believe that the U.S. strategy in Afghanistan is sound. I also believe that, over time, the administration should continue to assess the strategy. If confirmed, I will consult with Congress, and with our allies and partners in this regard.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the progress of the campaign in Afghanistan?

Answer. I believe that our campaign in Afghanistan has made significant progress. Our Coalition and Afghan partners blunted the insurgents' summer offensive for the second consecutive year. The Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) are moving into security lead throughout the country. They are pushing violence out of most populated areas, and the United States and our coalition partners agreed in Chicago to support the long-term stability and security of Afghanistan. Exceeding initial expectations, Afghan forces began leading the majority of operations in July 2012 and now lead approximately 80 percent of operations. In February, in conjunction with the fourth tranche of transition, the ANSF is expected to have the lead in securing 87 percent of the Afghan population. Overall violence was down 7 percent in 2012. At the same time, I understand that significant challenges remain, including insider threats and completing the transition to Afghanistan taking on full responsibility for its security at the end of 2014.

#### SECURITY TRANSITION IN AFGHANISTAN

*Question.* President Obama and Afghan President Karzai recently announced that the transition to an Afghan lead for security throughout Afghanistan will occur this spring, several months ahead of schedule. As part of the ongoing transition, coalition forces are shifting increasingly to an advise-and-assist mission but will continue to support Afghan security forces until the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission concludes by no later than the end of 2014.

Do you support the announced transition of the security lead to Afghan security forces throughout Afghanistan by this spring?

Answer. Yes. As this transition occurs, I understand that the ISAF will shift into an advisor support role.

*Question.* Do you support the shift in the mission of coalition forces to an increasingly advise-and-assist role in support of Afghan security forces?

Answer. Yes. This mission shift to an increasingly support role is consistent with what Afghans want and what was agreed at the 2010 Lisbon Summit—an Afghanistan able to provide for its own security, with the assistance of the U.S. and other nations. The U.S. and our coalition and Afghan partners reaffirmed this goal at the 2012 Chicago North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Summit. For transition

to be successful, it makes good sense for the ANSF to assume lead security responsibility this year, enabled by continued support and mentoring from ISAF to prepare them for full security responsibility by the end of 2014.

*Question.* Do you agree that it is important for the success of the mission in Afghanistan to have Afghan security forces, rather than coalition forces, taking the lead for security and conducting unilateral operations to the maximum extent?

Answer. Yes. Training and developing the ANSF into a force that can sustainably assume full security responsibility by the end of 2014 is critical to meeting this objective.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the capacity and performance of the Afghan security forces in assuming the lead for security in areas designated for transition, including in contested areas?

Answer. I understand that the ANSF have exceeded initial expectations. Afghan forces began leading the majority of operations in July 2012 and now lead approximately 80 percent of operations, including increasingly complex, multi-day operations. Violence in transition Tranches 1, 2, and 3, where the ANSF are now in the lead, was down 9 percent, 6 percent, and 14 percent respectively in 2012 compared to 2011. Some of these initial areas of transition include contested areas, such as Lashkar Gah and Helmand, where the ANSF have done well. However, the last two transition Tranches contain many contested areas, so significant challenges remain and ISAF support will be critical throughout 2013–2014.

*Question.* In your opinion, are there any conditions on the ground in Afghanistan at the end of 2014 that would preclude a responsible transition of mission from combat to support for U.S. forces? Under what conditions, if any, would you recommend against making such a transition at the end of 2014?

Answer. Currently, I believe that transition is on track for the Afghans to assume full security responsibility by the end of 2014. At this time, I do not foresee any realistic conditions that would preclude this transition from being completed responsibly by the end of 2014. If confirmed, I will monitor the conditions closely and will continue to assess progress, in consultation with commanders on the ground and the Joint Chiefs; and, if necessary and warranted by changing conditions, I will adjust the Department's recommendations.

#### DRAW DOWN OF U.S. FORCES IN AFGHANISTAN

*Question.* In June 2011, President Obama announced his decision to draw down the 33,000 U.S. surge force in Afghanistan so that by the summer of 2012 U.S. forces will be at a level of 68,000. The President recently reaffirmed his pledge to continue to bring U.S. forces home from Afghanistan at a steady pace. He also stated he would announce the next phase of the U.S. drawdown based on the recommendations of the ISAF Commander and other commanders on the ground in Afghanistan.

How would you assess the decision to draw down the 33,000 U.S. surge force from Afghanistan by the end of summer 2012?

Answer. In my view, the decision to draw down the U.S. surge by the end of the summer has been proven by conditions on the ground. Although challenges remain and progress in Afghanistan has been uneven in many areas, overall security has improved and Afghans are increasingly in the lead.

*Question.* What in your view should be the pace of reductions in U.S. forces during each of 2013 and 2014?

Answer. I do not have access to the relevant analysis to make a detailed assessment, but understand that President Obama will consider options provided by our senior military and civilian leaders. I support the President's direction, articulated in the West Point speech, for "steady" reductions. If confirmed, ensuring an effective transition in Afghanistan will be one of my top priorities.

*Question.* What in your view should be the size and missions of any residual U.S. force that may remain in Afghanistan after the end of 2014?

Answer. The key missions of any post-2014 military presence would focus: training, advising, and assisting ANSF; and targeted counterterrorism missions against al Qaeda and its affiliates, while also protecting U.S. forces and citizens. The size of the force will flow from missions assigned.

*Question.* In your view, is there a minimum number of troops that will be required to both accomplish the assigned mission and provide security for those executing that mission?

Answer. I have not yet reviewed the detailed mission planning and analysis to form a view regarding the appropriate number of U.S., coalition, and Afghan troops necessary to fulfill key missions including force protection. I do believe that suffi-

cient forces should be provided to do the job assigned to them, while protecting themselves.

#### STATUS-OF-FORCES AGREEMENT FOR AFGHANISTAN

*Question.* As called for in the Enduring Strategic Partnership Agreement signed in May, the United States and Afghanistan are holding talks on a Bilateral Security Agreement, which will provide essential protections for any limited U.S. military presence in Afghanistan after 2014.

Do you agree that it is essential that any status of forces agreement for U.S. military forces in Afghanistan after 2014 provide immunity for U.S. troops from prosecution in Afghan courts?

*Answer.* Yes. I agree with the position made clear by the President during his joint press conference with President Karzai on January 11, 2013, that “it would not be possible for us to have any kind of U.S. troop presence [in Afghanistan] post-2014 without assurances that our men and women who are operating there are [not] in some way subject to the jurisdiction of another country.”

#### AFGHANISTAN NATIONAL SECURITY FORCES

*Question.* What is your assessment of the progress in developing a professional and effective Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF)?

*Answer.* Based on the information available to me, I believe that the ANSF has and continues to make significant progress over the past few years. I understand that today the ANSF field three out of every four people in uniform defending Afghanistan, and that Afghans conduct the majority of operations backed up by the ISAF.

*Question.* What do you see as the main challenges to building the capacity of the ANSF and, if confirmed, what recommendations, if any, would you make for addressing those challenges?

*Answer.* A first challenge is to continue to improve the quality, readiness and performance of the 352,000 personnel in the ANSF. I understand that problems remain in leadership, retention, corruption, and the long personnel training needed to operate certain enablers such as logistics and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR). A second challenge is for the ANSF to develop a greater capacity for maintaining equipment and integrating it into operations needed for logistics support, mobility, ISR, and operational planning. I am aware that the Department has an aggressive effort to close these enabler gaps. Third, and most broadly, the ANSF must continue building its self-confidence through operational success in taking the lead responsibility for securing transitioning areas and protecting the Afghan people. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to continue, and where necessary, adjust efforts to build ANSF capacity and capability.

*Question.* Do you support plans for building and sustaining the ANSF at 352,000 personnel?

*Answer.* Yes. I understand that our commanders consider the current ANSF force of 352,000 personnel necessary to complete the transition to Afghan lead security responsibility by the end of 2014, and to secure the country during the transition of power following the Afghan Presidential election in 2014. If confirmed, I will continue to review the numbers and capabilities of the ANSF to ensure that we are supporting a force structure that is sufficient to meet our goals, and is fiscally sustainable over the long term.

*Question.* Do you agree that any reductions in the ANSF from this 352,000 level should be based on security conditions in Afghanistan at the time those reductions would be expected to occur?

*Answer.* I agree that changes in ANSF force levels should take account of expected security conditions. At the same time, for planning and budgeting purposes, it is necessary to make projections about the future security environment and plans about future force levels. If confirmed, I will review these issues and propose adjustments over time, as appropriate.

#### INSIDER THREAT

*Question.* In 2012 there was a significant increase in the number of so-called “green-on-blue” incidents in which individuals in Afghan uniform attacked U.S. or coalition soldiers. The rising number of insider attacks has led U.S. and Afghan military leaders to order a number of precautions against such insider threats, including expanding Afghan counterintelligence efforts to identify possible Taliban infiltrators, increasing cultural sensitivity training, and expanding the “Guardian Angel” program to protect against the insider threat in meetings between coalition and Afghan forces.

What is your assessment of the insider threat and its impact on the military campaign in Afghanistan?

Answer. Insider attacks have the potential to damage the strategic trust necessary for our campaign to succeed. It is vital that we work with our Afghan and international partners to take every step possible to stop these attacks. I understand that U.S. and Afghan efforts have reduced attacks and are helping to reduce risks to coalition personnel. If confirmed, I will continue to pay close attention to countering this threat.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the measures that have been taken by ISAF and Afghan leaders to address the insider threat?

Answer. My understanding is that the measures put in place to date have helped to mitigate the threat from insider attacks, with the number of attacks now dropping from a peak in August 2012. Raised awareness of the threat and the implementation of robust force protection measures help protect our personnel, but the work by the ANSF to identify threats and prevent attacks through improved intelligence gathering and vetting of personnel remains critical. As we move into the “fighting season” we need to ensure these steps continue to be implemented fully and that ISAF continues to take the necessary steps to prevent these attacks. If confirmed, I will make this a key priority.

*Question.* Are there additional steps that you would recommend to address this threat, if confirmed?

Answer. If confirmed, I will continue current efforts—and ask for a constant review of additional measures to further reduce the risk posed by insider threats.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the impact of these green-on-blue attacks on the level of trust between coalition and Afghan forces?

Answer. It is understandable that insider attacks have negatively impacted trust in some areas. However, after more than 11 years of fighting shoulder to shoulder and shared sacrifice, I believe that, in most areas, the relationship between the ANSF and the Coalition remains strong, particularly out in the field, where soldiers face a common enemy every day.

*Question.* In light of the spike in insider attacks, do you see a need to reconsider our plans for embedding small Security Force Assistance Teams of U.S. military personnel with Afghan military units as part of the transition to an Afghan security lead?

Answer. If confirmed, I will place a priority on mitigating insider attacks and will ensure that our commanders continually assess the impact of these attacks on the campaign, and consider whether changes to the Security Force Assistance Team model should be made, including any temporary adjustments as needed.

#### RECONCILIATION

*Question.* In your view, what should be the role of the United States in any reconciliation negotiations with the Afghan Taliban and other insurgent groups?

Answer. I agree with President Obama that Afghan-led reconciliation is the surest way to end violence and ensure lasting stability in Afghanistan and the region. Most counterinsurgencies end in some form of negotiation. The U.S. role should be to facilitate credible negotiations between the Afghan Government and the Taliban, and ensure that three necessary outcomes are met: that the Taliban and armed groups end violence, break ties with al Qaeda, and accept Afghanistan’s constitution, including protections for all Afghan men and women.

*Question.* What additional steps, if any, should the United States be taking to help advance the reconciliation process?

Answer. The United States should continue to coordinate efforts closely with the Afghan Government.

*Question.* In your view, what should be the role of Afghanistan’s neighbors, in particular Pakistan, in the reconciliation process?

Answer. Afghanistan’s neighbors should support an Afghan-led process. Each will benefit from improved stability in Afghanistan or potentially suffer from continued violence. Pakistan and other neighbors should work forthrightly with Afghanistan to mitigate any suspicions or misunderstandings.

#### SPECIAL OPERATIONS IN AFGHANISTAN

*Question.* Special Operations Forces depend on general purpose forces for many enabling capabilities, including ISR; logistics; and medical evacuation. Admiral McRaven, Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command, has said “I have no doubt that special operations will be the last to leave Afghanistan” and has predicted that the requirement for special operations forces may increase as general purpose forces continue to be drawn down.

If confirmed, how would you ensure adequate enabling capabilities for Special Operations Forces as general purpose forces continue to draw down in Afghanistan?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that all U.S. forces in Afghanistan—including both Special Operations Forces and general purpose forces—are supported by sufficient enablers. In addition to providing clear guidance to commanders, I will seek the military advice of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, and ensure that the views of all relevant combatant commanders are taken into account.

*Question.* Last April, the United States and Afghanistan signed an MOU on the “Afghanization” of direct action counterterrorism missions in Afghanistan reflecting the shared intention of having Afghan security forces in the lead in the conduct of such operations with U.S. forces in a support role.

Why is it important for Afghan Special Operations Forces to be in the lead on night raids?

Answer. Having Afghans in the lead for “night operations” makes good sense for three reasons. First, this approach helps ensure that cultural and language differences do not result in misunderstandings that could escalate a situation. Second, having Afghans in the lead allows for improved real-time intelligence collection. Third, the Afghan Special Operations Forces are capable of fulfilling this mission and their doing so is a key part of the transition.

*Question.* General Allen and others have consistently praised the Village Stability Operations (VSO) and Afghan Local Police (ALP) programs—both U.S. Special Operations missions as critical elements of the counterinsurgency strategy in Afghanistan. Some Afghans have called for the removal of U.S. Special Operators from these operations.

What are your views on the value of these programs and do you believe they should be part of the long-term strategy in Afghanistan (i.e. post-2014)?

Answer. I understand that VSO and the ALP have contributed to the decline in Taliban control in many strategic areas throughout Afghanistan. If I am confirmed, I will make a priority to assess the potential future value of these programs.

#### U.S. STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN

*Question.* What would you consider to be areas of shared strategic interest between the United States and Pakistan?

Answer. I believe the United States and Pakistan share common interests in disrupting, dismantling, and defeating al Qaeda, and in long-term regional stability, including a durable political settlement in Afghanistan and the safety and security of the Indian Ocean.

*Question.* In what areas do you see U.S. and Pakistani strategic interests diverging?

Answer. The United States and Pakistan often diverge over Pakistan’s approach to the militant and terrorist networks that operate in Pakistan’s territory and do not overtly threaten the Pakistani state. However, in my view, these networks threaten Pakistani stability, endanger the prospects for a settlement in Afghanistan, and undermine regional stability—so that in fact, while the relationship is challenging, I believe our long-term strategic interests are in alignment.

*Question.* If confirmed, what changes, if any, would you recommend for U.S. relations with Pakistan, particularly in terms of military-to-military relations?

Answer. U.S.-Pakistan military-to-military ties have been marked by periodic ups and downs. In my view, the military-military relationship should be underlined by a realistic, pragmatic approach to enhancing those areas of cooperation that are dictated by our common interests and to ensuring accountability for actions that detract from these interests. If confirmed, I will make accomplishing that goal a priority.

#### U.S. ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN

*Question.* Since 2001, the United States has provided significant military assistance to Pakistan. In addition, the United States has provided significant funds to reimburse Pakistan for the costs associated with military operations conducted by Pakistan along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border and other support provided in connection with Operation Enduring Freedom.

In your view, how effective has the assistance and other support that the United States has provided to Pakistan been in promoting U.S. interests?

Answer. As the President has said, more terrorists have been killed in Pakistan than anywhere else since September 11—and that would not be possible without Pakistani cooperation. Security assistance for Pakistan has helped Pakistan press this campaign against the militant and terrorist networks that threaten us all. If

confirmed, I will work to ensure that our security assistance and other support to Pakistan both serves U.S. interests and is cost effective.

*Question.* Do you support conditioning U.S. assistance and other support to Pakistan on Pakistan's continued cooperation in areas of mutual security interest?

Answer. U.S. assistance to Pakistan should not be unconditional. At the same time, any conditions should be carefully examined to ensure they advance U.S. strategic interests.

#### AL QAEDA AND ASSOCIATED FORCES

*Question.* What is your assessment of the threat posed by al Qaeda and its associated forces to the U.S. Homeland, U.S. interests overseas, and Western interests more broadly?

Answer. I assess that the threat posed by al Qaeda to the U.S. Homeland has been significantly diminished over the past 4 years. At the same time, al Qaeda's remaining leadership in Pakistan and al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula remains of serious concern. Additionally, the Arab Spring has created new opportunities for al Qaeda affiliates in Syria and North Africa.

*Question.* In light of the recent events in Benghazi and Algeria, do you share the assessment that al Qaeda is on the brink of strategic defeat?

Answer. Our sustained military, intelligence, and diplomatic efforts over the last 10 years have brought us closer to the strategic defeat of core al Qaeda. There can be no doubt, however, that al Qaeda and associated forces remain potent, dangerous, and adaptable foes—as evidenced by its despicable actions in Benghazi and more recently in Algeria. If confirmed, I will continue to focus on defeating al Qaeda and its associated forces around the world.

#### ARAB SPRING

*Question.* The Arab Spring has changed—and will likely continue to change—the political dynamics in the Middle East and North Africa. These changes require the United States to adjust our military-to-military and defense civilian relations in this region. Some observers argue that the United States should reduce significantly our military-to-military contact in countries as a result of the ongoing changes and others advocate more robust and stepped-up contact with our partners in this region.

In your view, what should be the posture of the U.S. Government on military-to-military and defense civilian relations in the region?

Answer. DOD's military-to-military and defense civilian relations with our partners in the Middle East and North Africa have played a critical role in advancing U.S. strategic interests, which include: securing and protecting Israel, preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, defeating extremists, countering terrorist organizations, ensuring the free flow of commerce, and supporting operations in Afghanistan. Engagement with key partners' defense ministries and militaries, building partner capacity to meet common challenges, having a forward presence to enable operations and deter threats, and if and when necessary to conduct future contingencies, all require considerable effort by both DOD and the Department of State. During this time of change and uncertainty in the region, the Department should sustain military-to-military and defense civilian relations, while continuing to evaluate and recalibrate the nature and substance of our relationships to ensure they are consistent with U.S. values and advance U.S. vital national interests.

#### SYRIA

*Question.* The civil war in Syria continues and President Assad's commitment to continuing his regime's ongoing operations appear unwavering—despite broad international condemnation. To date, the United States has limited its support to opposition forces to non-lethal assistance to forces on the ground, as well as technical assistance to elements of the opposition working to build a cohesive political entity.

In your view, what is the proper role on the United States in this conflict?

Answer. I support the administration's position that Syrian President Bashar al-Asad has lost all legitimacy and must step aside to enable a political solution that ends the bloodshed, and meets the aspirations of the Syrian people. As President Obama has clearly stated, Asad must go. I also support the administration's approach to the ongoing crisis in Syria—working closely with allies, partners and multilateral institutions to achieve this goal through diplomatic and economic pressure on the Asad regime.

I agree with the administration's continued support of the Geneva Action Group's framework for a political solution, which was endorsed by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, the Arab League, and the U.N. General Assembly. If confirmed, I will continue to support Joint U.N.-Arab League Special Representa-

tive Brahimi's efforts to build international support for the Geneva framework and urge all parties in Syria to take steps toward its implementation, to help expedite an end to the suffering of the Syrian people.

*Question.* In your view, should the United States provide other kinds of support to opposition groups on the ground in Syria, including the provision of lethal support?

*Answer.* The U.S. Government should continue providing non-lethal assistance to the unarmed opposition, as well as humanitarian support to Syrians in need, both inside Syria and in neighboring countries. The United States should also continue to support the opposition in the diplomatic arena. This includes helping the newly established Syrian Opposition Council with its efforts to end the conflict and improve the future of the Syrian people. I also believe that, like ongoing diplomatic efforts, U.S. assistance efforts should continue to be coordinated with our allies, partners, and relevant regional groups to have the biggest impact possible.

I do not believe that providing lethal support to the armed opposition at this time will alleviate the horrible situation we see in Syria. The Syrian people are in great need during this difficult period, and the United States is helping to address those basic needs by providing medical assistance, humanitarian assistance, and political support on the international stage. We must continually explore additional ways to provide resources and help influence the right outcome.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you review Defense Department planning for options to ensure the security of chemical weapons in Syria, and recommend any additional planning, if needed?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department continues planning for a variety of contingencies in order to provide the President with options. This includes relevant planning for Syria and specifically, the security and elimination of chemical weapons in Syria. If confirmed, I will review these plans and, if necessary, I will direct additional planning on this and any other potential contingencies.

*Question.* In your view, what should be NATO's role with respect to Syria (i.e. should NATO consider a military intervention, the creation of a no-fly zone, or other military operations to protect civilians and support opposition forces)?

*Answer.* The United States is working with our allies to achieve a peaceful and orderly political transition in Syria and to end the bloodshed as quickly as possible. Our NATO allies are closely monitoring the situation in Syria, especially as the conflict touches on NATO's border in Turkey, and like us, are extremely concerned about the deteriorating humanitarian conditions on the ground. NATO's ultimate task is the protection and defense of NATO members. To that end, I support NATO's decision to augment Turkey's air and missile defense capabilities in order to defend the population and territory of Turkey and contribute to the de-escalation of the crisis along the alliance's border. This includes the recent deployment of NATO Patriot batteries to Turkey from the United States, Germany, and The Netherlands. I understand the administration has also been working with our international partners, including NATO allies, to ensure that the appropriate humanitarian assistance is reaching those Syrians in need, both inside Syria and in neighboring countries (Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, and Iraq).

#### LIBYA

*Question.* On March 19, 2011, the multilateral military operation, named Operation Odyssey Dawn, was launched in Libya to enforce United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973. Following the initial operations against Libyan integrated air defense systems, this operation continued under NATO Command as Operation Unified Protector.

What are your views on the limited U.S. military mission in Libya—Operation Odyssey Dawn and Operation Unified Protector?

*Answer.* I believe the U.S. and NATO operations in Libya were a success. Operation Odyssey Dawn stopped Colonel Qadhafi's army from advancing on Benghazi, saved thousands of lives, and established the conditions for a no-fly-zone. Operation Unified Protector built on these accomplishments and created the time and space needed for the opposition to oppose, and ultimately overthrow, Qadhafi. Both operations had limited and clear objectives for the unique capabilities the U.S. military could provide, avoided U.S. boots-on-the-ground, integrated allies and partners, minimized collateral damage and civilian casualties to a historically unprecedented extent, and enjoyed the legitimacy of U.N. Security Council authorization. This was all achieved at a fraction of the cost of recent interventions in the Balkans, Iraq, or Afghanistan.



## U.S. MARINE CORPS SUPPORT TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT

*Question.* The Accountability Review Board for Benghazi recently completed its report examining the facts and circumstances surrounding the September 11–12, 2012 attack against the U.S. temporary mission facility in Benghazi. Among its findings and conclusions, its report supported the “State Department’s initiative to request additional marines and expand the Marine Security Guard (MSG) Program—as well as corresponding requirements for staffing and funding. The Board also recommends that the State Department and DOD identify additional flexible MSG structures and request further resources for the Department and DOD to provide more capabilities and capacities at higher risk posts.” In the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, Congress authorized up to 1,000 additional marines in the MSG program to provide the additional end strength and resources necessary to support enhanced Marine Corps security at U.S. embassies, consulates, and other diplomatic facilities.

In your view, should the Marine Corps diplomatic security mission be expanded to include new roles beyond the protection of classified information and equipment, and if so, how many additional marines and what rank structure would be needed?

*Answer.* I am aware that the Departments of Defense and State are currently thoroughly examining the challenges and threats posed by global unrest to our overseas operations and are developing options to address these challenges. These options include consideration of expanding Marine Security Guard detachments, as well as adjustments to their roles and responsibilities. I have not reviewed the details of the options and, therefore, am unable to comment on the specific arrangements, numbers of personnel, or rank structure at this time. However, if confirmed, I will place personal emphasis on this issue and work closely with the Secretary of State and Congress to ensure we are doing all we can to help protect our diplomats and diplomatic facilities overseas.

*Question.* In your view, should the current arrangements between the Department of State and U.S. Marine Corps be modified?

*Answer.* I cannot recommend any changes at this time. If confirmed, I will review the on-going work and recommendations that are being developed by the Departments of Defense and State that is examining the roles, responsibilities, and arrangements of the U.S. Marine Security Guards and the Department of State.

## STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS AND INFORMATION OPERATIONS

*Question.* Over the past decade, DOD has funded an increasing number of military information support operations (formerly known as psychological operations) and influence programs. The GAO reports that DOD has “spent hundreds of millions of dollars each year” to support its information operations outreach activities. Many of these programs are in support of operations in Afghanistan, but Military Information Support Teams (MIST) from U.S. Special Operations Command also deploy to U.S. embassies in countries of particular interest around the globe to bolster the efforts of the Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Further, the geographic combatant commands are increasingly moving into this operational space.

What are your views on DOD’s military information support operations and influence programs?

*Answer.* I believe DOD must be able to influence and inform foreign audiences in environments susceptible to the messages of U.S. adversaries. MISTs are trained in developing culturally appropriate messages to counter hostile information and propaganda, as well as assisting with building the capacity of partner nations to conduct these activities themselves. I understand that DOD influence activities, including those conducted by MISTs, are coordinated closely with the embassies in the areas where they operate, both inside and outside of areas of conflict, and at times can support common efforts of other agencies. I understand the Department has taken significant steps to address congressional concerns related to policy oversight, budgeting, and effectiveness. If confirmed, I intend to continue to be responsive to Congress on this matter, as well as to continue the Department’s efforts to coordinate information activities across the interagency.

*Question.* In 2005, al Qaeda’s Ayman al-Zawahiri declared that “We are in a battle, and more than half of it is taking place in the battlefield of the media.” In 2010, a non-partisan study highlighted the lack of a U.S. strategy to counter radical ideologies that foment violence (e.g. Islamism or Salafist-Jihadism).

In your view, what is the appropriate role of DOD, if any, in developing and implementing a strategy to counter radical ideologies, and how does that role complement or conflict with the efforts of the Intelligence Community and the State Department?

*Answer.* Countering violent extremist ideology is a whole-of-government endeavor. I believe the Defense Department's focus should be on using its assets to meet military objectives and providing support to other U.S. Government agencies as requested. I understand the Department's activities in this area are closely coordinated with the Intelligence Community and the State Department.

*Question.* Defense Secretary Gates launched the Minerva Program in 2009 to develop deeper social, cultural and behavioral expertise for policy and strategy purposes.

Do you support this program and its goals?

*Answer.* I understand both Secretary Gates and Secretary Panetta supported the MINERVA initiative, which provides the Department with a means to focus research on complex social, cultural and political dynamics related to our strategic interests around the world. If confirmed, I would seek to learn more about the program and assess its continued value in supporting policy and strategy development.

#### SOMALIA

*Question.* Somalia is a training and operations hub for al Shabab and other violent extremists; pirates operating in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Peninsula; illicit traffickers of weapons, humans, and drugs; and remnants of the al Qaeda East Africa cell that was responsible for the destruction of our embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi in August 1998.

What is your assessment of the threat posed by al Shabab to the U.S. Homeland and U.S. and Western interests in the East African region?

*Answer.* My understanding is that successful operations by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) have reduced Al-Shabaab's freedom of movement in south and central Somalia, but al Shabaab remains a threat to the U.S. Homeland and to U.S. and Western interests in the Horn of Africa. Al Shabaab leaders have claimed affiliation with al Qaeda since 2007 and formally merged with the group in February 2012. Al Shabaab has demonstrated a desire and capability to conduct terrorist acts throughout the Horn of Africa, and it presents a threat to the homeland through links into Somali diaspora communities in the United States and Europe. Al Shabaab continues to repress the Somali people and remains the greatest threat to the new Somali Government. As the new Somali Government stands up, I believe that the United States must remain focused on the risks posed by al Shabaab.

*Question.* Given the role of the various U.S. Government Departments and Agencies in the Horn of Africa, what changes, if any, would you make to DOD's current role in the Horn of Africa?

*Answer.* With the establishment of the new government in Somalia and U.S. recognition of that government earlier this month, the Department will continue to play a role in Somalia's security sector development in order to help secure the gains made by AMISOM. Most of the U.S. Government's traditional security cooperation tools have been restricted from use in Somalia for some time, but I understand that the United States will explore possible changes in the coming year, as the United States moves to normalize relations with Mogadishu. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the Department's approach to Somalia is developed as part of a coordinated U.S. national security policy toward the Horn of Africa, and to determine how the Department can and should best support our foreign policy in this region.

*Question.* In your view, what role, if any, should the United States play in the building of a Somali national army?

*Answer.* The United States can play a guiding and mentoring role in the development of Somalia's security sector. It is in the U.S. interest to ensure that Somalia's new government has a competent and professional military to provide security to its citizens and play a constructive role in the region.

#### AL QAEDA IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

*Question.* A number of senior U.S. officials have indicated the most significant threat to the U.S. Homeland currently emanates from Yemen.

What is your assessment of the threat posed by al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula to the United States?

*Answer.* I am very concerned about the threat that al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) poses to the Homeland. AQAP has attempted at least three attacks on the United States since December 2009, and in my view fully intends to attack again. AQAP has shown some very sophisticated and innovative techniques, such as the development of concealed explosive devices and printer cartridge bombs.

AQAP is also attempting to recruit and radicalize would-be terrorists in the West through its extensive media outreach.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the current U.S. strategy to counter al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, specifically in Yemen?

*Answer.* I support the administration's whole-of-government strategy to: support the political transition, marshal international economic and humanitarian assistance, and build Yemen's counter-terrorism capabilities through training and assistance. The U.S. strategy to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat AQAP is a collaborative U.S.-Yemeni effort. By closely monitoring and acting on current threat streams while building key Yemeni capabilities, I believe the United States has shown the ability to counter near-term threats.

We have made a number of important gains against AQAP over the past couple of years. I understand that the Department continues to collaborate extensively with Yemeni forces on operational matters, which have helped remove several key AQAP operatives from the battlefield. Efforts to counter AQAP's narrative have helped to delegitimize the group and discourage its efforts to recruit new operatives. The U.S. Government's work on countering threat financing has made it more difficult for AQAP to receive funds and to support other parts of al Qaeda. U.S. efforts—many of them executed by the Department—to train, advise, and equip Yemeni forces are driving AQAP from territory it previously held and are enabling precise operations to capture and kill AQAP leaders.

#### NORTH AFRICA

*Question.* In December 2012, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta stated that “Al Qaeda has long sought to operate in areas beyond the reach of effective security and governance, [and] we know that al Qaeda, its affiliates and adherents are looking to establish a foothold in other countries in the Middle East, and north and west Africa, including al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and the Boko Haram group in Nigeria.”

What is your assessment of the threat posed by al Qaeda and its associated forces in North Africa? Do they pose a threat to the United States homeland and/or U.S. interests abroad?

*Answer.* Al Qaeda in the lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) poses an increasing threat to U.S. interests. My understanding is that at this time, there is no credible evidence that AQIM is a direct threat to the U.S. Homeland. However, as seen in the recent hostage situation in Algeria, AQIM and its associates do threaten U.S. persons and interests abroad, as well as our European allies.

*Question.* In January 2013, the French Armed Forces began conducting operations against violent extremist groups in Mali.

In your view, what should be the role, if any, of the United States in supporting the French operation?

*Answer.* The United States shares the French goal of denying AQIM and other terrorists a safe haven in the region. I agree with the administration's decision to support the French mission without deploying U.S. combat forces on the ground. My understanding is that this support includes assisting the movement of French and African forces, providing intelligence and planning support, and assisting in the training and preparation of African forces.

*Question.* In your view, what should be the role of the United States in working with United Nation's Security Council authorized forces from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Mali?

*Answer.* The African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA), approved by a Chapter VII U.N. Security Council mandate to restore Malian sovereignty and counter violent extremists, is very important for U.S. interests and for regional stability. I support the U.S. position to expedite the training, equipping and deployment of West African troops as part of AFISMA to ensure a successful, African-led mission.

#### COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

*Question.* Since September 11, 2001, collaboration—both analytical and operational—between the Defense Department and the Intelligence Community has grown increasingly close. On one hand, seamless collaboration is a vital component of effective and rapid responses to non-traditional threats, and bringing together the strengths of the full spectrum of defense and intelligence missions creates opportunities for solutions to complex problems. On the other hand, such collaboration—without effective management and oversight—risks blurring the missions of agen-

cies and individuals that have cultivated distinct strengths or creating redundant lines of effort.

What are your views regarding the appropriate scope of collaboration between DOD and the Intelligence Community?

Answer. Collaboration between DOD and the Intelligence Community (IC) is an essential element for supporting our national security objectives. Eight of the 17 IC components are embedded in the Department which constitutes a substantial portion of the Nation's intelligence capabilities and resources. It is my understanding that the Department depends on capabilities provided by the IC to support weapons systems acquisition and to enable military operations, while the IC depends on capabilities provided by the Department to support a wide range of critical intelligence-related and special activities. Collaboration has also been central to the ability to dismantle and eventually defeat al Qaeda and to counter the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In 2007, the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) established the position of the Director of Defense Intelligence (DDI) within the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and dual-hatted the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (USD(I)) as the DDI. The DNI and the USD(I) have since pursued National Intelligence Program-Military Intelligence Program budget integration leading to more effectiveness and efficiencies from vital intelligence resources.

*Question.* In your view, are there aspects of the current relationship between the Department and the Intelligence Community that should be re-examined or modified?

Answer. I do not know the issue well enough to make recommendations at the time. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department consistently assesses its processes and procedures for evaluating how it interacts with the IC and look for opportunities to build on the existing relationship.

#### NATO ALLIANCE

*Question.* The NATO alliance continues to be central to our coalition operations in Afghanistan and elsewhere, even as many NATO members have significantly reduced their national defense budgets in response to economic and fiscal pressures.

Do you agree that U.S. participation in the NATO Alliance contributes to advancing U.S. security interests?

Answer. Yes, the transatlantic relationship is of critical importance to U.S. security interests. NATO has been the cornerstone of European security and an integral part of U.S. foreign policy for more than 60 years, and NATO has continued to be critically important to U.S. security interests in recent years. In Afghanistan, there have been nearly 40,000 allied and partner forces alongside our own. In Libya, NATO allies came together with Arab and other partners to prevent a humanitarian catastrophe, and to support the Libyan people. Over years in the Balkans, NATO has been vital to stability and has moved us closer to the goal of a Europe whole, free, and at peace. NATO must remain the central Alliance in U.S. global strategy and has proven an effective partner.

*Question.* What are the greatest opportunities and challenges that you foresee for NATO in meeting its strategic objectives over the next 5 years?

Answer. In my view, the top NATO-related challenge is the mounting fiscal pressures facing all allies and the resulting reduction in alliance military capabilities as allies cut spending. However, these fiscal difficulties present an opportunity to transform NATO into an Alliance that is more efficient, with a new way of doing business that emphasizes innovation, flexibility, and enhanced cooperation and interoperability with allies and partners. The Alliance must also continue to adapt to meet the new threats of the 21st century: cyber attacks, terrorism, proliferation of WMD, and regional conflicts.

*Question.* In light of the reductions in national defense spending by some NATO members, are you concerned that the alliance will lack critical military capabilities? If so, what steps, if any, would you recommend be taken to address potential shortfalls in alliance capabilities?

Answer. Yes, I am concerned that the Alliance is in danger of losing critical military capabilities if something does not change. The past decade-plus of fighting in Afghanistan has left the alliance with worn equipment and depleted defense budgets. The Alliance should commit to halting defense cuts, complete the capability projects it has already initiated, and reinvest the funds it will save from the end of combat operations in Afghanistan into sustaining and building prioritized capabilities. If confirmed, I will work to ensure NATO's commitments to critical capabilities.

*Question.* The concept of defense cooperation between NATO members was emphasized at the NATO summit in Chicago in May 2012.

What areas or projects do you recommend that NATO nations cooperate in to improve NATO alliance capabilities?

*Answer.* I support the roadmap for NATO that was agreed to by Presidents and Prime Ministers from across the alliance at the Chicago Summit last May. It describes and prioritizes NATO's required capabilities, encourages greater pooling of resources, and focuses on improving education, training, and technology to preserve the interoperability resulting from years of joint operations in Afghanistan.

*Question.* Under what conditions, if any, would you envision further enlargement of NATO in the coming years?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would work closely with my colleagues in the administration and in close consultation with Congress and our allies to determine which countries and within what timeframe NATO would undertake further enlargement. Each NATO aspirant should be judged on its individual merits and progress in implementing political, economic, and military reforms.

*Question.* In your view, is there a continuing requirement for U.S. nuclear weapons to be deployed in NATO countries?

*Answer.* I agree with the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review that the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons, along with NATO's unique nuclear sharing arrangements, contribute to alliance cohesion and provide reassurance to allies and partners who feel exposed to regional threats. Any changes should only be taken after a thorough review within, and a decision by, the alliance. I also support NATO's Deterrence and Defense Posture Review that the President and fellow Heads of State and Government agreed to at the May 2012 Chicago NATO Summit. The review committed the alliance to ensuring that NATO's nuclear deterrent remains safe, secure, and effective. The review also stated that the alliance is prepared to consider further reductions in non-strategic nuclear weapons assigned to the alliance, in the context of reciprocal steps by Russia. If confirmed, I will continue to consult with our allies on any such negotiations.

*Question.* What is your understanding of the relationship between Israel and Turkey as it relates to NATO? Are you concerned about the breakdown in the security cooperation relationship between Turkey and Israel and do you have any ideas as to how to mend it?

*Answer.* I remain concerned about the deterioration of the relationship between Turkey and Israel, both of which are important partners for the United States and are critical to stability in their region. These relationships are broader than this dispute. Turkey is a critical NATO Ally, and we will continue to exercise, plan, and work with Turkey in that context. Israel is a key security partner of the United States. If confirmed, I would work to ensure that the United States continues, in diplomatic channels and in defense contacts, to encourage both Turkey and Israel to take the steps necessary to resolve their dispute and work together to address common regional challenges.

#### KOSOVO

*Question.* Approximately 760 U.S. troops remain in the Balkans as part of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) that first deployed to Kosovo in 1999 and today is comprised of over 5,500 personnel from 30 countries. Spikes in violence in 2011 required the deployment of the NATO Operational Reserve Force battalion of approximately 600 soldiers to bolster KFOR and maintain a secure environment. Progress is required in both the military and political realms before further troop reductions can be made.

What major lines of effort do you think are required to further reduce or eliminate U.S. and NATO presence in Kosovo?

*Answer.* I recognize that the United States has a long-established commitment, together with our NATO allies, to a responsible, conditions-based drawdown of forces in Kosovo. I understand DOD continues to work with allies and NATO military authorities in monitoring and assessing conditions and pursuing carefully developed plans for the eventual drawdown. Ultimately, a political solution is needed to normalize relations between Kosovo and Serbia and thereby establish lasting security in Kosovo and the region. If confirmed, I will support this effort, both through Department-led engagements, and also by supporting our interagency and international partners to achieve this goal. I understand that a key part of the KFOR military plan, executed by NATO, is to enable a transition of security responsibilities to Kosovo. The United States plays a critical role in this effort. If confirmed, I will ensure that DOD provides support for this goal consistent with decisions among the United States and our allies.

*Question.* In your view, is the European Union (EU) playing a significant enough role in Kosovo?

*Answer.* The EU is playing a critical role by facilitating high-level dialogue between Kosovo and Serbia. This dialogue is broadly supported by the United States and our allies as an opportunity to normalize relations between the two countries. The EU Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) plays an important role in Kosovo, working to strengthen legal institutions there. The United States will continue its support for a robust role by EULEX to fulfill its mandate.

#### SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES

*Question.* The previous two Quadrennial Defense Reviews (QDR) have mandated significant growth in our special operations forces and enablers that directly support their operations.

What is your assessment of the QDR mandate regarding the mix of responsibilities assigned to general purpose and Special Operations Forces, particularly as it relates to security force assistance and building partner military capabilities?

*Answer.* I agree with the premise that adversaries will continue to seek alternative methods to counter U.S. influence and interests, and that for the foreseeable future the most likely contingencies the United States will face will involve irregular threats. Therefore, I fully support the 2010 QDR's strategic shift toward expanding general purpose forces' capabilities and capacity for these contingencies. The overall flexibility of our Armed Forces has been greatly improved by investing in key enablers within our conventional force such as: strengthening and expanding capabilities for security force assistance; increasing the availability of rotary-wing assets; expanding manned and unmanned aircraft systems for ISR; improving counter-improvised explosive device capabilities; and enhancing linguistic, cultural, counterinsurgency, and stability operations competency and capacity.

*Question.* Do you believe that our general purpose forces need to become more like Special Operations Forces in mission areas that are critical to countering violent extremists?

*Answer.* Countering violent extremism requires employing all of the capabilities of the Department—mixed and matched appropriately—depending on the mission requirements. The experience of the last 10 years is clear that general purpose units and special forces both contribute to countering violent extremists.

*Question.* Are there certain mission areas that should be reserved for Special Operations Forces only?

*Answer.* Special Operations Forces (SOF) are a uniquely specialized component of our U.S. Armed Forces that are trained, organized, and equipped to conduct counterterrorism, unconventional warfare, direct action, special reconnaissance, foreign internal defense, and counter-proliferation of WMD, and other designated operation, often in areas under enemy control or in politically sensitive environments. In such operations and environments, SOF provide unique and essential capabilities.

*Question.* Do you believe that we should further increase the number of special operations personnel? If so, why, and by how much?

*Answer.* I understand U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM) is on track to meet the growth mandated by the last two QDRs. If confirmed, I would work with Commander, SOCOM, to better understand the command's missions, pressures, and growth plans.

*Question.* Special Operations Forces rely heavily on Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) funds.

With the drawdowns in Iraq and Afghanistan, what OCO funding for special operations needs to be moved into the base budget to preserve enduring capabilities in your opinion?

*Answer.* I believe we must continue to provide SOCOM with base budget resources sufficient to preserve long-term readiness of a global Special Operations Force. I understand that in the fiscal year 2013 budget the Department moved roughly \$1 billion from OCO to base funding and the intent is to continue this transition, although the current fiscal and strategic environment make that challenging.

*Question.* In your view, can the size of Special Operations Forces be increased, while also maintaining the rigorous recruiting and training standards for special operators?

*Answer.* I understand and agree with the concept that Special Operations Forces (SOF) cannot be mass produced, and I fully support SOCOM's efforts to maintain the quality of SOF operators and support personnel during this current era of SOF growth. Experience has shown that SOF manpower growth of 3 to 5 percent annually can be sustained and will not dilute the force or outpace the required training

and support structure. This is the pace SOCOM has sustained to great effect over the past several years and is on track to sustain this year.

*Question.* In recent years, Special Operations Forces have taken on an expanded role in a number of areas important to countering violent extremist organizations, including those related to information and military intelligence operations. Some have advocated significant changes to SOCOM's title 10 missions to make them better reflect the activities Special Operations Forces are carrying out around the world.

*Question.* What current missions, if any, do you believe can and should be divested by SOCOM, and why?

*Answer.* At this time, I do not advocate significant changes to SOCOM's title 10 missions. If confirmed, I would work with Commander, SOCOM, to better understand the command's missions, operations, and pressures and if I see that changes are needed I will offer proposals.

*Question.* Are there any additional missions that you believe SOCOM should assume, and, if so, what are they and why do you advocate adding them?

*Answer.* I do not currently foresee any additional missions that SOCOM should assume. If confirmed, I would work with Commander, SOCOM, to review any additional missions that may be proposed.

*Question.* What can be done to ensure that indirect special operations missions with medium- and long-term impact, such as foreign internal defense, receive as much emphasis as direct action, and that they receive appropriate funding?

*Answer.* The activities of Special Operations Forces are quite varied, from high-risk strikes and counterterrorist raids conducted in minutes, to training and advising foreign counterparts conducted over months and years. Both require highly skilled operators, trained, organized, and equipped for the task. I believe that each of these activities is a highly valued capability for the U.S. Government that should be maintained and, if confirmed, I will ensure that the Department is adequately prepared for both.

#### UNIFIED COMMAND PLAN CHANGES

*Question.* It has been reported that Admiral McRaven, Commander of SOCOM, is seeking changes to the Unified Command Plan (UCP) and other authorities that he believes would allow SOCOM to better support the requirements of the Theater Special Operations Commands (TSOCs). Reportedly, such changes would give the Commander of SOCOM combatant command authority over the TSOCs—including responsibilities for resourcing—and provide for more rapid deployment of special operations forces to and between geographic combatant commands without the requirement for approval by the Secretary of Defense in every case. Operational control of deployed Special Operations Forces would reportedly remain with the respective geographic combatant commander. Some have expressed concern that such changes could raise problems related to civilian control of the military, infringe upon the traditional authorities of the geographic combatant commanders, and make it more difficult for Ambassadors and geographic combatant commanders to know what military personnel are coming into their areas of responsibility and what they are doing while they are there.

Please provide your assessment of whether such UCP changes are appropriate and can be made without conflicting with civilian control of the military, infringing upon authorities provided to the geographic combatant commanders, or raising concerns with the State Department.

*Answer.* It is my understanding that DOD is considering several initiatives to enhance the organization, training, equipping, and employment of Special Operations Forces to meet future global security challenges, including potential changes to the UCP and other guidance that establish command responsibilities and relationships. If confirmed, I look forward to seeing the recommendations from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and senior civilian leadership and will ensure these proposed changes preserve civilian control of the military principles, establish clear and appropriate command authorities, and support strong interagency relationships.

#### COMBATING TERRORISM

*Question.* What is your assessment of the threat posed by al Qaeda and associated forces to the U.S. Homeland, U.S. interests overseas, and western interests more broadly? Which affiliates and associated forces are of most concern?

*Answer.* I assess that the threat posed by al Qaeda to the U.S. Homeland has been significantly diminished over the past 4 years. At the same time, al Qaeda's remaining leadership in Pakistan and al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula remain

of greatest concern. Additionally, the Arab Spring has created new opportunities for al Qaeda affiliates in Syria and North Africa.

What is your understanding of the Department's role in the U.S. strategy to combat terrorism?

Answer. My understanding is that the U.S. Government is engaged in a multi-departmental, multi-national effort, and that key activities that the Department undertakes to support this strategy include: training, advising, and assisting partner security forces; supporting intelligence collection on al Qaeda; conducting information operations against al Qaeda; and, when appropriate, capturing or killing al Qaeda operatives. I understand that the Department also works to help enable our intelligence and law enforcement partners, both in the United States and overseas, in their efforts to counter this threat.

*Question.* Are there steps the Department should take to better coordinate its efforts to combat terrorism with those of other Federal departments and agencies?

Answer. Based on my current knowledge, it appears that the Department is properly coordinating its counterterrorism efforts with the rest of the U.S. Government. I understand that the U.S. military, Intelligence Community, and law enforcement agencies regularly collaborate on operations, and that departments and agencies constantly share intelligence, with little of the "stovepiping" that we saw before September 11. I will look at this closely if confirmed.

#### INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT FOR INDIRECT ACTIVITIES

*Question.* Some observers contend that the national intelligence agencies focus their assistance to the Defense Department on special operators engaged in direct action operations. As a consequence, it is alleged, general purpose forces and Special Operations Forces engaged in indirect activities, including foreign internal defense and population protection, receive less intelligence support.

Do you believe this is true? If so, and if confirmed, how would you ensure that general purpose forces and special operations forces engaged in indirect activities receive adequate intelligence support?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Intelligence Community and DOD continue to expand intelligence support for a full range of military operations—direct and indirect—not only in Afghanistan, but across multiple areas of responsibility. The Department has invested in and employed innovative ISR capabilities increasing its intelligence and operations support to interagency and foreign partners in their efforts against emerging threats. DOD and the Intelligence Community have assisted our partners in Afghanistan, East Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Colombia, and the Philippines. I think that U.S. military operations around the world over the past few years have demonstrated that our general purpose forces are the beneficiaries of consistent, timely support from across the Intelligence Community. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that intelligence capabilities are properly aligned across the force for all missions.

#### SECTION 1208 OPERATIONS

*Question.* Section 1208 of the Ronald Reagan NDAA for Fiscal Year 2005 (Public Law 108-375), as amended by subsequent bills, authorizes the provision of support (including training, funding, and equipment) to regular forces, irregular forces, and individuals supporting or facilitating military operations by U.S. Special Operations Forces to combat terrorism.

What is your assessment of this authority?

Answer. I understand that the section 1208 authority has been a very effective tool for U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) conducting counterterrorism operations to build effective security partners. Combatant commanders strongly support section 1208.

#### LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY

*Question.* The President notified Congress in October 2011 of Operation Observant Compass (OOC), an operation to support the efforts of Ugandan and other regional militaries to remove Joseph Kony and other senior leaders of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) from the battlefield in Central Africa, and of his decision to send approximately 100 U.S. Special Operations Forces personnel to Central Africa to help regional partners achieve these goals. Despite pressure by the Ugandan People's Defense Forces and efforts by U.S. Special Operations personnel to support them, elements of the LRA—including Joseph Kony—continue to operate and commit atrocities against civilian populations in the Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan. Congress recently passed and the President signed the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, which reiterated that the ongoing



efforts to remove or apprehend Joseph Kony and his top commanders from the battlefield and end the atrocities perpetuated by his LRA should continue as appropriate to achieve the goals of the operation.

Do you support OOC?

Answer. Yes. My understanding is that Department support to regional counter-LRA efforts helps to advance regional security cooperation and security sector reform more broadly. If confirmed, I would seek to continue the U.S. commitment to deepen our security partnerships with African countries and regional organizations by expanding efforts to build African military capabilities through low-cost, small-footprint operations. At the same time, I would work with the Department of State and other U.S. agencies and departments to seek to strengthen the capacity of civilian bodies and institutions to improve the continent's ability to provide security and respond to emerging conflicts. I would also regularly assess and review Department contributions to this mission to ensure the deployment of U.S. personnel is not open-ended.

*Question.* What is your understanding of the objectives of OOC?

Answer. U.S. Special Operations Forces under OOC seek to enhance the capacity of local forces to end the threat posed by the LRA. It is my understanding that U.S. military advisors are working with these forces to strengthen information-sharing and synchronization, enhance their operational planning, and increase overall effectiveness. While OOC is important in the effort to counter the LRA threat, there is not a purely military solution to this problem. If confirmed, I would support the current U.S. policy of pursuing a comprehensive, multi-faceted strategy to help the governments and people of this region in their efforts to end the threat posed by the LRA and to address the impacts of the LRA's atrocities. The U.S. strategy to counter the LRA outlines four pillars for continuing support: increasing the protection of civilians; apprehending or removing Joseph Kony and senior commanders from the battlefield; promoting the defection, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of remaining LRA fighters; and increasing humanitarian access and providing continued relief to affected communities.

#### MASS ATROCITIES PREVENTION

*Question.* President Obama identified the prevention of mass atrocities and genocide as a core U.S. national security interest, as well as a core moral interest, in August 2011 under Presidential Study Directive 10. What are your views on the role the United States plays in the prevention of mass atrocities and genocide?

Answer. As President Obama noted in his speech at the Holocaust Museum last April, preventing and responding to atrocities is a critical mission and a core national security interest of the United States. As the President has made clear, we must look at a wide range of tools before military intervention. I support this view: we should make every effort to prevent crises from escalating, through every policy lever at our disposal, including diplomacy, assistance, and financial measures. I understand that the Atrocities Prevention Board has strengthened our efforts by developing more tools with which to work; I support these vital efforts.

*Question.* What are your views on the adequacy of the Department's tools and doctrine for contributing to this role?

Answer. I understand that the Department has played an active role in the work of the Atrocities Prevention Board, working closely with other agencies to develop a range of tools that enhance the USG's ability to prevent and respond to atrocities. I also understand that DOD has strengthened its own capabilities, including by developing formal doctrine on mass atrocity response operations, for the first time, and incorporating atrocity prevention and response into policy and plans. If confirmed, I would continue these efforts.

#### U.S. FORCE POSTURE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

*Question.* The Defense Department's January 2012 strategic guidance, "Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for the 21st Century", states that "while the U.S. military will continue to contribute to security globally, we will of necessity rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region." Likewise, the 2010 report of the QDR states that the United States needs to "sustain and strengthen our Asia-Pacific alliances and partnerships to advance mutual security interests and ensure sustainable peace and security in the region," and that, to accomplish this, DOD "will augment and adapt our forward presence" in the Asia-Pacific region.

Do you feel DOD has adequate resources to implement the new January 2012 strategic guidance?

Answer. Congress passed and the President signed into law the BCA of 2011. The President insisted that the resulting defense cuts be driven by strategy and U.S. de-

fense needs in the coming decade. I understand that the fiscal year 2013 DOD budget was shaped by the strategic guidance and reflects key mission and capability priorities emerging from the strategic review. If confirmed, I would continue to refine the focus of the Department's spending in future budget cycles and keep it in line with the President's strategic guidance. I believe that the Department is facing hard but manageable cuts. The strategy is executable with the resource levels currently detailed in the BCA, but the potentially severe cuts stemming from sequestration would seriously threaten the Department's ability to implement the strategic guidance.

*Question.* What do you see as the U.S. security priorities in the Asia-Pacific region?

*Answer.* The maintenance of peace, stability, the free flow of commerce, and of U.S. influence in this dynamic region will depend in part on an underlying balance of military capability and presence. I believe that as a Pacific nation, the United States should, with its network of allies and partners, maintain an enduring defense presence in the Asia-Pacific region as a tangible demonstration of U.S. commitment to Asia's continued security and economic development.

*Question.* What does the "rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region" mean to you in terms of force structure, capabilities, and funding?

*Answer.* The rebalance is broader than just military policies and programs; it is about harnessing every element of our national power to sustain a regional order rooted in economic openness, peaceful resolution to disputes, and democratic governance and political freedom. In terms of our force structure the rebalance places a renewed emphasis on air and naval forces while sustaining ground force presence. While rebalancing, it will also be important for the Department to develop new capabilities and investments to respond to changes in the security environment and technical advancements required to maintain an edge, our freedom of action, and ability to project power in the Asia-Pacific region. I believe that the rebalancing to Asia-Pacific is vital for U.S. future interests, but it can be done smartly, using air and sea and geographically distributed ground forces, without sacrificing the needed U.S. presence in the Middle East.

*Question.* Do you believe that it is a "necessity" to rebalance the U.S. military toward the Asia-Pacific region? If so, why?

*Answer.* I share the President's view that future U.S. economic and security interests will be closely tied to the Asia-Pacific. I have reviewed the Defense Strategic Guidance released last year, and agree that the emerging economic and political dynamism in the Asia-Pacific will require strong and continuous U.S. commitment.

*Question.* Why, if at all, do you believe it is important for the U.S. military to maintain and even augment its forward presence in the Asia-Pacific region, and what are the advantages to having a forward presence?

*Answer.* A robust U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific has underwritten peace and prosperity in the region for the past 60 years. The Department should be able to assure regional allies and partners, deter threats to regional stability, and prevail in conflicts if necessary. If confirmed, I would support the administration's effort to work towards a posture that is more geographically distributed—for example, the movement of forces to Guam and Australia; operationally resilient, with a focus on our sea based assets; and politically sustainable—meaning we must work with our partners and allies to address their concerns about U.S. presence, such as in Okinawa.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the risks and benefits that are likely to result from this shift?

*Answer.* This shift in U.S. posture is meant to continue supporting peace and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region. U.S. forces should be present to effectively assure our allies and deter potential adversaries. By emphasizing the Asia-Pacific while also focusing on the Middle East, rebalancing will necessarily accept risk in other areas given the resource-constrained environment. I believe the risks associated with this rebalance are manageable. The potentially severe cuts stemming from sequestration, however, would seriously threaten the Department's ability to implement the strategic guidance, including the rebalance.

*Question.* What changes, if any, in structure, equipment, and training do you believe will be necessary to meet the requirements for general purpose ground forces in an Asia-Pacific strategy?

*Answer.* My understanding is that our military leadership is already working hard to ensure fielded capabilities enable our military personnel to think, train, and, if necessary, fight to succeed in this theater. The Department is already devoting significant effort to understanding how to operate in—or gain access to—those areas where our adversaries may try to deny us access and is developing the required operational concepts to manage that challenge. We will also need to build military-

to-military ties and other relationships, as well as language and cultural expertise, to operate effectively in the Asia-Pacific region. If confirmed, I will work closely with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Services, and Office of the Secretary of Defense leadership to assess any additional changes in structure, equipment, and training.

## CHINA

*Question.* How would you characterize the current U.S.-China relationship?

Answer. I would describe the relationship as simultaneously possessing elements of cooperation and competition. The U.S.-China relationship, of which the defense component is only one part, is one of the most complex and important bilateral relationships in the world. The United States and China are working together to build a cooperative partnership based on practical cooperation in addressing shared regional and global challenges—a commitment President Obama and President Hu made in January 2011. At the same time, China is rapidly modernizing its military and increasingly asserting claims to territory in the East China Sea and the South China Sea.

*Question.* From your perspective, what effect is China's expanding economy and growing military having on the region at-large and how does that growth influence the U.S. security posture in the Asia-Pacific region?

Answer. China's expanding economy and growing military are developments the United States, allies, partners, and all other nations in the region must monitor carefully. On the one hand, China's growth and potential create an opportunity to cooperate where our interests and those of China converge. At the same time, China's rapid rise and the relative lack of transparency surrounding its intentions can be a source of anxiety and concern in the region. If confirmed, I will evaluate the impact of these developments—as well as the impact of other security trends—on requirements for the U.S. defense posture in the region.

*Question.* What do you believe are the objectives of China's military modernization program?

Answer. As I understand it, China is pursuing a long-term, comprehensive military modernization program designed to improve the capacity of its armed forces to fight and win high-intensity regional military operations of short duration. I understand that Taiwan contingencies remain the principal focus of much of this modernization, but there are growing indications that China is developing capabilities for missions that go beyond China's immediate territorial concerns, such as its counter-piracy operations off the Horn of Africa and noncombatant evacuation operations from Libya.

*Question.* How do you believe the United States should respond to China's military modernization program?

Answer. I believe the United States should continue to monitor developments in China's military modernization while encouraging Beijing to be more transparent about its military and security strategies, policies and programs. The U.S. response to China's military modernization should be flexible and supported by the continued evolution of our presence and force posture in the Asia-Pacific region, the strengthening of our regional alliances and partnerships, the maintenance of our global presence and access, and the modernization of our own capabilities in such areas as countering efforts to deny us access and freedom of action.

*Question.* U.S.-China military-to-military dialogue has been strained over the past several years and efforts to establish and maintain mutually beneficial military relations has been hampered by China's propensity for postponing or canceling military engagements in an apparent effort to influence U.S. actions.

What is your view of the relative importance of sustained military-to-military relations with China?

Answer. I believe there is value in sustained—and substantive—military dialogue with China as a way to improve mutual understanding and reduce the risk that miscommunication and misperception could result in miscalculation. If confirmed, I would look for ways to strengthen the U.S.-China military-to-military relationship consistent with our interests and our values.

*Question.* Do you believe that we should make any changes in the quality or quantity of our military relations with China? If so, what changes would you suggest and, given Chinese resistance to military-to-military dialogue, how would you implement them?

Answer. If confirmed, I will seek ways to improve the U.S.-China military-to-military relationship, in terms of the quality and the quantity of exchanges between the Armed Forces of our countries. I would support continuing to pursue exchanges with the Chinese armed forces at all levels, and I would look to engage in a wide range

of areas where we might find common ground to encourage China to act responsibly on the regional and global scene.

#### NORTH KOREA

*Question.* What is your assessment of the current security situation on the Korean peninsula?

*Answer.* North Korea's provocative behavior, large conventional military, proliferation activities, ballistic missile program, and nuclear program continue to present a serious threat to the United States, our regional allies, and the international community. The opaque nature of the North Korean system, coupled with an uncertain political transition, adds to my concerns. North Korea's December missile launch, which was a violation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions, provided yet another example of North Korea's pattern of irresponsible behavior. If confirmed, I will work with our allies and other key partners in the region and internationally to ensure that we can deter and, if necessary, defeat North Korean aggression.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the threat posed to the United States and its allies by North Korea's ballistic missile and WMD capabilities and the export of those capabilities?

*Answer.* I am concerned about North Korea's WMD and ballistic missile programs because they present an immediate threat to our allies and partners as well as a growing threat to the United States. North Korea's December launch—using ballistic missile technology—underscores our concerns about North Korea's continued pursuit of a long-range missile program. The United States will continue carefully monitoring, and impede, North Korea's WMD and missile development programs and related proliferation activities. If confirmed, I would ensure that the Department continues working closely with other parts of the U.S. Government to address North Korea's missile and WMD programs, take necessary steps to defend the United States and our allies, and enhance engagement with our allies to ensure that we can deter and, if necessary, defeat North Korean aggression.

*Question.* In your view, what additional steps should the United States take to defend against the North Korean ballistic missile threat and dissuade North Korea from its continued pursuit of ballistic missile technology and to stop or slow North Korean proliferation missile and weapons technology to Syria, Iran, and others?

*Answer.* The United States should continue to work to prevent North Korea's proliferation of weapons-related technology by advancing international nonproliferation norms and further tightening sanctions aimed at impeding development of North Korea's ballistic missile and nuclear programs. This includes cooperating with partner nations to inspect and interdict vessels and aircraft suspected of carrying illicit cargo. The United States should also seek to enhance bilateral and trilateral missile defense cooperation with our Republic of Korea (ROK) and Japanese allies, particularly in the area of information sharing. If confirmed, I would continue to work to strengthen the international consensus against proliferation; to invest in programs like the Proliferation Security Initiative, which bolsters the will and capacity of partner nations to interdict these dangerous shipments; to increase WMD-related information sharing with international partners; to take necessary steps to defend the United States and our allies; and to ensure that our ballistic missile defenses are able to defeat any North Korean attack.

#### U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS

*Question.* In testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on July 29, 2009, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations (U.N.) stated that the United States "is willing to consider directly contributing more military observers, military staff officers, civilian police, and other civilian personnel—including more women I should note—to U.N. peacekeeping operations." General Dempsey has said the United States "should consider opportunities for U.S. personnel to contribute to U.N. peacekeeping missions" and that "experience shows that even a small number of trained and experienced American servicemembers can have a significant, positive effect on U.N. operations." In your view, should the United States increase the number of personnel it contributes in the form of staff positions and military observers to U.N. peacekeeping missions and other international peace operations?

*Answer.* I support in principle additional contributions of U.S. military personnel to key positions in U.N. peacekeeping operations where the mission is a strategic priority for the Department and the United States and where our servicemembers can add significant value to the mission effectiveness and efficiencies. I understand that, although we still provide military observers to U.N. peacekeeping missions, the

Department has shifted its contributions almost exclusively to staff officer positions so as to maximize the returns on our investment.

*Question.* In your view, what are the advantages and disadvantages of contributing additional military personnel to U.N. operations in the form of staff positions and military observer positions?

*Answer.* The success of U.N. peacekeeping operations is important to the United States. I believe that the United States should continue to provide military personnel to U.N. peacekeeping operations, especially for key staff positions that help shape the direction and success of the mission. Such support must be practicable and weighed against the potential costs and competing demands for military commitments. If confirmed, I will carefully evaluate the costs of requested U.N. support against the potential positive impacts and U.S. interests.

#### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE COUNTERNARCOTICS ACTIVITIES

*Question.* DOD serves as the single lead agency for the detection and monitoring of aerial and maritime foreign shipments of drugs flowing toward the United States. On an annual basis, DOD's counternarcotics (CN) program expends approximately \$1.5 billion to support the Department's CN operations, including building the capacity of U.S. Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies, and certain foreign governments, and providing intelligence support on CN-related matters and a variety of other unique enabling capabilities.

In your view, what is the appropriate role of DOD in counterdrug efforts?

*Answer.* It is my understanding that the Department plays an important role in U.S. counterdrug efforts in support of the National Security Strategy, the National Drug Control Strategy, and the Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime. The Department supports and enables U.S. agencies and foreign partners to be more effective in executing their respective counternarcotics responsibilities. In the Western Hemisphere, the allocation of DOD capabilities in support of U.S. law enforcement interdiction efforts has helped remove hundreds of tons of cocaine and deny billions in illicit revenues to transnational criminal organizations. I believe this support role is a sensible and effective indirect approach.

*Question.* In your view, what should be the role of the United States in countering the flow of narcotics to nations other than the United States?

*Answer.* Drug trafficking is by far the world's most lucrative illicit activity and therefore is often used as a source of revenue by terrorists, insurgents, and other actors threatening our national security. In my view, the consequences of narcotics flows beyond U.S. borders—for example, the role of drug trafficking in Afghanistan and the surrounding region is of particular concern to the Department. If confirmed, I look forward to working with Congress, the Office of National Drug Control Policy, other agencies in the U.S. Government, and military commanders to address the flow of illegal narcotics as it affects U.S. national interests.

#### NATIONAL STRATEGY TO COMBAT TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME

*Question.* The Director of National Intelligence recently described transnational organized crime as “an abiding threat to U.S. economic and national security interests,” and stated that “rising drug violence and corruption are undermining stability and the rule of law in some countries.” In July 2011, the President released his Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime: Addressing Converging Threats to National Security. One of the priority action areas designated in the strategy is “enhancing DOD support to U.S. law enforcement”.

In your view, what role should DOD play in combating transnational organized crime and in training and equipping partner security forces that have been tasked with combating it?

*Answer.* By law, the Department is the lead Federal agency for detection and monitoring of the aerial and maritime transit of illegal drugs into the United States. In the Western Hemisphere, DOD coordinates the efforts of the U.S. interagency and regional partners in the detection and monitoring of illicit aerial and maritime drug shipments towards the United States. It is my understanding that beyond that, the Department's role is to contribute unique capabilities in support of law enforcement, other U.S. Government departments and agencies, and international partners. That support takes multiple forms: military intelligence support to law enforcement; military-to-military capacity building; broader capacity building support to foreign partner security services (including police forces); and counter threat finance support. I believe the Department should continue to focus on delivering unique capabilities in support of other departments and agencies that have the lead for combating transnational organized crime.

## COUNTER THREAT FINANCE

*Question.* DOD and the Intelligence Community (IC) have begun investing more resources in identifying and tracking the flow of money associated with terrorist networks and illicit trafficking, but the opportunities for tracking and degrading illicit financing flows are not yet matched by the effort and resources devoted to them. Identifying and disrupting key individuals, entities, and facilitation routes enabling the flow of money that supports terrorism, production of IEDs, narco-trafficking, proliferation, and other significant national security threats could have an outsized impact on confronting these threats.

What are your views on the role of DOD in counter threat finance activities?

*Answer.* Our Nation's adversaries, from drug traffickers to terrorists or insurgents, rely upon the flow of money to enable their activities. All available U.S. Government tools should be employed to track and disrupt the finances that support these groups, and the Department can bring unique tools to bear. My understanding is that the Department is not the lead U.S. agency in counter threat finance, but does work with other departments and agencies, and with partner nations, to fight our adversaries' ability to access and use global financial networks. For example, the Department has worked with the Intelligence Community and other interagency partners to identify and disrupt our adversaries' finances and remove key sources of insurgent funding in Afghanistan. I believe the Department should continue to work with law enforcement agencies to ensure military support is targeted, tailored, and in line with defense priorities.

*Question.* Are there opportunities to replicate or improve upon the network-disruption efforts of groups like the Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Organization or the Afghanistan Threat Finance Cell in impacting other facilitation networks?

*Answer.* My understanding is that the Afghanistan Threat Finance Cell has been successful at disrupting illicit networks in Afghanistan through broad interagency cooperation. The Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Organization's quick reaction and innovation has saved countless American lives. I believe that the capabilities involved in network disruption are worth institutionalizing into the Department. If confirmed, I will work with the Department's senior leadership and the interagency on this worthy effort.

*Question.* In your view, how should DOD coordinate and interface with other key agencies, including the Department of Treasury and the Intelligence Community, in conducting counter threat finance activities?

*Answer.* My understanding is that the Department works closely with the National Intelligence Manager for Threat Finance as well as the Department of Treasury's Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis. The Department also supports other U.S. Government departments and agencies and with partner nations to deny and disrupt adversaries' ability to use global licit and illicit financial networks to affect U.S. interests negatively. I believe the Department should continue to support law enforcement agencies, the Department of the Treasury, and the Intelligence Community with unique DOD capabilities, including planning, intelligence analysis and tools, and the integration of intelligence into operations.

## CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO

*Question.* During a March 2012 Senate Armed Services Committee hearing, the Commanders of U.S. Northern Command and U.S. Southern Command discussed the increasingly dangerous region along the northern and southern borders of Mexico and the devastating impact transnational criminal organizations are having on the people and security of southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. The United States has increased its assistance in this region, but—to date—DOD has had only a small role.

What are your views on the threats posed by transnational criminal organizations in this region?

*Answer.* It is clear that transnational and domestic criminal organizations and gangs undermine the security of citizens in many parts of the Western Hemisphere. The influence of criminal elements has brought an increase in violence as well as an increase in narcotics and other illicit trafficking. The root causes of violent crime and insecurity are also influenced by endemic poverty and lack of economic opportunity, weak government institutions, and widespread corruption and impunity. Central America has become one of the most violent regions in the world, and this can be largely attributed to the influence of these elements. Criminal influences threaten regional stability and the fundamental security of an area that lies very close to the United States. I believe the United States has a clear interest in helping partner nations strengthen their security institutions consistent with U.S. values.

*Question.* What is your assessment of DOD's role and current activities in Mexico and Central America?

*Answer.* I have not had a chance to fully assess these issues, but I am aware that the Department is building defense relations with Mexico based on mutual interest. I am also aware that the Department has a wide range of activities and initiatives with partner nations in Central America, consistent with our values, shared interests and our partner's capacity. My understanding is that that engagements in both Mexico and Central America are broadly focused on defense planning and institutional reform, human rights training, counterdrug support and humanitarian assistance activities. I believe these roles and activities are appropriate to support our policies and strategies in the region, which focus on efforts to strengthen law enforcement, governance and rule of law institutions, while improving economic and social conditions that can contribute to insecurity.

*Question.* What changes, if any, would you propose to DOD's current role and activities in this region?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would need to conduct a thorough review before being able to propose specific changes to the Department's roles and activities in this region. In general terms, however, I am supportive of leveraging the longstanding military-to-military relationships within the region to ensure our partner nations' defense institutions are capable and remain responsive to civil authorities, while being respectful of human rights.

#### INTERAGENCY COLLABORATION

*Question.* The collaboration between U.S. Special Operations Forces, general purpose forces, and other U.S. Government departments and agencies has played a significant role in the success of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations in recent years. However, much of this collaboration has been ad hoc in nature.

What do you believe are the most important lessons learned from the collaborative interagency efforts in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere?

*Answer.* The importance of unity of effort and action remains one of the most critical lessons the Nation has learned from its experiences with counterinsurgency, counterterrorism, and stability operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. I believe that effective interagency collaboration can greatly improve the U.S. Government's preparedness to operate effectively in all phases of conflict. If confirmed, I will prioritize efforts to ensure interagency collaboration is as robust and effective as possible.

*Question.* How do you believe these efforts can be improved?

*Answer.* Interagency collaboration can always be improved. Ensuring that the U.S. military plans and trains with its civilian counterparts in other U.S. departments and agencies, and vice-versa, is one way to increase our unity of effort in the field. We also need a strong interagency planning process to ensure effective use of expertise from across the U.S. Government that recognizes each department's and agency's unique role and capabilities. I believe that robust civilian capabilities and resourcing are critical to achieving national security objectives and will be vital to the success of future operations.

*Question.* How can the lessons learned in recent years be captured in military doctrine and adopted as "best practices" for future contingency operations?

*Answer.* My understanding is that the Department has a variety of efforts devoted to capturing and disseminating best practices within the Department and to the interagency. The importance of institutionalizing lessons learned from the past 10 years of war was highlighted in the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance. If confirmed I will continue this emphasis.

#### INTELLIGENCE REFORM AND TERRORISM PREVENTION ACT OF 2004

*Question.* The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (IRTPA), among other actions, realigned the responsibilities for budgeting for and management of intelligence organizations between the Secretary of Defense and the head of the Intelligence Community, the Director of National Intelligence (DNI).

What do you believe is the role of DOD in intelligence under IRTPA?

*Answer.* The role of DOD, including the defense intelligence components, is clearly outlined in law. Under titles 10 and 50 of the U.S.C., the Secretary of Defense has broad responsibility for the intelligence and intelligence-related activities conducted by the Department's components. In addition, under title 50, the Secretary has several specific statutory responsibilities for elements of the Intelligence Community that are part of DOD, including the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, and the National Reconnaissance Office. Consistent with the DNI's statutory responsibilities, the Secretary

of Defense is responsible for the continued operation of those elements as effective organizations within the Department for the conduct of their missions in order to satisfy the requirements of the Department and the Intelligence Community.

The Secretary, in consultation with the DNI, is also responsible for ensuring that the budgets of the Intelligence Community elements that are within the Department are sufficient to satisfy the overall intelligence needs of the Chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, the combatant commanders, and other departments and agencies. The Secretary is also responsible for the timely response of intelligence community elements within the Department to the needs of operational military forces. The Department strengthened its management of defense intelligence in 2002 by designating the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence (USD(I)) as lead for its intelligence reform efforts and Principal Staff assistant and advisor to the Secretary of Defense and Deputy Secretary of Defense regarding intelligence, counterintelligence (CI), and security matters.

As a former member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the President's Intelligence Advisory Board, I have seen first-hand how the Intelligence Community and all its elements have become better integrated and cooperative and, if confirmed as Secretary of Defense, I look forward to furthering that cooperation.

*Question.* Do you believe that the IRTPA strikes the correct balance between the duties and responsibilities of the Secretary and the DNI?

Answer. Yes. I believe the duties and responsibilities of the Secretary and the DNI are well balanced under the IRTPA. The IRTPA appropriately provided the DNI strong authority to oversee and direct the implementation of the National Intelligence Program. As such, the DNI is responsible for establishing requirements and developing budgets as well as setting objectives and priorities for collection, analysis, production, and dissemination of national intelligence. The responsibility for execution of DOD intelligence activities remains with the Secretary. The Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence also holds the position of the Director of Defense Intelligence in the Office of the DNI; the position was established to enhance integration, collaboration, and information sharing. If confirmed as Secretary of Defense, I will reinforce this strong and effective relationship with the DNI.

*Question.* What changes in the IRTPA, if any, would you recommend that Congress consider?

Answer. As of now, I would not recommend any changes to the IRTPA. If confirmed, I would address any proposed changes should the need arise.

#### STRATEGIC REVIEWS

*Question.* What is your understanding and assessment of the DOD processes for analysis, decisionmaking, and reporting results for each of the following strategic reviews:

The QDR (section 118 of title 10, United States Code);

Answer. The QDR is statutorily required, and sets a long-term course for the Department by assessing the opportunities and challenges that the Nation faces in the emerging global security environment. It provides an important opportunity to clearly and concisely articulate the national defense strategy and identify priorities for defense policy and force planning. Given the new defense strategy and the fiscal challenges the Nation is facing, I believe the upcoming QDR will be critical in setting the future path of the Department.

*Question.* The National Military Strategy (section 153 of title 10, United States Code);

Answer. The National Military Strategy outlines the ways and means for our military to ensure national security based on guidance from the National Security Strategy and the QDR. Section 153 of title 10 of the U.S. Code requires the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to assist the President and Secretary of Defense in providing strategic direction for the Armed Forces. Because the Chairman prepares the National Military Strategy in consultation with the combatant commanders and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I believe that it is the best military advice available for the Secretary of Defense. The Chairman also provides an annual risk assessment based upon the most current National Military Strategy.

*Question.* Global Defense Posture Review (section 2687a of title 10, United States Code);

Answer. My understanding is that the Department continuously reviews U.S. Global Defense Posture based in part on combatant command submissions of annual Theater Posture Plans. The Department has an executive-level oversight body, the Global Posture Executive Council (GPEC), composed of senior leaders from across the Department and including the Department of State. This body provides analysis and recommendations to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense. The De-



partment submits an annual report to Congress that provides an overview of global defense posture strategy and the status of key overseas posture realignment actions. My assessment, at this time, is that the GPEC offers an appropriate forum for comprehensive analysis of key overseas posture issues.

*Question.* The Quadrennial Roles and Missions (QRM) Review (section 118b of title 10, United States Code).

*Answer.* The QRM review is a statutorily required review of the roles and missions of the Armed Forces and the Department's core competencies and capabilities to perform and support these missions. My understanding is that the QRM is required every 4 years, most recently in 2012, and accordingly will be due again in 2016 submitted with or before the President's budget submission for the next fiscal year. I believe that the next few years will be very dynamic—both in world events and how our military can and should respond—and that the next QRM review will be very important to capturing the consequences of those changes.

*Question.* If confirmed, what recommendations would you make, if any, to change title 10, U.S.C., and to improve DOD's processes for analysis, policy formulation, and decisionmaking relative to each review above?

*Answer.* Based on my current understanding, at this time I would not request any changes to title 10, U.S.C. If confirmed and after reviewing Department processes relating to each review, I will make recommendations to Congress and the White House accordingly.

*Question.* The QDR must examine the National Security Strategy as most recently updated by the President's January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance (DSG). Noteworthy, the DSG states that the "tide of war is receding".

Do you agree with that assessment and, if so, how might that influence your analysis and recommendations with regard to strategic priorities in the QDR?

*Answer.* I agree that, with the drawdown of the war in Iraq and transition of security responsibilities in Afghanistan, our future security challenges will be defined less by the wars of the past decade and more by emerging complex threats. The Department remains committed to security in Afghanistan and Iraq, and our counterterrorism mission will remain a priority for the foreseeable future, but the Department needs to begin focusing on the mix of skills and capabilities and new technologies that will be needed in the future. The QDR should, therefore, examine the current and future security environment, to include changes since the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance was released, and adjust strategic priorities as appropriate.

*Question.* Section 118 in title 10, U.S.C. also requires the QDR to identify the budget plan that would be required to provide sufficient resources to execute successfully the full range of missions called for in that national defense strategy at a low-to-moderate level of risk, and any additional resources (beyond those programmed in the current Future Years Defense Program) required to achieve such a level of risk. The law also requires the QDR to make recommendations that are not constrained to comply with and are fully independent of the budget submitted to Congress by the President.

If confirmed, how would you propose to structure the Department's QDR analysis and recommendations to address these two requirements?

*Answer.* It would be my intent, if confirmed, to oversee a QDR process that begins with an assessment of U.S. interests, opportunities, and challenges, and concludes with the development of a defense program and budget designed to meet the resulting defense objectives we set at a low-to-moderate level of risk. If confirmed, I would intend to provide my honest appraisal of the resources required for defense.

*Question.* In your view, is there analytical and/or practical value in a defense strategy that is unconstrained by or independent of the current budget request or fiscal environment?

*Answer.* I think we must be aware of the fiscal environment when determining our defense strategy just as the strategy is informed by other important environmental factors, such as trends in military technology. That strategy must ensure that the U.S. military is capable of meeting crucial national security priorities across the range of current and future potential threats.

#### TACTICAL FIGHTER PROGRAMS

*Question.* Perhaps the largest modernization effort that we will face over the next several years is the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program to modernize our tactical aviation forces with fifth generation tactical aircraft equipped with stealth technology.

Based on current and projected threats, what are your views on the requirements for and timing of these programs?

*Answer.* Dominance in the air is essential to the success of our forces. I understand that the F-35, which will replace several older generation aircraft in the Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps, is intended to provide that dominance well into the future. I have not looked at the projected threats in detail; however I believe that other nations, notably China and Russia, have programs to build advanced aircraft that will challenge our current capabilities in the coming years. My view is that we cannot let any other nation achieve parity with the United States in the ability to control the air.

*Question.* What is your assessment of whether the restructuring of the JSF program that we have seen over the past several years will be sufficient to avoid having to make major adjustments in either cost or schedule in the future?

*Answer.* I know that the Joint Strike Fighter is the Department's largest acquisition program and that it has experienced significant cost increases and schedule slips. I understand that the Department has already taken steps to tighten the contract terms for the F-35 and restructured the program in 2012 to reduce concurrency, the risk of being in production before development is finished. I have not had the opportunity to review this program or its restructuring in detail. If confirmed, I will make it a high priority to examine the health of this program to determine if it is on a sound footing and ensure the aircraft are delivered with the capability we need and a cost we can afford.

#### NAVY SHIPBUILDING

*Question.* Today's Navy is at its smallest size in decades and could decline further without additional shipbuilding efforts. Over the past several years, successive Chiefs of Naval Operations (CNOs) have concluded that the Navy requires a fleet of at least 313 ships to perform its mission. Despite this conclusion, the President's budget request for fiscal year 2013 proposed the decommissioning of nine ships—two dock landing ships and seven cruisers designed to last another 10 to 15 years, in order to address defense budget constraints and growing operating costs. Congress rejected the proposal noting the Navy's initial investment of \$11.6 billion in the nine ships and the fact that cutting them creates unnecessary and unaffordable future shipbuilding requirements.

What are your views regarding the CNO's conclusions about the appropriate size and composition of the fleet, and the adequacy of the Navy's current and projected plans to deliver that inventory of ships?

*Answer.* A strong and capable Navy is essential to meet our Nation's strategic requirements across the spectrum of operational demands. Therefore, the Navy needs a broad set of capabilities among the mix of ships in its inventory. I understand the Chief of Naval Operations is currently analyzing the Navy shipbuilding goal and will present his analysis shortly. If confirmed, I will review these recommendations for the Navy's current shipbuilding plan and work with the Navy to ensure we have the right size, mix, and usage of our naval forces to meet our strategic goals.

*Question.* In your opinion, how important is the requirement for a 313 ship fleet on the ability of the Navy to support the national military strategy?

*Answer.* I understand that the Navy's presently stated requirement is for a 313 ship fleet, but I do not yet know all the details of the mix and capabilities of our present and future fleet. I do know the United States requires a capable Navy that is robust enough to execute the full range of missions called upon by our combatant commanders in support of the National Security Strategy and Defense Strategic Guidance—including operating persistently across the globe, securing freedom of access, responding to crises, and projecting power into denied areas. If confirmed, I will work with the Navy and Congress to ensure naval forces are appropriately structured to meet our national defense needs.

*Question.* Do you believe the Navy can meet its goals for the size of the fleet in the current budget climate?

*Answer.* I believe the President's budget request for fiscal year 2013 allowed the Navy to meet its current plan for the size of the fleet. However, the budget environment that we all are dealing with has introduced a good deal of uncertainty for the future of each of the armed services. If confirmed, I will work with the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations to understand the impact of budget levels on the size of the fleet and how we work within the budget constraints to still meet mission requirements.

#### AIRCRAFT CARRIERS

*Question.* DOD has repeatedly reaffirmed that the United States is committed to maintaining a fleet of 11 nuclear powered aircraft carriers despite budget pressures, and maintaining 2 carriers on patrol in the Middle East. Yet, recent press accounts

cite concerns by the Navy to maintain the carrier deployment schedule due to declining budgets. The Chief of Naval Operations recently stated "Right now, we are committed to providing two carrier strike groups in the Arabian Gulf through March. We've been doing this since 2010, and we're committed to that, as I said, through this March. We need to take a look at that, and we will be, with the Joint Staff and the Services to see if we need to continue this."

What is your view of the impact of maintaining two carriers in the Arabian Gulf on U.S. strategic goals in the region?

Answer. The Carrier Strike Group is a premier instrument supporting the warfighter and demonstrating U.S. resolve and commitment to allies around the world. In recent years the Navy has stepped up to meet increased demands to support operations in the Middle East, as well as to counter other tensions in the region. This support has been critical to our goals in the region. If confirmed, I will work with the Navy to ensure that we allocate our resources to ensure the level of presence necessary to meet our Nation's world-wide strategic goals.

*Question.* What are your views about the requirement to maintain a fleet of 11 aircraft carriers?

Answer. I understand that the Department's recent strategic reviews indicate that an 11-carrier force is the correct size to support our current strategy and provide sufficient carrier strike groups to meet overseas presence requirements. However, I also understand that increased combatant commander demands for carrier strike groups over the past 3 years have stressed the carrier force. Carriers are an essential tool given the strategic focus on the Asia-Pacific, an inherently maritime theater, and the Middle East, an increasingly maritime theater, and the requirement to conduct operations in multiple regions simultaneously. If confirmed, I will work with the Navy to ensure that we resource a sustainable level of presence that continues to support the strategic goals.

#### FUTURE ROLE OF THE ARMY

*Question.* In a speech at West Point in February 2011, former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates argued that it is unlikely that the Nation will commit large land forces to future conflicts, and that the Army must "confront the reality that the most plausible, high-end scenarios for the U.S. military [will be] primarily naval and air engagements." Accordingly, the Army will find it difficult to justify the number, size, and cost of its heavy forces. The Defense Strategic Guidance, announced in January 2012, echoed that prediction and indicated that ground forces would not be sized to conduct large scale long-term stabilization operations.

Do you agree with Secretary Gates assertion that the commitment of land forces, on the scale of Iraq or Afghanistan, is unlikely in the future? Why or why not?

Answer. We will continue to need the best Army in the world. But the best Army does not mean the largest. We must have the Army be appropriately sized for the contingencies we deem likely, and it also must be trained and modernized. Our forces must be able to conduct operations across the spectrum of conflict and adapt to the security environment as it changes. However, given that we must make choices in today's fiscal and security environment, I agree that large-scale, long-term stabilization operations is an area where we can take risk in the future.

*Question.* Do you agree that high-end military operations will primarily be naval and air engagements such that the Army will have difficulty justifying the size, structure, and cost of its heavy formations?

Answer. The Nation needs a robust balance of capabilities in each of the war-fighting domains—air, sea, and ground. These capabilities can and should be complementary of one another—capabilities in one domain need not come at the expense of those in another. Furthermore, I know from my experience that war is an inherently human endeavor. As long as this nation faces adversaries with large, capable ground forces, the United States will need an Army with diverse and flexible capabilities, which include heavy forces.

*Question.* General Raymond Odierno, Chief of Staff of the Army, has stated that the Army will continue to be an indispensable part of the joint force and that there is a synergy that is gained of all the services in order for the military to meet the Nation's needs. He has also said the Army provides more than Brigade Combat Teams—the Army is the largest contributor to Special Operations Forces and it provides a broad range of essential services to combatant commanders to include ISR; air and missile defense; logistical support; and signal communication support.

In your view, what are the most important considerations or criteria for aligning the Army's size, structure, and cost with strategy and resources?

Answer. The most important considerations are our national security requirements. Our security environment and strategy requires the Army to have the appro-

appropriate size and structure to be able to support steady-state operations to shape the environment and deter potential adversaries, while simultaneously supporting contingency operations to defeat any potential adversary should deterrence fail.

*Question.* If confirmed, what actions, if any, would you propose to properly align the Army's size and structure with the requirements of security strategies and the likely availability of resources?

*Answer.* The Department should align the Army's size and structure to the strategy in the same way it would align those of any other component of the joint force: based on appropriate security scenarios, examining the demands of the missions that are most relevant to that component and then determining how best to provide the capabilities required to accomplish those missions. During this period of budget austerity, some tradeoffs across the force may be necessary. If confirmed, I will work closely with military and civilian leaders to balance maintaining the skills needed to meet our most pressing national security demands within the limits of acceptable risk.

#### ARMY FORCE STRUCTURE

*Question.* The Defense Strategic Guidance of January 2012 calls for the reduction of Army end strength and force structure over the next 5 years to 490,000 personnel and 8 fewer combat brigades. Army analysis underway and decisions still pending could add a third maneuver battalion to the modular armored and infantry brigades requiring a further reduction in the total number of Active component brigades to support such a redistribution of personnel.

If confirmed, what guidance would you give the Army regarding priorities for planning, decisions, and execution with respect to the identification and deactivation of the planned eight and anticipated additional brigade deactivations?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would provide the same guidance I would give to any Service, which would be to figure out what is in the best interest of the Nation's security as expressed in the National Security Strategy and Defense Strategic Guidance. The Army, and the other Services, must use a holistic approach to ensure our forces are organized, manned, trained, equipped, and stationed to best incorporate the lessons of the last decade, while remaining ready for the kinds of challenges we will face in the future.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you prioritize for deactivation those brigades based overseas before those based in the United States?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would prioritize the selection of brigades for deactivation based on how best to meet the Nation's global strategy and objectives while minimizing negative impact on Army families and communities and ensuring we maintain our treaty obligations and commitment to our allies. I cannot say now whether that results in prioritizing overseas units versus U.S.-based units, but, if confirmed, I will look comprehensively at this issue. I recognize that any force structure reduction will affect Army communities, and I expect that the Army and DOD will work with those communities to help minimize the impact.

*Question.* In your view, can the Army's Active component end strength be drawn down below the announced and planned reduction to 490,000? If so, what in your view would be the impact on strategic risk, if any, and, in your view would that strategic risk be acceptable or unacceptable?

*Answer.* Independent of size, we must maintain the best Army in the world. If fiscal pressures compel us to consider further reductions of any Service, I plan to study tradeoffs and fully understand the risks to our strategy before recommending further cuts. But the size of the force should be driven by mission requirements.

*Question.* What is your understanding and assessment of the current size and structure of the Army's Reserve component? If confirmed, what size or force structure changes, if any, would you propose for either the Army Reserve or the Army National Guard?

*Answer.* The Active and Reserve components of the Army, as parts of the entire force, must be sized and shaped to support our strategy. One of the foundations of the All-Volunteer Force is the Army National Guard with the critical capabilities it provides to the Governors and States, in addition to the tremendous support that it provides for Federal missions at home and abroad. Another foundation is the Army Reserve, which has been a key partner with the Active Army and the Army National Guard throughout many diverse missions. However, as the needs of the Nation change, I expect that the capabilities and capacities resident in the Army National Guard and the Army Reserve may also have to change. If confirmed, I will review the results of ongoing studies on recommended composition and size before I propose future changes to Reserve component end strength.

## ARMY MODERNIZATION

*Question.* According to a recent study done for the Secretary of the Army by former Assistant Secretary of the Army Gilbert Decker and retired Army General Louis Wagner, the Army has sunk \$3.3 billion to \$3.8 billion annually since 2004 into weapons programs that have been cancelled. The report states that, “The Army lacks a credible, quantitative model and process for determining realistic, achievable requirements for modernization and recapitalization given reduced budgets.” The Army has implemented many of the recommendations made in the report.

What is your assessment of the Army’s modernization record?

*Answer.* I understand that the Army has terminated several large acquisition programs in the past, which gave rise to the study commissioned by Secretary McHugh in 2010. These program terminations were caused by a variety of factors, to include the Army’s reliance on immature technologies as solutions to very complex and evolving military requirements. These factors significantly impacted program cost and delivery schedule. I understand that the Army has undertaken efforts to address the root causes of these prior terminations in current and future acquisition programs. If confirmed, I will emphasize the need for sound, cost-informed planning regarding the Army’s acquisition efforts and work with the Army to continue to address these root causes.

*Question.* What actions, if any, would you take to ensure that the Army achieves a genuinely stable modernization strategy and program?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will closely monitor and oversee the Army’s acquisition efforts to ensure that stable and affordable modernization strategies are adopted and implemented. To this end, I will emphasize the need for Army acquisition programs that incorporate sound and realistic development strategies, affordable and technically feasible requirements, and—to the fullest extent practicable—adequate and stable resources. I understand that these are necessary ingredients for success in acquisition programs.

*Question.* What is your understanding and assessment, if any, of the Army’s capabilities portfolio review process and its current modernization priorities and investment strategy?

*Answer.* It would be premature for me to currently assess the Army’s specific processes for reviewing military requirements or setting modernization priorities. I understand that the Capability Portfolio Reviews are designed to provide a comprehensive examination of Army requirements in an effort to validate their operational value and inform the programming and budgeting processes. This holistic approach makes sense to me, but if confirmed, I will work with Army leadership to review their processes.

*Question.* What actions, if any, would you take to sustain the momentum of these reviews in stabilizing the Army’s modernization strategy and priorities?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would encourage and support the Army to take any necessary steps to properly define its equipment modernization requirements and priorities. I would closely monitor the outcome of these processes and support the Army’s implementation of a successful modernization strategy.

*Question.* What is your assessment of the Army’s implementation of the recommendations of the Decker-Wagner Acquisition Report?

*Answer.* I understand that the actions to implement the approved recommendations in the 2010 report commissioned by Secretary McHugh are either complete or underway. If confirmed, I will review the Army’s implementation of the recommendations and work to ensure that they are reflected in ongoing and future modernization efforts.

## UNFUNDED PRIORITIES

*Question.* What is your position on allowing the Service Chiefs to respond to Congress with a list of critical unfunded priorities not included in the President’s budget request?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I plan to continue the Department’s current policy whereby the Service Chiefs may communicate their unfunded requirements directly to Congress, once they have informed me of those requirements.

## BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

*Question.* In September 2009, President Obama announced that he had accepted the unanimous recommendation of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to pursue a Phased Adaptive Approach (PAA) to missile defense in Europe. This approach is intended to defend all of Europe against existing and emerging threats from Iranian missiles, starting in 2011 and increasing in capability with

each of its four phases. Phase 4 of the European PAA is intended to provide a capability to defend against long-range missiles that could reach the United States, thus augmenting the existing Homeland missile defense capability.

Do you support the Phased Adaptive Approach to missile defense in Europe and, if confirmed, will you implement it?

Answer. Yes. I support the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA). If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continues to support implementation of EPAA.

*Question.* In February 2010, the Defense Department issued its report on the first-ever comprehensive review of U.S. ballistic missile defense policy and strategy, the Ballistic Missile Defense Review (BMDR), as required by Congress. The BMDR established a number of policy priorities, including establishing defense against near-term regional missile threats as a top priority of missile defense plans, programs and capabilities. It also stated the policy of sustaining and enhancing the ability of the Ground-based Midcourse Defense system to defend the homeland against attack by a small number of long-range missiles by countries such as North Korea and Iran, and of hedging against future uncertainties.

Do you support the policies, strategies, and priorities set forth in the Ballistic Missile Defense Review and, if confirmed, will you implement them?

Answer. Yes. I support the administration's policies, strategies, and priorities as set forth in this review, and, if confirmed, I will implement them.

*Question.* The two most recent flight tests of the Ground-based Midcourse Defense (GMD) system failed to intercept their targets. The Missile Defense Agency (MDA) formed a Failure Review Board to determine the root cause of the failure and developed a plan to correct it, including flight tests to confirm the correction. Until the flight tests confirm the correction, MDA has suspended production of the Exo-atmospheric Kill Vehicles (EKVs) of the type that failed in the previous flight tests, in order to ensure that those EKV's do not contain a flaw that would need to be corrected later.

Do you agree that it is a high priority to correct the failure of the GMD system kill vehicle and demonstrate through flight testing that the system works as intended?

Answer. I'm not familiar with the technical details associated with these flight test failures, but in general I would agree that for any system, but especially for a national missile defense system, it is important to correct failures and demonstrate effectiveness as quickly as possible.

*Question.* Do you agree that it is prudent to verify that the flight test failure problem has been corrected before resuming production of additional EKV's?

Answer. I am not in a position to express a technical opinion on the right course of action, but in general it would seem prudent to demonstrate system effectiveness before committing to production. This is in line with the administration's principle of "fly before you buy".

*Question.* Do you support the continued enhancement and sustainment of the Ground-based Midcourse Defense system?

Answer. I very strongly believe that we should sustain and enhance our national missile defense to protect the Nation from limited ICBM attack by states like North Korea and Iran.

*Question.* Do you support the modernization of the Exo-atmospheric Kill Vehicle, which is based on 20-year-old technology?

Answer. Yes. I understand that the Exo-Atmospheric Kill Vehicle (EKV) is a key component of the Ground-based Midcourse Defense System that we rely on to protect the United States.

*Question.* Would you agree to study the feasibility, advisability, cost, and potential advantage of deploying additional ground based interceptors in the United States, including at a site located on the east coast of the United States?

Answer. I understand that such a study is required by the NDAA and, if confirmed, I will ensure the Department executes the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 direction to analyze potential locations for another continental United States (CONUS)-based missile defense site and to conduct environmental impact surveys.

*Question.* The United States and NATO are seeking options to cooperate with Russia on missile defense. President Obama has announced that such cooperation would not limit U.S. or NATO missile defense capabilities.

Do you agree that such cooperation could enhance the security of the United States, NATO, and Russia against common missile threats from nations such as Iran?

Answer. Yes. I agree that missile defense cooperation with Russia has the potential to enhance the security of the United States, NATO, and Russia. I also agree with President Obama's commitment to ensure that such cooperation will not limit U.S. or NATO missile defense capabilities.

*Question.* Do you agree that, irrespective of Russian objections, the United States is committed to the continued development and deployment of U.S. missile defense systems, including qualitative and quantitative improvements to such systems, to defend the homeland, our forward-deployed troops, and allies and partners overseas?

*Answer.* I agree that the United States is committed to continue to develop and deploy missile defenses, including qualitative and quantitative improvements consistent with the Ballistic Missile Defense Review. The President is on record as saying, and I agree, that the United States cannot accept limits on its BMD systems or expose information that would put our missile defense systems at risk. The President has made clear the need to ensure our missile defense systems are capable of defeating the most likely threat we face from North Korean and Iranian missiles. It makes sense to explore approaches to missile defense cooperation that improve transparency and reassure Russia that the U.S. missile defense system does not undermine Russia's strategic deterrent.

## SPACE

*Question.* China's test of an anti-satellite weapon in 2007 was a turning point for the United States in its policies and procedure to ensure access to space. As a nation heavily dependent on space assets for both military and economic advantage, protection of space assets became a U.S. national priority.

Do you agree that space situational awareness and protection of space assets should be a national security priority?

*Answer.* Yes. Space situational awareness is foundational to all space activities, and enables the United States to maintain the strategic advantages we derive from space-based capabilities.

*Question.* In your view, should China's continued development of space systems inform U.S. space policy and programs?

*Answer.* Yes. U.S. space policies and programs should be informed by China's continued development of space systems, including its multidimensional counterspace program, as well as by the range of other actors that make the space environment increasingly congested, contested, and competitive.

*Question.* If confirmed, would you propose any changes to national security space policy and programs?

*Answer.* At this time, I am unaware of any necessary changes and if confirmed, I would plan to continue to implement the President's 2010 National Space Policy and the 2011 National Security Space Strategy. If I find need for changes in the future, I would propose them.

*Question.* Do you support the space code of conduct as a non-binding agreement among nations that utilize outer space?

*Answer.* Yes. An international code of conduct for space activities—a non-binding arrangement among nations that utilize space—would enhance our national security by helping to maintain the long-term sustainability, safety, stability, and security of space. As more countries and companies field space capabilities, a code could encourage responsible behavior and single out those who would act otherwise, while reducing the risk of mishaps, misperceptions, and mistrust.

*Question.* If confirmed, would you commit to reviewing the overall management and coordination of the national security space enterprise?

*Answer.* I understand that there has been a recent reorganization of the management and coordination of the national security space enterprise, including the establishment of the Defense Space Council, and the confirmation of the Secretary of the Air Force as the Executive Agent for Space. This reorganization has resulted in improvements in information flow across the Department and among U.S. departments and agencies, and has also improved the process for acquisition and policy decisions. If confirmed, I will commit to review this reorganization to ensure continued progress.

*Question.* What is your view on weapons in space?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would continue to implement the 2011 National Security Space Strategy, which states that "it is in the interests of all space-faring nations to avoid hostilities in space," and the President's 2010 National Space Policy, which states that "all nations have the right to explore and use space for peaceful purposes." The National Space Policy also directs the Secretary of Defense to develop capabilities, plans and options to deter, defend against, and, if necessary, defeat efforts to interfere with or attack U.S. or allied space systems.

*Question.* The administration is proposing to free up 500 MHz of spectrum for broadband use, a candidate portion of which includes the band 1755–1850 MHz, which is used heavily by DOD and other national security agencies.

Do you support this initiative?

Answer. I fully support the national economic and security goals of the President's 500 MHz initiative to make spectrum available for commercial broadband use, the implementation of more effective and efficient use of limited radio-frequency spectrum and the development of solutions to meet these goals.

*Question.* Do you support section 1602 of Public Law 106-65, which requires the Secretaries of Commerce and Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to certify that any alternative band or bands to be substituted for spectrum currently used by DOD and other national security agencies provide "comparable technical characteristics to restore essential military capability that will be lost as a result of the band of frequencies to be so surrendered"?

Answer. I fully support section 1602 of Public Law 106-65. This provision is absolutely critical to protecting and maintaining our warfighting capabilities. This statutory requirement is intended to ensure the Department is provided access to alternate spectrum before surrendering any spectrum critical for national security capabilities. Any spectrum reallocations and auctions should provide sufficient time for evaluation and certification of such alternate spectrum so that national security operations are not put at risk.

*Question.* If confirmed, how do you intend to comply with section 1602 in light of the 500 MHz initiative?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continues to conduct operational and cost-feasibility analysis to guarantee that spectrum-dependent national security capabilities are preserved, while supporting the economic benefits spectrum provides to our Nation.

*Question.* Do you intend to insist that DOD be compensated fully for the cost of relocating, if required to do so?

Answer. Yes. In order to relocate national security capabilities that rely on spectrum, while maintaining mission effectiveness, the Department must have alternate spectrum with comparable technical characteristics, full cost reimbursement for modifying complex weapons systems, and adequate time to make the transition.

*Question.* How do you propose the Department make more efficient use of communications spectrum through leasing of commercial satellites?

Answer. I understand that both the National Security Space Strategy and the Department of Defense Space Policy indicate that the Department will make use of commercial systems to the maximum extent practicable. I am not familiar with all the details, but will review this more thoroughly, if confirmed.

*Question.* Do you support more competition in the launch of DOD payloads?

Answer. Yes, in general I favor competition in contracting—to include new competitors that can meet certification standards.

*Question.* If confirmed, what steps will you take to encourage new entrants to the medium and heavy lift launch of DOD payloads while balancing affordability, mission assurance, and maintaining the viability of the existing launch provider?

Answer. I understand that the Department has developed criteria to certify new space launch vehicles capable of reliably launching national security satellites and will openly compete up to 14 space launches in the next 5 years, while guaranteeing the existing launch provider at least 28 launches.

*Question.* Do you support commercial hosting of DOD payloads and if so how?

Answer. Hosted payloads are one of the ways to enhance resilience and assure space capabilities in the congested, contested, and competitive space environment. If confirmed, I would support innovative approaches to improve the national security benefits we derive from space in a budget-constrained environment, including through the use of hosted payloads.

*Question.* What is your long-term vision and support for the Space-Based Infrared Sensing System (SBIRS)?

Answer. I understand that the SBIRS provides advanced early warning of hostile missile threats, allowing our warfighters to take swift and precise action. If confirmed, I would support the Department's continued efforts to define the future architecture necessary to provide early warning.

*Question.* Do you support splitting the systems sensors up to lower overall cost of the system?

Answer. I understand that the Department of Defense Space Policy requires the consideration of resilience in space architecture development. Splitting space sensors may be one way to achieve resilience. If confirmed, I will look at options for improving resilience in this system.



## STRATEGIC SYSTEMS

*Question.* Over the next 5 years DOD will begin to replace or begin studies to replace all of the strategic delivery systems. For the next 15 plus years, DOD will also have to sustain the current strategic nuclear enterprise. This will be a very expensive undertaking.

Do you support the President's intent, stated in his message to the Senate on the New START treaty (February 2, 2011), to modernize or replace the triad of strategic nuclear delivery systems?

*Answer.* I support the President's commitment to a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist. I believe that providing necessary resources for nuclear modernization of the Triad should be a national priority. I understand the Department is currently modernizing, replacing, or studying recapitalization options for each leg of the Triad.

*Question.* Do you have any concerns about the ability of the Department to afford the costs of nuclear systems modernization while meeting the rest of the DOD commitments?

*Answer.* I am not able to make a judgment on this at this time; however, if confirmed, I will assess the costs to ensure that we protect critically important nuclear systems modernization while meeting other defense commitments. We must continue to aggressively scrutinize each of our programs to ensure we maintain critical capabilities in a fiscally responsible manner.

*Question.* The Department is committed to modernizing our nuclear command and control system, do you support that commitment?

*Answer.* I do. An effective, reliable Nuclear Command, Control, and Communication (NC3) system is a vital component of a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent. NC3 systems provide the President redundant and assured capability to execute U.S. nuclear forces under any scenario and are a critical element in ensuring crisis stability and deterrence.

## U.S. CYBER COMMAND PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

*Question.* The Commander of U.S. Cyber Command (CYBERCOM) in conjunction with the Chiefs of the Military Services and other elements of DOD, is now seriously engaged in defining the numbers and qualifications of personnel required to conduct the offensive, defensive, and intelligence missions of the Command in support of the combatant commands and the defense of the Nation in cyberspace. Preliminary indications are that the numbers of exceptionally qualified operators are going to be substantial. Secretary Panetta committed to report to the Committee on Armed Services as early as possible this year how the Department would address these serious manpower and training requirements.

Do you believe that the strategy, operational concepts, and operational assumptions that underpin CYBERCOM's force planning have received sufficient critical scrutiny and analysis?

*Answer.* I understand that the Department's leadership has invested significant effort analyzing the threat, reviewing the force planning model, and is currently addressing how to implement the proposed model. If confirmed, I will review this analysis and implementation plan.

*Question.* Can the Military Services' current personnel systems and practices produce and sustain the number of highly qualified cyber operators that CYBERCOM believes are required, especially in light of end strength reductions and declining budgets?

*Answer.* Recruiting, training, and retaining military and civilian personnel needed for cyber operations will be a challenge. This is a high priority area for the Department with regard to investment of both resources and management oversight and, if confirmed, I will review these systems and practices.

*Question.* Should consideration be given to providing the Commander of CYBERCOM personnel authorities similar to those granted to the Commander of SOCOM?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will seek the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and senior civilian staff of the Department before recommending any additional authorities for CYBERCOM.

## CYBER DETERRENCE

*Question.* Do you believe we are deterring and dissuading our adversaries in cyberspace?

*Answer.* At this time, it appears that the United States has successfully deterred major cyber attacks. I expect that deterring and, if necessary, defeating such attacks

will be a continued key challenge. If confirmed I intend to ensure that the Department provides strong support to our national efforts in this area.

#### U.S. CYBER COMMAND STATUS

*Question.* The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has recommended that U.S. CYBERCOM be elevated from a sub-unified to a full unified command. The NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 includes a Sense of the Congress resolution calling for consultation with Congress before a Presidential decision is made to make CYBERCOM a unified command, and asking for consideration of a number of issues associated with such a decision.

Do you believe it would be advisable to consult with Congress prior to making a decision to elevate CYBERCOM to a unified command?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will ensure consultation with Congress.

*Question.* As the current Commander of the sub-unified CYBERCOM is dual-hatted as the Director of the National Security Agency (NSA), what are your views on the wisdom of having an intelligence officer serve as a unified combatant commander, rather than a line officer with broad training and command experience?

Answer. My sense is that dual-hatting the commander of CYBERCOM and the Director of NSA has worked well to date. However, if confirmed, I will review specifics of the dual-hatted relationship and assess whether it should continue in the future. I recognize that NSA support is critical to CYBERCOM's mission given the technical capabilities required to operate in cyberspace. In addition, I recognize that the CYBERCOM commander requires significant understanding of the intelligence community's capabilities and processes to execute his or her missions effectively. However, I am also aware of concerns about the dual-hatted relationship and, if confirmed, will carefully consider these concerns.

*Question.* Do you believe that CYBERCOM is mature enough to become a unified command, and that policy, strategy, operational planning, and rules of engagement to govern operations in cyberspace are sufficiently developed to justify this step?

Answer. My understanding is that the Department has made significant progress since CYBERCOM's creation in 2009. This includes issuance of a comprehensive strategy for military operations in cyberspace. In addition, I am told that CYBERCOM is expanding its integration into the Department's deliberate planning, and that the Chairman, with the approval of the Secretary of Defense, will issue a new set of rules of engagement governing all military operations, including cyber operations, in the near future. If confirmed, I will evaluate the maturity of the command and will consult closely with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, combatant commanders, and Congress prior to any decisions with respect to CYBERCOM.

#### CHINA'S AGGRESSIVE THEFT OF U.S. INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

*Question.* A recent report by the National Counterintelligence Executive confirmed the widespread belief that China is engaged in a massive campaign to steal technology, other forms of intellectual property, and business and trade information from the United States through cyberspace. The current Commander of CYBERCOM has referred to this as the greatest transfer of wealth in history and, along with others, believes this is a serious national security issue.

Do you believe that China's aggressive and massive theft of technology in cyberspace is a threat to national security and economic prosperity?

Answer. I believe that the theft of intellectual property and other sensitive information threatens the United States' military advantage and economic prosperity. If confirmed, I will work within the Department and with other departments and agencies to address this threat.

*Question.* What steps, if any, do you believe are needed to deter China from such activities in the future?

Answer. I am not in a position to recommend specific policies, guidance, or changes to authorities at this time. I understand that the Department is enhancing its cyber defense programs and those of certain defense industrial base networks, as well as improving its ability to identify the origins of intrusion. If confirmed, I will consider what diplomatic and public engagement as well as other actions that should be taken to address this challenge.

#### DOD'S ROLE IN DEFENDING THE NATION FROM CYBER ATTACK

*Question.* What is your understanding of the role of DOD in defending the Nation from an attack in cyberspace? In what ways is this role distinct from those of the Homeland security and law enforcement communities?

Answer. My understanding is that DHS has the lead for domestic cybersecurity. Thus, DHS coordinates national protection, prevention, mitigation, and recovery in

significant cyber incidents. The Defense Department provides technical assistance to DHS when requested. The Department's role is to provide the military forces needed to deter the adversary, and if necessary, act to protect the security of the country. This includes planning against potential threats to our critical infrastructure, gathering foreign threat intelligence, and protecting classified networks. I believe that the defense, homeland security, and law enforcement communities should work together, and with our private sector partners to improve network defenses, share information on cyber threats, and ensure swift response to threats when they manifest themselves.

*Question.* Do you believe that defending the Homeland mission will require both offensive and defensive cyber forces and tools?

Answer. If confirmed, this is an area I will review closely. My current view is that defending the Homeland from cyber attacks should involve the full range of tools at the disposal of the United States, including diplomacy and law enforcement as well as any authorized military operations.

*Question.* This new mission will require substantial resources, including personnel. How do you envision generating these additional resources in the face of reduced budgets and declining end strength?

Answer. The current fiscal situation will force hard choices across a range of priority missions, including cyber. If confirmed, I will consult closely with military and civilian leaders in the Department, the President, and Congress in finding the right balance.

#### IRAN

*Question.* What is your assessment of the military and political threat posed by Iran?

Answer. Iran poses a significant threat to the United States, our allies and partners, and our interests in the region and globally. Iran continues to pursue an illicit nuclear program that threatens to provoke a regional arms race and undermine the global non-proliferation regime. Iran is also one of the main state-sponsors of terrorism and could spark conflict, including against U.S. personnel and interests. Iran is also actively investing in the development of a range of conventional capabilities, including air, missile, and naval assets that have generated regional anxieties and could threaten our interests and personnel in the region.

*Question.* What is your assessment of U.S. policy with respect to Iran?

Answer. I believe that President Obama has put in place and pursued effectively—with support from the U.S. Congress—a strong, multi-vector strategy to deal with the threats that Iran poses to the United States, particularly its nuclear pursuits. This strategy has included a strong diplomatic effort to test Iranian intentions, lay the ground work for an international coalition that holds Tehran accountable for its transgressions, and isolate Iran in the region and globally. This strategy has also included the application of smart, unprecedented, and effective sanctions against the Iranian regime that has sharpened its choices significantly. Lastly, this strategy has credibly, and smartly in my opinion, made clear that all options are on the table. I believe that this strategy has made it clear to Iran that the United States will do what it must to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, and I will continue to implement this policy if confirmed.

*Question.* In your view, what has been the effect of sanctions against Iran—how effective have they been?

Answer. I believe that the President with significant help from the U.S. Congress, has been able to bring the world community together to confront Iran with effective sanctions. As a result of these sanctions, Iran's financial, trade, and economic outlook has deteriorated significantly. International financial institutions estimate that Iran's economy contracted in 2012 for the first time in more than 2 decades. Iran's access to foreign exchange reserves held overseas has diminished. Additionally, the Iranian currency—the rial—reached an all-time low in mid-October, losing more than half its value since the start of 2012. Inflation and unemployment are also growing. As the economic outlook for Iran continues to worsen and as the U.S. continues to reinforce our pressure track along with the International Community, I believe that pressure is building on Iran.

*Question.* You have said that “Washington should make clear that everything is on the table with Tehran—an end to sanctions, diplomatic recognition, civil nuclear cooperation, investment in Iran's energy sector, World Bank Loans, World Trade Organization membership, Iraq, Afghanistan, regional security arrangements, etc.—if Iran abstains from a nuclear weapons program, ends support for terrorist groups, recognizes Israel, and engages in more constructive policies in Iraq.”

Do you still hold this view?

Answer. I do believe that if Iran lives up to international obligations, it should have a path to a more prosperous and productive relationship with the international community and eventual rejoining of the community of nations. The other choice is clear as well—if Iran continues to flout its international obligations, it should continue to face severe and growing consequences. While there is time and space for diplomacy, backed by pressure, the window is closing. Iran needs to demonstrate it is prepared to negotiate seriously.

*Question.* In March 2012, President Obama said “when it comes to preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, I will take no options off the table, and I mean what I say. That includes all elements of American power: A political effort aimed at isolating Iran; a diplomatic effort to sustain our coalition and ensure that the Iranian program is monitored; an economic effort that imposes crippling sanctions; and, yes, a military effort to be prepared for any contingency.”

Do you agree with the President’s view that “all options should be on the table” to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon?

Answer. I agree with the President that the United States should take no options off the table in our efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. If confirmed, I will focus intently on ensuring that U.S. military is in fact prepared for any contingency.

#### COUNTERING IRAN’S BALLISTIC MISSILE THREATS

*Question.* Iran has hundreds of short- and medium-range ballistic missiles today that are capable of reaching forward-deployed U.S. forces, allies, and partner nations in the CENTCOM AOR. The Ballistic Missile Defense Review Report of February 2010 stated that the United States intends to pursue a phased and adaptive approach to ballistic missile defense tailored against such missile threats in various regions, including the Middle East.

Do you agree that such a phased adaptive approach will provide CENTCOM with the missile defense capabilities needed to defend our forward deployed forces and our allies and partners in the region against Iranian ballistic missile threats?

Answer. While I have not looked into the details of the phased adaptive approach, I believe this approach includes the appropriate steps to protect the United States as well as our forces and interests overseas. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the President continues to propose a budget sufficient to support our ballistic missile defense priorities, balanced with competing priorities, and consistent with the projected capabilities of missile defense systems to deal with the anticipated threats.

*Question.* What role do you see for the Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense system with Standard Missile-3 interceptors in U.S. regional missile defense capabilities against Iran’s ballistic missiles?

Answer. My understanding is that today, U.S. Aegis combatants equipped with Standard Missile-3s are on station and protecting U.S. forces, partners, and allies in the Middle East as well as Europe against Iran’s ballistic missiles. My expectation is that this capability will continue to evolve.

*Question.* In addition to U.S. missile defense capabilities in the CENTCOM AOR, what role do you see for other nations in the AOR to contribute to regional missile defense capabilities, such as UAE’s plans to purchase the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense system?

Answer. Recognizing that global demand for BMD will likely exceed the U.S. supply, it is appropriate for the United States to seek appropriate burden-sharing arrangements with partners and allies in the CENTCOM area and other regions. Such arrangements can increase the quantity of missile defense assets in support of U.S. regional deterrence and security goals. If confirmed, I will encourage those contributions to our mutual defense needs.

*Question.* The Intelligence Community assesses that, with sufficient foreign assistance, Iran may be technically capable of flight testing an ICBM capable of reaching the United States by 2015. What should the United States do to hedge against this possibility?

Answer. I understand that, with the deployed Ground-based Midcourse Defense system, the United States is currently protected against the threat of limited ICBM attack from states like Iran and North Korea. As noted in the 2010 Ballistic Missile Defense Review, it is important that we maintain this advantageous position by hedging against future uncertainties. If confirmed, I would continue the current efforts to prepare options in case the threat changes or if the development of new technical capabilities is delayed.

## U.S.-ISRAEL DEFENSE COOPERATION

*Question.* In recent years, the NDAA has supported close cooperation and substantial funding for a number of critical missile defense and rocket defense programs for the state of Israel, including the Arrow system, the Arrow-3 interceptor, David's Sling, and the Iron Dome system.

In your view, should the United States continue to support such joint cooperation and funding for these programs?

*Answer.* Yes. I am proud of the work that the United States has done in support of the ballistic missile defense of Israel and, if confirmed, I will continue to support these efforts. Missile defense is a core area of U.S.-Israel joint cooperation. The importance of these efforts came to the forefront with Israel's recent Operation Pillar of Defense in Gaza. Throughout the 8 days of the operation, Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad launched over 1,506 rockets into Israel. Focusing only on these that posed a real threat to populated areas, Iron Dome intercepted 421 rockets with an overall intercept rate of approximately 85 percent—saving the lives of countless Israeli civilians. This highlights the importance of the work that the United States is doing with the Israelis on all layers of missile and rocket defense, and if confirmed, I will work to continue and expand this cooperation.

## DOD'S COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION (CTR) PROGRAM

*Question.* The CTR program is focused on eliminating WMD in the states of the former Soviet Union and other nations around the world. Its key objectives include: (1) eliminating strategic nuclear weapons; (2) improving the security and accounting of nuclear weapons and weapons-usable fissile material; (3) detecting, eliminating, and preventing the proliferation of biological and chemical weapons and capabilities; and (4) encouraging development of capabilities to reduce proliferation threats. The current CTR umbrella agreement between the Russian Federation and the United States will expire at the end of May 2013, and it has been reported that the Duma does not support extending the umbrella as it is currently written at this time.

Do you support extending this umbrella agreement?

*Answer.* Yes. On December 3, 2012, President Obama said, "If Russia believes the CTR agreement hasn't kept pace with the changing relationship between our countries, we should update it." If confirmed, I will support continuation of the non-proliferation cooperation with Russia supported by the CTR Umbrella Agreement.

*Question.* Do you support continued cooperation with the Russian Federation to eliminate WMD in Russia?

*Answer.* Yes. U.S. and Russian efforts to secure and eliminate WMD have made both countries safer, and have proven to be a productive area of cooperation.

*Question.* Do you support the use of metrics to assess the progress of the CTR programs and to ensure individual programs complete their objectives?

*Answer.* Yes. Metrics are an important tool in ensuring efficient execution of the CTR program.

*Question.* In your view, are Russia and the former Soviet Union countries making a significant contribution to efforts to reduce the proliferation threats they inherited?

*Answer.* My understanding is that the Russian Federation and several other states of the Former Soviet Union have contributed in many ways to reduce threats posed by WMD that they inherited. I understand that the Department supports these efforts through the CTR program, which helps secure nuclear materials, destroy chemical weapons, and reduce the threat from especially dangerous pathogens. Russia and several of its neighbors also made important contributions to the Nuclear Security Summits held in Washington and Seoul.

*Question.* Do you think the CTR program is well-coordinated among the U.S. Government agencies that engage in threat reduction efforts in Russia, e.g., DOD, the Department of Energy, and the State Department?

*Answer.* My understanding is that CTR and other nonproliferation programs executed by Federal agencies are coordinated well through the leadership of the National Security Staff. If confirmed, one of my priorities as Secretary of Defense will be to ensure that all of the Department's activities in this area are well-coordinated with interagency partners.

*Question.* As the CTR program expands to geographic regions beyond the states of the former Soviet Union, in your view what proliferation prevention and threat reduction goals should the DOD establish or focus on?

*Answer.* My understanding is that the President has highlighted nuclear and biological terrorism as key threats, and that the CTR program strongly supports these priorities. I agree with these priorities.

*Question.* Do you support extending the CTR program to nations in the Middle East, especially with respect to containing Syrian chemical weapons?

Answer. My understanding is that the CTR program is authorized to undertake activities in the Middle East. The main objective of this expanded authority is to enhance the capacity of regional partners, particularly the nations that border Syria, to mitigate the threat to their territory posed by the potential loss or use of Syria's chemical weapons. If confirmed, I would continue to support this effort.

*Question.* Do you support extending the CTR program to nations in Africa, especially with respect to biological materials?

Answer. Yes, based on my current understanding, I believe it makes good sense to continue to expand the CTR program's geographic reach beyond the former Soviet Union. Any cost effective steps we can take to keep terrorists from accessing dangerous biological agents by partnering with other nations are especially important in regions like East Africa where active terrorist threats converge with emerging infectious diseases.

#### PROMPT GLOBAL STRIKE

*Question.* The 2010 QDR concluded that the United States will continue to experiment with prompt global strike prototypes. There has been no decision to field a prompt global strike capability as the effort is early in the technology and testing phase.

In your view, what is the role for a conventional prompt global strike capability in addressing the key threats to U.S. national security in the near future?

Answer. I understand that the Department continues to assess a broad range of conventional strike capabilities to address current and emerging threats. Conventional prompt global strike weapons could provide the President with unique conventional capabilities in certain scenarios that include fleeting or otherwise inaccessible time-sensitive targets for example. I understand, however, that there are concerns about this operational concept. At this point, I believe that it makes sense to assess potential approaches to conventional prompt global strike. If confirmed, I will look forward to further discussions with Congress on this topic.

*Question.* What approach to implementation of this capability would you expect to pursue if confirmed?

Answer. I understand the Department is continuing to conduct research and testing to support the development of concepts and technologies for boost-glide systems that could provide the basis for a conventional prompt global strike capability. If confirmed, I will review implementation options.

*Question.* Do you support a competitive procurement of prompt global strike systems if they progress to a milestone B stage?

Answer. In general, where viable options exist, I think the Department should take maximum advantage of a competitive procurement process.

#### NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND STOCKPILE STEWARDSHIP

*Question.* Congress established the Stockpile Stewardship Program with the aim of creating the computational capabilities and experimental tools needed to allow for the continued certification of the nuclear weapons stockpile as safe, secure, and reliable without the need for nuclear weapons testing. The Secretaries of Defense and Energy are statutorily required to certify annually to Congress the continued safety, security, and reliability of the nuclear weapons stockpile.

As the stockpile continues to age, what do you view as the greatest challenges with respect to assuring the safety, reliability, and security of the stockpile?

Answer. I understand that the Stockpile Stewardship Program has ensured that our nuclear weapons stockpile remains safe, secure, and effective without the use of underground nuclear weapons testing. At the same time, the challenge we face is that some aspects of today's nuclear complex are in need of repair or replacement. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Department of Energy to ensure the safety, security, and reliability of our stockpile, and the modernization of the nuclear weapons complex infrastructure.

*Question.* Do you agree that the full funding of the President's plan for modernizing the nuclear weapons complex, commonly referred to as the 1251 report, is a critical national security priority?

Answer. The modernization of the National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) infrastructure and life extension of our nuclear weapons are critical to sustaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent. If confirmed, I will work to ensure appropriate funding levels and cost-effective management for these efforts, which will require a substantial and sustained fiscal commitment.

*Question.* Prior to completing this modernization effort, do you believe it would be prudent to consider reductions below New START treaty limits for either the deployed or nondeployed stockpile of nuclear weapons?

*Answer.* I believe that we should make necessary investments in infrastructure modernization regardless of potential future nuclear weapon reductions. I understand that the New START treaty does not limit nondeployed warheads; if confirmed I will ensure that the stockpile, including both deployed and nondeployed nuclear warheads, sustains the credibility of the U.S. deterrent, including our commitments to extend deterrence to U.S. allies.

*Question.* What role does the Nuclear Weapons Council (NWC) play in helping to establish key stockpile stewardship goals and modernization objectives?

*Answer.* The NWC is the primary interface for coordinating nuclear weapons enterprise issues between DOD and the Department of Energy. I understand that its current top priority is to address stockpile life extension and nuclear infrastructure modernization in the current fiscal environment.

*Question.* Do you support a more active role of the Office of Cost Analysis and Program Evaluation (CAPE) in ensuring the programs within the Department of Energy and the NNSA are appropriately tailored for the best investment of funds possible to achieve a safe, effective, and reliable nuclear weapons stockpile?

*Answer.* I am not familiar enough with the degree of CAPE's involvement with the Department of Energy and the NNSA to make that determination at this time. I understand that CAPE has worked closely with NNSA over the past year to review NNSA programs, and if confirmed, will closely consider CAPE's appropriate role in this regard in the future.

#### MEDICAL COUNTERMEASURES INITIATIVE

*Question.* The administration has produced an interagency strategy for the advanced development and manufacture of medical countermeasures (MCM) to defend against pandemic influenza and biological warfare threats. In this strategy, DOD will be responsible for the rapid development and manufacture of medical countermeasures to protect U.S. Armed Forces and Defense Department personnel.

Do you support this interagency strategy and the MCM Initiative and, if confirmed, would you plan to implement them?

*Answer.* I am very concerned about the threat of biological weapons. I support assigning to the Department the responsibility for protecting the U.S. Armed Forces and Defense Department personnel with rapid development and manufacturing of medical countermeasures. If confirmed, I will need to look into the specific plans associated with the interagency strategy of the Medical Countermeasure Initiative. I would do my best to implement the administration's strategy, consistent with any statutory guidance and available funding.

#### DEFENSE ACQUISITION REFORM

*Question.* The Weapon Systems Acquisition Reform Act of 2009 (WSARA) is designed to ensure that new defense acquisition programs start on a sound footing, to avoid the high cost of fixing problems late in the acquisition process.

What are your views regarding WSARA and the need for improvements in the Defense acquisition process?

*Answer.* I believe that our weapons systems acquisition process has substantial room for improvement. My understanding is that WSARA, which enacted a number of steps to improve many aspects of weapons system acquisition, has been largely implemented by the Department and that it is improving the Department's acquisition performance, but that more needs to be done. I am aware the Department is continuing to implement the remaining provisions of WSARA and other acquisition improvement initiatives. If confirmed, I will review these efforts to ensure that they are adequate and I will continue to work with Congress and our industry partners to improve the way we acquire systems for the Department.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you improve all three aspects of the acquisition process B requirements, acquisition, and budgeting?

*Answer.* Close coordination of these three processes is essential to improving the Department's ability to acquire services and systems and to obtain the best value for every defense dollar. Since WSARA's enactment, progress appears to have been made in regard to closer integration of these three processes, but I do not believe that this work is complete. In my view, requirements must be feasible and affordable, there must be an executable plan to acquire the products that meet those requirements, and there must be an adequate budget established to conduct the program and acquire the product. If confirmed, I will work to bring requirements, acquisition, and budgeting into close alignment by ensuring that the individuals re-

sponsible for these three aspects of acquisition work in conjunction with one another and not in isolation.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you improve acquisition accountability?

Answer. I support a chain of command for the acquisition process that provides for the clear responsibility and accountability that was established by the Goldwater-Nichols Act in the 1980s. For major programs, this chain of command begins with the Defense Acquisition Executive and runs through DOD component head to the Service or Component Acquisition Executive, the Program Executive Officer, and the Program Manager. If confirmed, I will hold these individuals accountable for acquisition system performance.

*Question.* Do you believe that the current investment budget for major systems is affordable given increasing historic cost growth in major systems, costs of current operations, and asset recapitalization?

Answer. I have not yet reviewed DOD's investment budget in detail or the balance between major systems investments, operations, and recapitalization. However, it is clear to me that pursuing only affordable programs and controlling costs throughout a product's life cycle are critical in any financial environment. All programs must be closely managed to avoid cost growth, and the affordability of any new requirements must be carefully scrutinized at the outset—before the program is authorized. If confirmed, I will examine the investment budget closely for near and long-term affordability, taking into consideration the potential for cost growth. I will also assess the sustainability of the balance between the various accounts that make up the Department's budget, including the investment, operations, and asset recapitalization portions of the budget.

*Question.* If confirmed, how do you plan to address this issue and guard against the potential impact of weapon systems cost growth?

Answer. My understanding is that the Department has been imposing affordability cost caps on new programs for over 2 years for both production and sustainment costs. These caps are being used to force trade-offs between capability and costs early in a program's life cycle. If confirmed, I will strongly support the imposition and enforcement of these cost caps. I will also work with the Department and industry to ensure that we stay on budget and on schedule. DOD and the taxpayer cannot afford the excessive cost growth that has plagued some programs in the past.

#### RELIABILITY OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS

*Question.* The Department's process for procuring major weapons systems places insufficient emphasis on reliability and maintainability and, therefore, produces systems that are increasingly costly to operate and sustain. Given that these ownership costs comprise most of a given weapons systems' overall lifecycle cost, these increased costs could undermine considerably the Department's "buying power".

How would you ensure that the defense acquisition system produces more reliable weapons systems?

Answer. I believe that the key to obtaining necessary reliability is to establish effective incentives and, when necessary, to enforce the consequences of failure to meet established standards. If confirmed, I will ensure that the acquisition system takes this approach to achieving the needed reliability performance for its weapons systems.

#### EXCESSIVE CONCURRENCY IN MAJOR DEFENSE ACQUISITION PROGRAMS

*Question.* Major defense acquisition programs (MDAP) have experienced excessive cost-growth and schedule delays due to, among other things, too much of an overlap between development and production. This has exposed these systems to a high risk of costly new discoveries requiring redesign and retrofit late into operational testing or production.

What more can be done to ensure that the defense acquisition system safeguards against excessive concurrency in MDAPs?

Answer. I am not an expert in this field; however, my understanding is that some limited degree of concurrency between development and initial production can often be the most efficient way to structure a weapons system program. However, the Department has in some cases, such as the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, taken too much risk with concurrency, committing to production well before the design was tested enough to know that it was mature and stable. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the risks of concurrent development and production are fully understood and taken into account by acquisition decisionmakers before a program enters production.



## PROCUREMENT PROGRAM RISK

*Question.* Another major cause of excessive cost growth and schedule delays in how the Department procures major weapons systems and major automated information systems (in particular, “enterprise resource planning” systems, which are vital to defense financial improvement and business transformation), relates to the Department’s inability to identify, price, and therefore effectively manage program risk, (e.g., technological, developmental, integration, and manufacturing risk).

How would you improve the defense acquisition system to ensure that the Department can more effectively and timely address all types of risk in its major defense procurement programs to better ensure the delivery of needed combat capability on time and on budget?

*Answer.* I believe the early identification, management, and mitigation of program risk is a critical element of any well-managed acquisition program. I understand that the Department, through implementation of WSARA and other ongoing initiatives, is working to improve early planning efforts to better understand risks and to put in place steps that will remove and/or mitigate them prior to the commitment of a major investment in product development or initial production. My view is that new product development inherently involves risk and that the risk of any new product development must be actively managed if the program is to be successful. If confirmed, I will review the adequacy of these initiatives and their effectiveness.

## SERVICES CONTRACTING

*Question.* Over the last decade, the Department has become progressively more reliant upon contractors to perform functions that were once performed exclusively by government employees. As a result, contractors now play an integral role in areas as diverse as the management and oversight of weapons programs, the development of personnel policies, and the collection and analysis of intelligence. In many cases, contractor employees work in the same offices, serve on the same projects and task forces, and perform many of the same functions as DOD employees.

In your view, has DOD become too reliant on contractors to support the basic functions of the Department?

*Answer.* Although I understand that DOD has been taking steps in recent years to reduce its reliance on contractors, I believe DOD must continue to manage its workforce in a way that avoids inappropriate or excessive reliance on contractor support for basic Department functions, while also meeting its obligations to perform work efficiently and effectively and to be a good steward of taxpayer resources. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department implements a workforce strategy that aligns functions and work among military, civilian, and contracted services in a cost effective, and balanced manner consistent with workload requirements, funding availability, and laws and regulations.

*Question.* If confirmed, how do you plan to address the issue of cost growth in services contracting and ensure that the Department gets the most for its money in this area?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I will continue the efforts of the administration and the Department to improve the visibility and accountability of contracted services by expanding and refining the data we collect from contractors, as required by statute, in order to compare it to our civilian and military workforce planning factors.

*Question.* U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan have relied on contractor support to a greater degree than previous U.S. military operations. According to widely published reports, the number of U.S. contractor employees in Iraq and Afghanistan has often exceeded the number of U.S. military deployed in those countries.

Do you believe that DOD has become too dependent on contractor support for military operations?

*Answer.* At this time I don’t have enough information to make an assessment. While many support functions for military operations are appropriate for contract support, some are more closely associated with work that should be performed by government employees (military or civilian), or other Federal agencies. I am aware of recent recommendations made by the Commission on Wartime Contracting and the GAO regarding such dependence and, if confirmed, I will support ongoing efforts to implement those recommendations as appropriate.

*Question.* What risks do you see in the Department’s reliance on such contractor support? What steps do you believe the Department should take to mitigate such risk?

*Answer.* Reliance on contractor support can lead to operational risk if contractors fail to perform or perform outside the scope of appropriately defined roles. Our experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan have also shown that additional risk is introduced

when there is poor government oversight, further increasing the potential for fraud, waste, and abuse. We also know that government oversight is critical to ensure appropriate contractor interaction with local communities.

If confirmed, I will support the Department's ongoing efforts to minimize any over-reliance on contractors and ensure the appropriate mix of military, civilian, and contract personnel in theater. I will also review the Department's progress in implementing recommendations made by the Commission on Wartime Contracting, the GAO, and the legislative mandates in the NDAA regarding operational contracting requirements including considerations for contract support as part of the national military strategy, the QDR, and the Chairman's annual risk assessment.

*Question.* Do you believe the Department is appropriately organized and staffed to effectively manage contractors on the battlefield?

Answer. I do not have enough information yet to make a full assessment of this issue. However, I believe that investments made over the last few years in the Department's acquisition workforce, as well as the implementation of recommendations made by the Commission on Wartime Contracting and the GAO, have vastly improved the Department's ability to effectively manage contractors on the battlefield. If confirmed, I will continue to improve our capabilities in this critical area.

*Question.* What steps if any do you believe the Department should take to improve its management of contractors on the battlefield?

Answer. At this time I don't have enough information to identify specific steps or actions necessary to improve management of contractors on the battlefield. If confirmed, I will work with the Chairman, the Joint Chiefs, the combatant commanders, and other Department leadership to ensure commanders in the field have the necessary resources and access to information to effectively manage contract support and mitigate against potential risks.

#### PRIVATE SECURITY CONTRACTORS

*Question.* Federal agencies including DOD have spent more than \$5 billion for private security contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan over the last decade. Over this period, there have been numerous reports of abuses and questionable activities by private security contractors in both countries.

Do you believe DOD and other Federal agencies should rely upon contractors to perform security functions that may reasonably be expected to require the use of deadly force in highly hazardous public areas in an area of combat operations?

Answer. I believe it may be appropriate to use private security contractors for specific security functions in contingency operations when they are limited by specific rules for the use of force. Such functions include providing security for our military bases in areas of operations and protecting supply convoys. Without a significant increase in end strength and resources, the Department would not have the capacity to take on all the missions private security contractors are able to fill. However, the Department must provide proper guidance and supervision when using private security contractors and must ensure they do not engage in combat operations. I cannot comment on the use of private security contractors by other Federal agencies.

*Question.* In your view, has the U.S. reliance upon private security contractors to perform such functions risked undermining our defense and foreign policy objectives in Iraq and Afghanistan?

Answer. The use of private security contractors in support of contingency operations always requires careful oversight. The misapplication of the use of force by private security contractors can undermine our strategic objectives. If confirmed, I will ensure DOD has established policies and procedures to effectively manage private security contractors to prevent actions that would be detrimental to our policy objectives.

*Question.* Section 846 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 requires DOD to carry out risk assessments and risk mitigation plans whenever it relies on contractors to perform critical functions in support of OCOs.

What steps will you take, if confirmed, to implement the requirements of section 846?

Answer. I believe that contract support is an essential part of the total force and will remain so in the future. In many cases contractors are absolutely vital. For example transportation command heavily uses contractors to move personnel and equipment. If confirmed, I will ensure that the DOD policy and operational guidance addresses the requirements of section 846 and that proper risk assessments and risk mitigation plans are conducted.

*Question.* What steps if any would you take, if confirmed, to ensure that any private security contractors who may continue to operate in an area of combat oper-

ations act in a responsible manner, consistent with U.S. defense and foreign policy objectives?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure DOD has policies that effectively guide the operations of private security contractors when they are used, and that we provide proper oversight. We must also strive to ensure that all contractors, including private security contractors, are appropriately legally accountable for their actions, and that private security contractors that operate in an area of combat and contingency operations act responsibly.

#### EFFICIENCY IN DEPARTMENT OPERATIONS

*Question.* The Joint Chiefs recently stated that, “we must be given the latitude to enact the cost-saving reforms we need while eliminating the weapons and facilities we do not need.”

In your view, what latitude must be given to the Joint Chiefs to enact cost-saving reforms?

Answer. It is my understanding that the Joint Chiefs supported some hard choices that were made in the fiscal year 2013 President’s budget in order to achieve the savings required to sustain the new defense strategy. The Joint Chiefs need Congress to provide them the latitude to implement those changes and allow them to execute the new strategy. I also understand that it is now a zero sum game. If the Department is not able to implement the changes proposed, other offsets must be made, while still preserving warfighting capability.

*Question.* If confirmed, how would you work with the Joint Chiefs to eliminate unneeded weapons?

Answer. If confirmed, I look forward to the opportunity to sit down with the Joint Chiefs and to work together to thoroughly review, identify, and eliminate any effort that is outdated or no longer needed by the Department.

*Question.* Do you support the administration’s request for the authority to conduct two rounds of Bases Realignments and Closures (BRAC) to eliminate unneeded facilities?

Answer. I understand that the administration’s proposal for two rounds of BRAC was not accepted by Congress. However, I also think any prudent manager has to look at all options when faced with significant budget pressures. As with industry, the Department should examine its infrastructure and eliminate excess. The BRAC process is not perfect, but I believe BRAC is a fair and comprehensive way to right-size the Department’s footprint, and is the best process identified to date. If confirmed, I would have to look at the need for BRAC in the future.

*Question.* If so, given the recent report by GAO of the excessive costs of the 2005 BRAC round, what would be your priorities in carrying out a round of BRAC?

Answer. It is my understanding that the 2005 BRAC round was an anomaly, the only round conducted while the Department was growing. It focused on transformation, jointness, and relocating forces from overseas. A future BRAC round is more likely to be like the rounds in 1993 and 1995 where excess capacity was reduced.

#### ACQUISITION WORKFORCE

*Question.* Over the last 15 years, DOD has reduced the size of its acquisition workforce by almost half, without undertaking any systematic planning or analysis to ensure that it would have the specific skills and competencies needed to meet DOD’s current and future needs. Since September 11, 2001, moreover, the demands placed on that workforce have substantially increased. Section 852 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2008 established an Acquisition Workforce Development Fund to help DOD address shortcomings in its acquisition workforce. This requirement was revised and updated by section 803 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013.

Do you agree that the Department would be “penny-wise and pound foolish” to try to save money by cutting corners on its acquisition workforce at the risk or losing control over the hundreds of billions of dollars that it spends every year on the acquisition of products and services?

Answer. Yes. It is imperative that DOD act as a good steward of the resources entrusted to it by the American people. A properly qualified and sized acquisition workforce is central to maintaining this stewardship and to ensuring that the Department obtains as much value as possible for the money that it spends obtaining products and services from contractors.

*Question.* Do you believe that the Acquisition Workforce Development Fund is needed to ensure that DOD has the right number of employees with the right skills to run its acquisition programs in the most cost effective manner for the taxpayers?

Answer. I understand that the Acquisition Workforce Development Fund has provided funds necessary for strengthening the acquisition workforce with regard to both its size and skills. I support this goal and, if confirmed, will work with Congress to ensure that the Fund is used effectively to build the capability of the Department's acquisition workforce.

#### HUMAN CAPITAL PLANNING

*Question.* DOD faces a critical shortfall in key areas of its civilian workforce, including the management of acquisition programs, information technology systems and financial management, and senior DOD officials have expressed alarm at the extent of the Department's reliance on contractors in these areas. Section 115b of title 10, U.S.C., requires the Department to develop a strategic workforce plan to shape and improve its civilian employee workforce.

Would you agree that the Department's human capital, including its civilian workforce, is critical to the accomplishment of its national security mission?

Answer. Yes. I agree. The civilian workforce performs key enabling functions for the military, such as critical training and preparation to ensure readiness, equipment reset and modernization. Civilians also provide medical care, family support, and base operating services—all vital to supporting our men and women in uniform.

*Question.* Do you share the concern expressed by others about the extent of the Department's reliance on contractors in critical areas such as the management of acquisition programs, information technology and financial management?

Answer. Yes. We must ensure that we have a properly sized, and highly capable, civilian workforce that maintains critical skills and prevents an overreliance on contracted services. If confirmed, I will support the administration's focus on reducing inappropriate or excessive reliance on contracted support.

*Question.* If confirmed, will you ensure that the Department undertakes necessary human capital planning to ensure that its civilian workforce is prepared to meet the challenges of the coming decades?

Answer. Yes. If confirmed, I will ensure departmental human capital planning employs strategies for recruitment, development, and retention of a mission-ready civilian workforce.

*Question.* Section 955 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 requires a 5-percent reduction in anticipated funding levels for the civilian personnel workforce and the service contractor workforce of DOD, subject to certain exclusions.

What impact do you expect the implementation of section 955 to have on the programs and operations of DOD?

Answer. I do not have enough information at this time to speak to potential impact. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department's implementation of section 955, both in the civilian and contracted support workforces, is done in a manner that best mitigates risk to programs and operations, while maintaining core capabilities and support to our warfighters and their families.

*Question.* What steps will you take, if confirmed, to ensure that section 955 is implemented in a manner that is consistent with the requirements of section 129a of title 10, U.S.C., for determining the most appropriate and cost-efficient mix of military, civilian and service contractor personnel to perform DOD missions?

Answer. If confirmed, I will ensure implementation of section 955 recognizes that the sourcing of work among military (both Active and Reserve components), civilian, and contracted services must be consistent with requirements, funding availability, and applicable laws.

*Question.* What processes will you put in place, if confirmed, to ensure that the Department implements a sound planning process for carrying out the requirements of section 955, including the implementation of the exclusion authority in section 955(c)?

Answer. If confirmed, I will review the current processes the Department has for workforce determinations, along with existing management structures and tools. I do not currently have enough information regarding possible specific exclusions, but will ensure that the workforces of the Department are sized to perform the functions and activities necessary to achieve the missions of the Department.

#### TEST AND EVALUATION

*Question.* If confirmed, will you make it a priority to ensure that the Department as a whole and each of the Services specifically maintains its testing organizations, infrastructure, and budgets at levels adequate to address both our current and future acquisition needs?

*Answer.* Yes. Test and evaluation is a critical element of our acquisition system, that providing the measured and objective insight into a system's performance that is essential to making sound programmatic decisions.

*Question.* A natural tension exists between major program objectives to reduce cost and schedule and the test and evaluation objective to ensure performance meets specifications and requirements. What is your assessment of the appropriate balance between the desire to reduce acquisition cycle times and the need to perform adequate testing?

*Answer.* Test and evaluation provides acquisition decisionmakers with accurate and objective information on system performance necessary to inform critical acquisition decisions. My view is that we should generally not gamble on the performance of a weapons system when a reasonable amount of testing will significantly reduce the risk of redesign or major changes after production has been started. If confirmed, I will closely monitor the balance between reducing acquisition cycle time and conducting adequate testing to ensure warfighters receive affordable, operationally effective, and suitable systems when they need them.

*Question.* Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe we should procure weapon systems and equipment that has not been demonstrated through test and evaluation to be operationally effective, suitable, and survivable?

*Answer.* I understand that test and evaluation plays a critical role in product development and fielding. I believe that there are only a limited number of cases where it might be necessary to field a system prior to operational testing—for example, to address an urgent gap in a critical operational capability in an ongoing or imminent conflict. Even when fielding is accelerated to meet an urgent need, applicable statutes governing the test process must be complied with. There must be some level of testing to ensure basic operational performance and the safety of the system and to evaluate the system's capabilities and limitations to identify any deficiencies that might need to be corrected.

*Question.* Congress established the position of Director of Operational Test and Evaluation to serve as an independent voice on matters relating to operational testing of weapons systems. As established, the Director has a unique and direct relationship with Congress, consistent with the statutory independence of the office.

Do you support the continued ability of the Director of Operational Test and Evaluation's to speak freely and independently with Congress?

*Answer.* Yes.

#### FUNDING FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (S&T) INVESTMENTS AND WORKFORCE

*Question.* In his State of the Union speech in 2010, the President said that "maintaining our leadership in science and technology is crucial to America's success." The DOD budget submissions for fiscal years 2012 and 2013 supported continued investment in science and technology, despite the significant budget pressure.

Do you support maintaining growth in the DOD's S&T investments?

*Answer.* I understand and appreciate the importance of government investment in science and technology in the area of national security. Maintaining technological superiority against current and projected adversaries underpins our National Security Strategy and it is only through this investment that we can sustain this critical edge. I fully support the President's commitment to science and technology, and if confirmed, I will work to support science and technology investments in our defense budget.

*Question.* How will you assess whether the science and technology investment portfolio is adequate to meet the current and future needs of the Department?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I anticipate conducting reviews of the Department's current science and technology investment strategy, in the context of the Department's priorities and capability needs. I also acknowledge the necessity of maintaining a strong technology base.

*Question.* Well over half of all graduates of U.S. universities with advanced degrees in science and technology are non-U.S. citizens. Due to a variety of reasons, many return to their home countries where they contribute to competing against the United States in technology advancement.

What is your view on steps that the Department should take, if any, to ensure that DOD and the defense industrial base are able to recruit and retain scientists and engineers from this talent pool?

*Answer.* In order to maintain our technology superiority, it is essential for the Department to attract the best and brightest minds. The President made clear in his recent inaugural address that including bright students and engineers from abroad in America's workforce is an imperative for our future. If confirmed, I will work within the Department and the administration to find ways in which the Depart-

ment could enhance its skilled workforce, to include its scientific and engineering segments, by drawing upon a broad talent pool and by seeking to recruit and retain the best possible individuals, within the construct of national security requirements.

#### DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE

*Question.* The latest QDR addressed the need for strengthening the defense industrial base. Specifically, it said: "America's security and prosperity are increasingly linked with the health of our technology and industrial bases. In order to maintain our strategic advantage well into the future, the Department requires a consistent, realistic, and long-term strategy for shaping the structure and capabilities of the defense technology and industrial bases—a strategy that better accounts for the rapid evolution of commercial technology, as well as the unique requirements of ongoing conflicts."

What is your understanding and assessment of the current state of the U.S. defense industry?

*Answer.* I understand the Department relies on a broadened technical and industrial base that is now far more global, commercial, and financially complex than ever before. For the past decade the defense industrial base has enjoyed a period of increasing budgets that is now at an end. While I think our industrial base is currently strong, I am concerned about the impact that further defense budget cuts would have on the ability of the base to provide the broad range of products and services that the Department and our Nation need. If confirmed, the continuing health of the industrial base will be a high priority for me.

*Question.* Do you support further consolidation of the U.S. defense industry?

*Answer.* Expansion and consolidation of industries and companies is the hallmark of a robust free market economy as it responds to the market forces. I expect, and encourage, the free market to act when faced with changing demands. However, I believe the Government must also be watchful for consolidations that eliminate competition or cause market distortions. At the end of the Cold War there was a major consolidation at the top tier of defense businesses. My understanding is that the Department's leadership have indicated that further consolidation at the top tier would not be viewed favorably. I have not studied this in detail; however, my initial assessment is that this is the correct view. I also believe that each individual case of consolidation, acquisition, or merger dealing with our defense firms must be examined carefully for what is best for the warfighter and the taxpayer, particularly with regard to its impact on competition.

*Question.* What is your position on foreign investment in the U.S. defense sector?

*Answer.* Foreign investment has generally benefitted the United States, including DOD, by providing needed capital and increasing access to leading-edge technologies. However, I believe foreign investment in the defense sector can also expose critical national defense-related technologies to risks, including loss of the intellectual property that gives our military personnel the technological edge they rely upon. Congress has put provisions in place to address critical national security concerns of this nature, including the Committee on Foreign Interests in the United States led by the Department of the Treasury. If confirmed, I will continue DOD's commitment to its oversight function and to ensuring that national security concerns are addressed in transactions that involve foreign investments in the United States, including investments in the defense sector.

*Question.* If confirmed, what steps if any do you believe DOD should take to most effectively and efficiently manage risk and ensure the continued health of the U.S. defense industrial base?

*Answer.* If confirmed, I would seek to ensure the sources of manufacturing and services in the industrial base that the Department relies on are capable of meeting our warfighters' requirements. I will ensure that the Department proactively monitors the base to identify any risks that need to be addressed. When necessary and as resources permit, the Department should be prepared to act to ensure that key industrial capabilities are sustained, although, unfortunately, this will not be possible in every case. I will also make myself accessible to the best source of information on the industry's concerns—industry itself. This means working closely and communicating with private industry to ensure that, as the Department makes changes necessary to adapt to a new set of strategic and budgetary challenges, it does not inadvertently jeopardize critical elements of the industrial base. I believe the Department must simultaneously be receptive to industry's concerns and address their issues as effectively as possible, consistent with the Department's priorities and the resources available.

## RESET AND RECONSTITUTION FUNDING

*Question.* The Department has a substantial backlog of maintenance availabilities due to the high tempo and demand of more than a decade of combat operations. Senior DOD officials have testified that they will require 2 to 3 years of additional funding to restore readiness through reset and reconstitution of their equipment and personnel.

Do you agree with the assessment that the DOD will need 2 to 3 years of additional funding for reset and reconstitution?

*Answer.* I would need to review the facts behind the specific estimate of 2 to 3 years; however, I believe that it will require considerable time to repair equipment returning from operations in Afghanistan because of the nature of the repairs and difficulty of removing the equipment from theater.

*Question.* If confirmed, how will you balance maintenance and reset requirements with fiscal realities and future risk in developing your budget request?

*Answer.* The goal of reset and reconstitution is to produce ready units with the equipment they need for contingencies or current operations. Any further budget cuts must be balanced against this need for ready units, and, if confirmed, I will work with the services to prioritize the readiness of the units needed to implement the President's strategy.

## OPERATIONAL ENERGY

*Question.* Last July, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Operational Energy Plans and Programs published a policy that any alternative drop-in replacement fuel procured for DOD-wide use and distribution within the Class III (Bulk) supply chain must compete with petroleum products and any awards will be based on the ability to meet requirements at the best value to the government, including cost.

What is your view of this policy?

*Answer.* I understand this policy to be a positive one. It is prudent for the Department to engage in tests and demonstrations that confirm defense equipment can operate on a range of fuels; however, as the Department allocates its limited resources to ensure it delivers necessary warfighting capability, it should only buy large volumes of these fuels when they are cost-competitive with petroleum products.

*Question.* What is your assessment of section 526 of the Energy Independence and Security Act of 2007 and how it should apply to military operations of DOD?

*Answer.* My understanding is that section 526 has not restricted the Department from purchasing whatever fuel it has needed to support military operations. Rather, section 526 applies only to contracts that are for the express purpose of buying alternative or synthetic fuel. As long as mission capability is not restricted, it is helpful to have this guidance that new fuels should not be any more polluting than fuels produced from conventional petroleum sources.

*Question.* Considering the potential of further cuts to Defense budgets and the importance of energy security, do you believe DOD should jointly invest with other government agencies in the construction of a commercial biofuels refinery?

*Answer.* I understand the Department is in the early planning stages of such a project, undertaken in partnership with the private sector and the Departments of Energy and Agriculture, which have the lead roles for the Federal Government in promoting biofuels. I have not reviewed this project; however, I believe the Nation's long-term energy security would benefit from a competitive, domestic renewable fuels industry—the Department has a long history of contributing to national innovation by innovating to meet the defense mission. As a major consumer of liquid fuels, the Department would benefit from that industry as well. That said, I am not yet in a position to comment on the trade-offs between the value of this investment and the other priorities of the Department. Given the Department's funding constraints, I would, if confirmed, examine the value of this investment carefully before authorizing it to proceed.

*Question.* If confirmed, what priorities would you establish for Defense investments in energy technologies?

*Answer.* My broad priorities for defense energy investments will be those that: increase military capabilities, provide more mission success, and lower total cost. If confirmed, I will focus on both operational effectiveness and efficiency—improving the energy performance of aircraft, ships, ground vehicles, and military bases; reducing the vulnerability of our fuel supply lines; lowering the load our expeditionary forces must carry; and diversifying the energy supplies we use.

## LAW OF THE SEA CONVENTION

*Question.* The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is pending consideration in the U.S. Senate.

What is your view on whether or not the United States should join the Law of the Sea convention?

*Answer.* I strongly support U.S. accession to the Law of the Sea Convention. Ratification would allow the United States to take its rightful place and enjoy the benefits and protections of this treaty.

*Question.* How would being a party to the Law of the Sea convention help or hinder the United States' security posture?

*Answer.* Becoming a party to the Law of the Sea Convention would enhance the U.S. security posture around the globe in several significant ways. First and foremost, accession would enable the United States to reinforce all of the rights, freedoms, and uses of the sea codified in the Convention, including the navigational and over-flight rights that are critical to the global mobility of U.S. forces as well as the right to submit extended continental shelf claims that would help us preserve the rights to potential resources. Additionally, accession would help the United States to promote a common rules-based approach among other nations to peacefully resolve their territorial and maritime disputes, particularly in East Asia. Further, accession would add to the Department's credibility in a large number of Asia-focused multilateral venues where Law of the Sea matters are discussed. Lastly, accession would reassure some nations who have expressed concerns of the legality of cooperative security efforts that United States supports, such as the Proliferation Security Initiative. The United States has longstanding interests in freedom of the seas and respect for international law, and our accession to the Convention would further demonstrate our commitment to those national interests.

## CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT

*Question.* In order to exercise its legislative and oversight responsibilities, it is important that this committee and other appropriate committees of Congress are able to receive testimony, briefings, and other communications of information.

Do you agree, if confirmed for this high position, to appear before this committee and other appropriate committees of Congress?

*Answer.* Yes.

*Question.* Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear before this committee, or designated members of this committee, and provide information, subject to appropriate and necessary security protection, with respect to your responsibilities as Secretary of Defense?

*Answer.* Yes.

*Question.* Do you agree to ensure that testimony, briefings, and other communications of information are provided to this committee and its staff and other appropriate committees?

*Answer.* Yes.

*Question.* 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?

*Answer.* Yes.

---

[Questions for the record with answers supplied follow:]

## QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR CARL LEVIN

## U.S.-ARMENIAN DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP

1. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, what is your assessment of the U.S.-Armenia defense relationship, and what steps, if any, would you take to strengthen that relationship?

Mr. HAGEL. The U.S.-Armenia defense relationship is sound. As with all relationships, there is room to grow and areas where we can strengthen our cooperation and partnership. That growth will be based on shared interests and willingness to cooperate, available resources, and capacity to absorb new capabilities and missions.

If confirmed, I would continue to engage Armenian leaders to strengthen existing areas of engagement and identify new areas of cooperation that support Armenia's defense reforms, especially its peacekeeping brigade, and continue its ability to deploy in coalition operations. I would look for the United States to be Armenia's part-



ner of choice and help Armenia's defense establishment contribute to regional security and stability.

#### NUCLEAR TRIAD

2. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, the Global Zero report provides an illustrative example of a future alternative nuclear policy and force structure in the 2022 timeframe that would eliminate, through negotiated international agreements, our land-based Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) as a means to reduce the size of our nuclear forces consistent with our obligations under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Do agree with General Kehler, the Commander of U.S. Strategic Command and with the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) that at the present time, the triad of strategic nuclear forces continues to serve U.S. national security interests?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I agree that the NPR's recommendation remains the right one at the present time. I believe that the triad's mix of ICBMs, submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and nuclear-capable heavy bombers continues to support U.S. national security interests under New START limits.

#### MALIGN IRANIAN INFLUENCE

3. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, Iran supports proxies in Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, Bahrain, and the Western Hemisphere. In your view, what is the impact of Iran's activities in places such as Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, Bahrain, and the Western Hemisphere?

Mr. HAGEL. Iranian support for proxy groups and terrorist activities in the Middle East region and in places around the world constitutes a serious threat not only for the stability of our partners and allies who are directly impacted by these activities, but also for U.S. interests. In short, Iran's activities are malevolent and intended to be destabilizing. If confirmed, I intend to focus intently on countering Iran's malign influence—including preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

4. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, in your view, what role—if any—should the Department of Defense (DOD) play in countering malign Iranian influence in the Middle East?

Mr. HAGEL. In my view, DOD could help to counter Iranian malign activities in at least three ways. First, the Department should support diplomatic and intelligence efforts to inhibit the activities of Iranian proxy and terrorist groups. Second, the Department can leverage its presence in the region to deter and, when directed by the President, disrupt Iranian malign activities. Third, the Department could leverage its extensive security cooperation relationships with countries in the Middle East and around the world to partner in countering Iranian destabilizing activities.

#### SYRIA

5. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, the civil war in Syria continues and President Assad's commitment to continuing his regime's ongoing operations appears unwavering—despite broad international condemnation. You have indicated that you share the Obama administration's position that Assad must go. In your view, what is the most effective way to bring about the end of the Assad regime?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that a political transition should remain our goal. The best way to weaken the Assad regime at this time is through political, diplomatic and economic pressure, as well as assisting the unarmed opposition. If confirmed, I will support the President's ongoing reassessment of the continuously changing conditions on the ground in Syria to determine what additional steps may be appropriate.

6. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, what is your assessment of the composition and intentions of the Syrian opposition?

Mr. HAGEL. Based on my observations, the opposition is made up largely of Syrians wanting to free themselves from a repressive ruler. An important exception is the Al Nusra Front, which the State Department has listed as an alias of al Qaeda in Iraq. In my view, the United States should continue to encourage the Syrian Opposition Council to pursue an approach that isolates extremist elements but is inclusive of a broad range of communities inside Syria, and I will continue this policy if confirmed.

7. Senator LEVIN. Mr. Hagel, are the opposition's motivations consistent with U.S. interests in the region?

Mr. HAGEL. In Syria, the opposition is made up of disparate groups with varying interests and values. I believe that the Syrian Opposition Council's fundamental motivation to end Assad's rule is consistent with U.S. interests. U.S. efforts in Syria should aim to partner with those groups that share U.S. interests and values, and isolate those groups—such as the Al Nusrah Front—which do not.

---

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JACK REED

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

8. Senator REED. Mr. Hagel, could you please provide clarification of your views on the Armenian genocide?

Mr. HAGEL. As President Obama has emphasized in his April 24th Remembrance Day statements, the achievement of a full, frank, and just acknowledgement of the facts of what occurred in 1915 is in all of our interests. I further concur with the President that the best way to advance that goal is for the Armenian and Turkish people to address the facts of the past as a part of their efforts to move forward. If confirmed, I would continue to strongly support the State Department's efforts to work with Armenia and Turkey to normalize relations so they can forge relationships that are peaceful, productive, and prosperous.

GLOBAL ZERO REPORT

9. Senator REED. Mr. Hagel, there have been a number of questions raised about the Global Zero report on U.S. nuclear policy and force structure. I want to make sure we understand the context of that report. Is it correct that the report provides an illustrative alternative nuclear policy and force structure 10 years in the future—as an example of how we could continue to reduce our reliance on and the number of nuclear forces, in line with our future security requirements?

Mr. HAGEL. In the Global Zero report we took a longer-term view of what might be possible under different circumstances. The policy and force structure it provided was indeed illustrative in nature. The study group's analysis was intended to provide a stimulus to national debate about how many nuclear weapons may be enough in the future, and to illustrate a possible pathway forward.

10. Senator REED. Mr. Hagel, is it correct that the illustrative reductions envisioned would be made through bilateral and multilateral negotiated arms control agreements?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I agree with the administration's view, as stated in the 2010 NPR, that large disparities in nuclear capabilities on either the United States or the Russian side could raise concerns and could hinder our pursuit of a stable, long-term U.S.-Russian relationship. Therefore, I agree that further reductions should be negotiated bilaterally or, if appropriate, multilaterally.

11. Senator REED. Mr. Hagel, is it correct that pursuing additional reductions to our nuclear forces, beyond the limits established in the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), is consistent with our obligations under Article VI of the NPT, and with the findings and conclusions of the April 2010 NPR?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, I believe that pursuing negotiated reductions below New START levels would be consistent with both Article VI of the NPT and with the conclusions of the 2010 NPR.

12. Senator REED. Mr. Hagel, is it correct that the illustrative example of an alternative U.S. nuclear policy and force structure in the next decade would be consistent with maintaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent force?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

---

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR BILL NELSON

STRATEGIC DISPERSAL

13. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, our Nation must recognize the spectrum of threats that confront us daily, and position our assets accordingly. Pearl Harbor taught us assets and resources should not be concentrated in one place. Dispersing our capital ships is in our best national security interest and specifically, dispersing

the East Coast carrier fleet is a national security priority. One needs to only look at the Pacific Fleet to see an excellent example of strategic dispersal. The Navy has stationed its Pacific Fleet at four different homeports—San Diego, CA; Bremerton, WA; Everett, WA; and Japan, but has been slow to accomplish the same thing with our Atlantic Fleet. The military decision to disperse the fleet has been studied, and restudied. Admiral after admiral, secretary after secretary, have all testified keeping a second Atlantic homeport is essential to national security. In addition, the 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) clearly states, “To mitigate the risk of a terrorist attack, accident, or natural disaster, the U.S. Navy will homeport an East Coast carrier in Mayport, Florida.”

Moving a carrier from Norfolk, VA, to Mayport is a cost-effective national security objective. As Secretary of Defense, will you maintain the DOD’s support for moving a carrier from Norfolk to Mayport and, as your predecessors have done, will you ensure strategic dispersal is again added as an objective in the 2014 QDR?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that our country faces a spectrum of threats and concur that strategic dispersal is a critical element in reducing risk and providing strategic flexibility in the event of natural disaster, manmade calamity or attack by a foreign nation or terrorists. If confirmed, I will look at strategic dispersal as a means of ensuring we address strategic risk to our national security objectives. I support the Department’s efforts to continue to prepare Mayport for carrier access.

14. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, will you support the addition of programmed funds in the next President’s budget to do so?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will ensure future budgets and the upcoming QDR evaluate all options to maximize our strategic objectives, including strategic dispersal of our carriers on the east coast.

#### EXCESS CAPACITY IN OVERSEAS MILITARY INSTALLATIONS

15. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, the value of having a forward footprint with our men and women stationed abroad, as well as the cooperation it breeds with our allies, is critical to our national security. However, I am concerned about the excess capacity of U.S. military bases in overseas locations and the drain of our taxpayers dollars to maintain these installations. I believe this excess capacity and the potential for savings needs to be addressed before we begin to close or realign domestic installations. Please share your thoughts on this issue.

Mr. HAGEL. A prudent manager has to look at all options when faced with significant budget pressure. That includes reviewing options for consolidation overseas—particularly in Europe, where the Department is reducing force structure and there are clear opportunities to reduce supporting infrastructure. The Department should begin this review immediately, as specific legislation is not required to consider base closures overseas. However, this should not preclude the Department from taking simultaneous action to realize infrastructure savings at domestic installations. Given the size of the cuts the Department is facing, it is unrealistic to expect to achieve all necessary savings by looking only at overseas infrastructure.

#### MORATORIUM ON DRILLING IN THE GULF OF MEXICO

16. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, in 2006, you cosponsored the Gulf of Mexico Energy Security Act to restrict leasing in areas of the eastern Gulf of Mexico within 125 miles of Florida, including areas in the Gulf of Mexico east of the military mission line. Previous Secretaries of Defense (Rumsfeld, Gates) supported a moratorium on drilling east of the military mission line. These training ranges are vital for our fifth generation air superiority assets—F-22, F-35—as well as providing an area for the critical testing of the weaponry on various airframes. As Secretary of Defense, will you maintain this vital military test and training area?

Mr. HAGEL. My understanding is that the Department conducted analysis in 2010 that identified some parts of this region where drilling would not interfere with military activities if the drilling activities are significantly constrained—for example, in some regions, drilling was deemed compatible if the structures were sub-surface. If confirmed, I will review this analysis and ensure the Department does not put critical military test and training capabilities at risk.

#### AFGHANISTAN DRAWDOWN

17. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, President Obama plans to withdraw combat forces from Afghanistan by 2014. The U.S. and North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO) allies are transitioning from fighting to training and advising the Afghan security forces, and during his recent meeting with President Karzai, President Obama signaled the transition to Afghan security forces may be accelerated. What footprint should the U.S. and NATO allies have after 2014?

Mr. HAGEL. The President has stated, and I agree, that the scope of the international mission in Afghanistan after 2014 should focus on two primary objectives: first, to deny safe haven to al Qaeda and its affiliates; and second, to train, advise, and assist the Afghan forces so they can maintain their own security. This mission shift is consistent with what was agreed upon by the United States, NATO allies, and ISAF and Afghan partners at the Chicago NATO Summit last year and also with our long-term Strategic Partnership Agreement with the Afghan Government, signed May 1, 2012. I understand that the President is considering a range of options provided by his military commanders and national security team. I have not been a part of those discussions, but, if confirmed, I will work to ensure that the appropriate resources and capabilities are made available for the post-2014 mission.

18. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, how will the Afghanistan Government afford to maintain their military operations?

Mr. HAGEL. At the 2012 NATO Summit in Chicago, the United States, NATO allies, and other international partners pledged to provide significant financial assistance after 2014 to help maintain the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). The Afghan Government also pledged to provide at least \$500 million a year for the ANSF beginning in 2015, and to increase this amount over time as its economy grows. The international donor community has also pledged its support to Afghanistan's continued economic and social development after 2014 through commitments made at the 2012 Tokyo conference, including pledges for \$16 billion in civilian aid over 4 years. With this support, as Afghanistan's economy grows and its revenues increase, Afghanistan will increasingly be able to take responsibility for future security costs. Further, it is my understanding that DOD is working closely with the Afghan Government to ensure that the force we are building and developing is a sustainable one. If confirmed, I will continue to work closely with the Afghan Government to ensure that the ANSF is sustainable within available resources.

#### CAMP LEJEUNE WATER CONTAMINATION

19. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, Florida has 16,000 veterans and civilians in the Camp Lejeune water contamination registry, second only to North Carolina. The Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR) is completing studies designed to determine the size and scope of water contamination at Camp Lejeune. In January, ATSDR released the preliminary results of a drinking water study, which shows the following:

- Housing complex drinking water was contaminated with dry cleaning solvents from 1957 to 1987 above the current Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) limits.
- Separate housing areas were contaminated with organic compounds (from 1 million gallons of spilled gasoline) from 1953 to 1985 above the current EPA limits.

Recent ATSDR findings show drinking water contamination at Camp Lejeune from 1953 through 1987. Although the U.S. Navy Bureau of Medicine had established Navy drinking water standards during this time period, DOD continues to state that no standards existed. As Secretary of Defense, will you ensure that these misleading statements from the Navy and Marine Corps receive the proper oversight from you?

Mr. HAGEL. The health and well-being of our servicemembers, their families, and civilian employees is of the utmost importance to me. If confirmed, I will be committed to finding answers to the many questions surrounding the historic water quality issue at Camp Lejeune and ensuring appropriate oversight of these efforts. Working with the leaders of the Navy and Marine Corps, I will engage the proper experts and review all the facts pertaining to the Bureau of Medicine Instruction to which you refer, ensuring that accurate information is provided to all who believe they may have been exposed to contaminated water at Camp Lejeune. The Department will continue to understand the meaning of ongoing scientific efforts and provide comprehensive science-based answers to our servicemembers, their families, and civilian employees.

I applaud Congress' efforts to support families through the passage of the Honoring America's Veterans and Caring for Camp Lejeune Families Act of 2012 and

I pledge to support the Department of Veterans Affairs efforts to properly implement the legislation.

#### AIR FORCE OVERSIGHT

20. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, the Air Force recently released two major decisions which affected Florida: the Air Force Materiel Command (AFMC) reorganization and the KC-46 basing selection. We believe there is room for improvement in regards to the Air Force routing and seeking validation through the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) on these very important decisions.

In regards to the KC-46 basing decision and the analysis to determine future requirements, the level of engagement and coordination between the Air Force and Combatant Commands (COCOM), as well as OSD validation of the Air Force decision, requires additional attention.

On December 18, 2012, in section 2814 of the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2013, the Air Force was directed to submit a report and include the efficiencies and effectiveness associated with the AFMC reorganization, as well as the extent to which the proposed changes were coordinated with OSD.

Critical decisions of a strategic nature need to be properly coordinated with the COCOMs. As Secretary of Defense, how will you direct your staff to ensure the Air Force seeks OSD validation prior to releasing decisions such as these?

Mr. HAGEL. It is my understanding that each Service has a decisionmaking methodology and process for managing its operations, organizational structure, and basing decisions. OSD oversees these efforts, which involve key stakeholders including the COCOM. For reorganization decisions such as these, I think it is important that the Secretary of Defense allow the Military Departments the latitude to make proposals to streamline management functions while also preserving core capabilities. OSD oversight of this process ensures that affected stakeholders have the opportunity to provide their perspective on the implications of proposed changes. If confirmed, I will ensure my staff and the combatant commands continue to appropriately examine the Air Force approach to basing decisions.

#### TAIWAN RELATIONS ACT

21. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances of 1982 have contributed to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region for the past 3 decades. With the military balance—including air superiority—gradually shifting in China's favor, what are your plans to implement the security commitment the United States has for Taiwan under this framework?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that the Taiwan Relations Act has contributed to peace and stability in the region for over 30 years. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China means that Taiwan must devote greater attention to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan's strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, throughout DOD, and with our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

22. Senator NELSON. Mr. Hagel, as Taiwan is likely to retire some of its older fighter aircraft in the next 5 to 10 years, do you believe that sales of advanced aircraft are a next step in this commitment?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, throughout DOD and with our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act. If confirmed, I will look at what specific capabilities will help Taiwan meet its self-defense needs in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR CLAIRE MCCASKILL

##### CONTRACTING REFORM

23. Senator MCCASKILL. Mr. Hagel, in 2011, in its final report to Congress, the Commission on Wartime Contracting found that as much as \$60 billion, roughly \$12 million “every day for the past 10 years,” was lost to waste or fraud through contracts in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition to the financial costs, the Commission found that poor planning, management, and oversight of contracts damaged the

United States' strategic and diplomatic objectives overseas. Building on the Commission's recommendations, last year I offered legislation, along with our former Senate colleague, Jim Webb, to reform wartime contracting practices within DOD, the Department of State, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Major provisions of this legislation were signed into law as part of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013.

Section 843 of the new law requires the Secretary to establish a chain of authority and responsibility for policy, planning, and execution of operational contract support. Do I have your commitment to direct the needed resources to look at our over-reliance on contractors and our loss of core capabilities in certain areas and to report back to me on the responsibilities you lay out after this review?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. If confirmed, you have my commitment to look at the Department's reliance on the use of contractors in contingency operations and to assess what core capabilities should be retained in DOD.

24. Senator MCCASKILL. Mr. Hagel, section 846 requires the Secretary of Defense to conduct a risk assessment of certain types of contracting, including not only private security contractors, but also contracts for training, intelligence, and a host of other problem areas. You have your pick of poster child case studies in Iraq and Afghanistan to know this is a problem. DOD does not operate in a vacuum in wartime. Do I have your commitment to work with the State Department and USAID, who are also subject to this provision, and to conduct this assessment based not just on whether you are legally entitled to contract something out, but on whether it makes sense in the long term, for both our military mission and our own future capabilities to do so?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. If confirmed, I will work with State Department and USAID in conducting the required risk assessment of contingency contracting from not just a legal perspective but also from the perspective of our long-term capability needs.

#### F/A-18

25. Senator MCCASKILL. Mr. Hagel, the F/A-18 program has been a model acquisition program, and continues to deliver Super Hornets on-time and on-schedule at less than half the cost of an F-35. The fact is, the Super Hornet is an aircraft that has performed superbly in virtually every combat operation and delivers nearly all of the capability.

As the F-35 program continues to slip, we are nearing the end of the production line for the Super Hornet, which is currently scheduled to shut down in 2014. I am concerned that the United States could be left with a gap in the defense industrial bases' ability to produce strike fighters and eliminates DOD's ability to rely on the F/A-18 lines to manage future F-35 cost, performance, and schedule risks. As Secretary of Defense, how would you address this gap?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will assess the strike fighter capability mix, the progress of the F-35, and the state of the F/A-18 production line to determine if a gap exists and evaluate the options to address it for feasibility and affordability.

26. Senator MCCASKILL. Mr. Hagel, international sales of the F/A-18 could help mitigate the risk of the closing of domestic strike fighter production line that can address our own strike fighter shortfall. Will you ensure that DOD actively supports international sales of the F/A-18?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department actively supports foreign military sales of U.S. defense products including the F-18.

#### SEXUAL ASSAULT

27. Senator MCCASKILL. Mr. Hagel, DOD under Secretary Panetta's leadership has implemented a number of initiatives to try to curb sexual assaults in the military—a problem he has stated could be six times greater than reported—and we have seen both military and civilian leaders acknowledge that sexual assault is a problem that affects the recruitment, retention, and readiness of our armed forces. This committee has taken up the issue of sexual violence in the military and has implemented some reforms in the NDAA, most recently in fiscal year 2013.

We have seen some promising programs developed by the Services, as well. You mentioned in one of your responses to the advance policy questions that you look forward to hearing about the outcome of the Air Force's pilot program that assigns an attorney to each victim of sexual assault who requests one to represent them through the process. I have been impressed by the training for special investigators

going on at the Army's Military Police School at Fort Leonard Wood in Missouri. This course has been recognized as the "gold standard" for special investigator training, which both DOD and Congress have encouraged the other Services to follow.

As a former prosecutor, I understand how critically important the investigation process is to the outcome of sexual assault cases. The investigation process is also key for victims, as victims may feel more comfortable coming forward to report their cases if they have confidence that the military justice system is working and that perpetrators will be brought to justice.

While I recognize each of the Military Services have a unique history and culture, that should not be an excuse for refusing to adopt best practices to combat a problem they all share. Will you push the Services to adopt best practices in their efforts to combat sexual assault?

Mr. HAGEL. It is my understanding that the Services are sharing information about their processes and working to adopt these best practices across the Services. If confirmed, I will work to continue and expand this important effort.

28. Senator MCCASKILL. Mr. Hagel, will you review whether the Services have done enough, in your view, to address the problem of sexual assault within the military?

Mr. HAGEL. Sexual assault is a horrible crime and cannot be tolerated, ignored, or condoned in DOD. If confirmed, I will be fully committed to combating this crime and determined in reducing the instance of sexual assault, with a goal of eliminating it from the military.

I know that the over the past year, the Department has developed and implemented several new policies and procedures to prevent the crime of sexual assault, support victims, strengthen investigations, and hold offenders appropriately accountable. I also know that these efforts are not enough.

The Department must continue its multi-disciplinary approach in combatting sexual assault. Prevention efforts are important, so that the crimes do not happen in the first place. These efforts must ensure that every servicemember, from top to bottom in our military ranks, knows that dignity and respect are core values we must all live by.

But accountability is key and people who violate the standards of acceptable behavior must be held appropriately accountable for their actions. I believe a positive first step was elevating the initial disposition of the most serious sexual assault cases to the level of colonel or Navy captain, or higher. Military commanders are essential to making sexual assault prevention and response efforts successful.

I look forward to learning more about the Department's ongoing program to develop Special Victims Capabilities across each of the Services, a program legislated in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, and which is under development in the Department in the form of special training and standardized procedures for investigators, prosecutors, paralegals, and victim witness liaisons. This program's objective is to enhance the quality of investigations and accountability in sexual assault cases and I fully support it.

I also look forward to hearing more about the impact of the Air Force's pilot program, implemented in January, which assigns an attorney to a victim of sexual assault who requests one to represent them. I believe this could be a very good way to improve accountability. It will improve victim confidence and increase the number of victims who are willing to report; thereby increasing the number of cases that can be investigated and the number of cases in which offenders can be held appropriately accountable.

If confirmed, I will be resolute in advancing the Department's prevention, investigation, accountability, victim support and assessment programs in order that we address the problem of sexual assault in a persistent, comprehensive, and effective manner.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR MARK UDALL

##### ALTERNATIVE ENERGY PROGRAMS

29. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that the U.S. military's dependence on foreign oil represents a national security risk?

Mr. HAGEL. I am concerned about the Nation's dependence on foreign oil. At the same time, U.S. military forces need to be able to buy fuel wherever they operate. I support efforts to reduce the military's energy needs and diversify supplies in order to increase military effectiveness.

30. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, do you support the continuation of DOD's energy conservation and alternative energy development programs?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the continuation of energy initiatives that improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the Defense mission. The Department has a long history of harnessing innovation to meet defense challenges in ways that can benefit the civilian economy, and there is potential for such gains in this case.

31. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, do you believe those programs represent a strategic investment that will benefit U.S. national security and increase our military capabilities?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. Energy efficiency and alternative energy programs are critical for cost savings, operational effectiveness, and our strategic national security goals. The Department has a long history of harnessing innovation to meet defense challenges in ways that can benefit the civilian economy, and there is potential for such gains in this case.

#### AFRICA

32. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, what specific actions should be taken by DOD to address the wave of extremism in the Sahel region of Africa?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the United States should continue to support France's strong actions to counter al Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb's effort to establish a safe haven in Mali, including by providing DOD assistance. The Departments of Defense and State should also continue contributing to the robust international support to the African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA). AFISMA will help to degrade the threat posed by al Qaeda and allied terrorist groups and put Mali on a path to stability.

Elsewhere in the Sahel region, the United States should continue to work with regional partners to strengthen their security capacities and create the conditions to apply region-wide pressure on extremist groups.

33. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, what methods would you prescribe to prevent additional countries and national governments in North Africa from falling to extremists?

Mr. HAGEL. Extremists in North Africa clearly pose a significant threat to regional stability. If confirmed, I will work with the Secretary of State, other inter-agency counterparts, international partners and allies, and countries across the region to build the capacity of their militaries to counter these threats and to assist North African governments in improving governance and security for their populations. This includes preventing the expansion of terrorist networks and then degrading and, ultimately, defeating terrorist groups.

#### PAKISTAN

34. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that there are steps that the United States should take to further pressure Pakistan to withdraw their tacit support for terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and the Haqqani Network in order to enhance the prospects for a stable peace in the region?

Mr. HAGEL. The ability of militant and terrorist networks to operate on Pakistani soil poses a threat to the United States, Pakistan, and other countries in South Asia. Therefore, the United States should continue to work to ensure that Pakistan meets its commitments, including supporting a durable settlement in Afghanistan, pressuring the Haqqani Network, and not allowing Pakistani territory to be used to launch terrorist attacks on other countries. Our approach should apply diplomatic pressure where needed and ensure our security assistance, which is an important tool, is not unconditional but conditions advance U.S. strategic interests.

#### MILITARY HEALTHCARE

35. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, as Secretary of Defense, would you continue to prioritize funding for military suicide prevention programs, as well as for improved treatment for physical and psychological injuries?

Mr. HAGEL. I am deeply concerned about the significant rise in military suicides and am firmly committed to prioritizing funding for the full range of the Department's mental and physical health programs. These programs include: suicide prevention programs, such as the Army's Shoulder to Shoulder and Navy's Combat and Operational Stress Control resilience and fitness programs; peer-to-peer programs



such as the Vets4Warriors which focuses on our Reserve members; transition and family support programs, such as Recovery Care Coordination; and quality of life programs, such as those offered through Military OneSource. In addition, I will continue ongoing collaboration with the Department of Veterans Affairs, with continued emphasis on the Military Crisis Line, to ensure that our members receive support as they transition back to their civilian lives. Finally, and most importantly, I agree with Secretary Panetta that there is a significant leadership role and responsibility for preventing suicides and building the resilience of the force. If confirmed, I will continue to look for opportunities to improve our military and civilian leaders' ability to understand the needs of distressed servicemembers and reduce stigma so that they can be properly guided to the support they need.

#### ROLE OF THE RESERVE COMPONENT

36. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, would you agree that, over the last decade, the National Guard and Reserves have demonstrated their value to the military mission in support of domestic disaster relief, combat operations, and in a variety of other roles at home and abroad?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. The National Guard and Reserves have played an integral role during the past decade, mobilizing in unprecedented numbers for the wars in Afghanistan. They have also been critical to Homeland defense and security, highlighted by their heroic efforts during Hurricane Sandy.

37. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, please discuss your views of the Reserve and National Guard and the role they should play in the coming years.

Mr. HAGEL. The Reserve components have served with distinction over more than a decade of war and continue to be a relevant and cost effective part of the Total Force. In a time of declining budgets and complex contingencies, I believe that the Department will continue to call on both Active and Reserve components to accomplish the domestic and overseas requirements of the new strategy. I understand that the Department is still in the process of finding the proper Active component/Reserve component mix that will most effectively accomplish our new strategy in a constrained fiscal environment. If confirmed, I will work with our military leaders on this important issue.

#### RUSSIAN POLICIES

38. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, since Vladimir Putin was reelected as Russia's president, the Russian Federation has sent mixed signals for what its defense and foreign policies will be going forward. The creation of a so-called "Eurasian Union"—which would consist of Russia and other former Soviet republics—was a key component of President Putin's campaign platform, and is viewed by some as an attempt by Russia to "re-Sovietize" the region, which would pressure U.S. allies in the region. Former Senator John Kerry (nominated to be Secretary of State) has reaffirmed the U.S. Government's unwavering support for the independence of these countries and their right to choose "political, military, [and] economic" alliances "free from coercion". One such U.S. strategic partner, Azerbaijan, recently allowed a lease with Russia for the Gabala Radar station—the last Russian installation on Azerbaijan's soil—to expire due to a disagreement over the cost of the lease, continuing a trend of moving away from Moscow's orbit. As Secretary of Defense, what will be your policy to ensure that the independence of U.S. strategic partners in the region is preserved?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will support continuing engagement with the leaders of the defense and security institutions of former Soviet Republics to advance reform and defense modernization goals, to contribute to regional stability and security, and to advance our shared security interests. It is possible for countries in the region to preserve their independence while also having a constructive, positive relationship with the United States, Russia, and other countries. As sovereign independent nations these countries must pursue the bilateral and multinational relationships that they assess are in their own national interests, but I would work to ensure the United States is the partner of choice. Working with the Department of State and other U.S. agencies, I would, if confirmed, continue to support partners in the region building their government institutions, practices, and capabilities to enable them to exercise the full measure of responsibilities and opportunities of independent, sovereign countries.

## COOPERATIVE THREAT REDUCTION

39. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, do you support the work conducted under the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) programs which seek to eliminate threats, demilitarize systems, and to secure stocks of existing weapons of mass destruction (WMD)?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I believe that the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program is a vital mechanism for partnering with other nations to counter the threat posed by weapons of mass destruction. The program is now global and focused on core U.S. priorities, including nuclear security, countering biological threats, and destroying chemical weapons. If confirmed, I will continue to support the work of this vital program.

40. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, how would you characterize your own views on the importance and priorities of the CTR program, originally undertaken in the former Soviet Union, and more recently expanding into other territories including Africa and the Middle East?

Mr. HAGEL. In the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, I believe that it made good sense for the CTR program to focus on reducing the threat posed by the former Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal. Based on information currently available to me, I believe that the program's recent expansion into new geographic areas, including Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia also makes good sense, as does a new focus on biological threats. In my view, CTR remains a very important tool in reducing risks to the United States.

## NUCLEAR MODERNIZATION

41. Senator UDALL. Mr. Hagel, do you support the restoration of funding appropriations to maintain the U.S. nuclear triad, and for key nuclear infrastructure programs such as the Chemistry and Metallurgy Research Replacement Nuclear Facility in the fiscal year 2013 appropriations bills?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the President's commitment to a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist. I believe that maintaining the triad and modernizing our nuclear forces and the nuclear weapons infrastructure are national security priorities. If confirmed, I will give sustained attention to these issues.

---

 QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KAY R. HAGAN

## SEXUAL ASSAULT/DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

42. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, as you and I discussed earlier this week, the number of sexual assault and domestic violence cases reported in the military every year is appalling. Studies show that there are 3,200 reported cases every year, but even more astonishing is that the actual number is estimated at 19,000 cases. This means that somewhere around 80 percent of all cases go unreported.

A Government Accountability Office (GAO) report concluded that most victims stay silent because of "the belief that nothing would be done; fear of ostracism, harassment, or ridicule ... or labeled trouble makers." That same report goes on to say that some victims go silent because they do the math: only 8 percent of cases that are investigated end in prosecution, compared with 40 percent for civilians arrested for sex crimes.

This year's NDAA included provisions to combat this problem, including enhanced education, training, and awareness for our troops and the leadership. While this is a positive step, just having a zero-tolerance policy and getting out the message is not always enough.

If confirmed, do you pledge to ensure the NDAA sexual assault provisions are implemented as rapidly as possible?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

43. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, how do you intend to further prevent sexual assault and domestic violence?

Mr. HAGEL. Sexual assault is a horrible crime and it cannot be tolerated, ignored, or condoned in DOD. If confirmed, I will be fully committed to combating this crime and determined in reducing sexual assault, with a goal of eliminating it from the military.

I know that the over the past year, the Department has developed and implemented several new policies and procedures to prevent the crime of sexual assault, support victims, strengthen investigations, and hold offenders appropriately accountable. I also know that these efforts are not enough.

The Department must continue its multi-disciplinary approach in combating sexual assault. Prevention efforts are important, so that the crimes do not happen in the first place. These efforts must ensure that every servicemember, from top to bottom in our military ranks, knows that dignity and respect are core values we must all live by.

44. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, how will you approach fostering an environment where victims feel safe to come forward to report these crimes?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe a first step in this area is an Air Force pilot program, implemented in January, which assigns an attorney to a victim of sexual assault who requests one to represent them. I believe this could be a very good way to increase accountability. It will improve victim confidence, increase the number of victims who are willing to report; thereby increasing the number of cases that can be investigated and the number of cases in which offenders can be held appropriately accountable. If confirmed, I will continue to study the impact of this pilot program and look for other initiatives that may be helpful.

45. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, how do intend to increase accountability at all levels—not only of the perpetrators, but also of their leadership?

Mr. HAGEL. Accountability is key and people who violate the standards of acceptable behavior must be held appropriately accountable for their actions. I applaud Secretary Panetta's decision last year to elevate the initial disposition of the most serious sexual assault cases to the level of colonel or Navy captain, or higher. Military commanders are essential to making sexual assault prevention and response efforts successful.

I also look forward to learning more about the Department's ongoing program to develop Special Victims Capabilities across each of the Services, a program legislated in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, and which is under development in the Department in the form of special training and standardized procedures for investigators, prosecutors, paralegals, and victim witness liaisons. This program's objective is to enhance the quality of investigations and accountability in sexual assault cases. I fully support it.

#### CAMP LEJEUNE WATER CONTAMINATION

46. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, historic and recent public statements made by the leadership of the U.S. Marine Corps cite that at the time of the drinking water contamination period aboard Camp Lejeune, there were no regulatory standards governing the organic chemicals which fouled the water aboard the base. Yet, recent Department of the Navy and Marine Corps documents uncovered by former marines and their families affected by the contamination indicate there was indeed a Naval regulatory standard in place for total organics in potable water as early as 1963 (NAVMED P-5010-5 and BUMED 6240.3B and beginning in 1972, version C).

As Secretary of Defense, what steps would you take to ensure the Department of the Navy and Marine Corps are truthfully conveying pertinent facts, disseminating important developments to the Camp Lejeune community, and allowing the community a voice in the matter to ensure total transparency regarding this issue?

Mr. HAGEL. The health and well-being of our servicemembers, their families, and civilian employees is of the utmost importance to me. If I am confirmed, I will be committed to finding answers to the many questions surrounding the historic water quality issue at Camp Lejeune, including ensuring appropriate oversight of these efforts. I will work with the leadership of the Navy and Marine Corps to engage the proper experts and review all the facts pertaining to the Bureau of Medicine Instruction to which you refer, ensuring that accurate information is provided to all who believe they may have been exposed to contaminated water at Camp Lejeune. The Department will continue to understand the meaning of ongoing scientific efforts and provide comprehensive science-based answers to our servicemembers, their families, and civilian employees.

I applaud Congress' efforts to support families through the passage of the Honoring America's Veterans and Caring for Camp Lejeune Families Act of 2012 and I pledge to aggressively support the Department of Veterans Affairs efforts to properly implement the legislation.

## BIOFUELS

47. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, in August 2011, the Departments of the Navy, Agriculture, and Energy signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) to invest \$510 million to spur production of advanced aviation and marine biofuels under the Defense Production Act. The joint-MOU, where each Department contributes \$170 million, requires substantial cost-sharing from private industry of at least a one-to-one match.

Critics of the MOU claim the Department of Energy (DOE) should be the only Government agency involved in the promotion of advanced biofuels. While DOE must certainly play an important role, I believe the Navy and the Department of Agriculture also need to be involved. From my perspective, leveraging the unique capabilities of each agency—in partnership with the private sector—exemplifies the type of innovative approach needed to solve our country's most vexing challenges.

As the end-user of this fuel, do you believe there are significant benefits of having the Navy participate in this initiative?

Mr. HAGEL. I have not reviewed all the details of this initiative; however, all of the Military Services require fuel to operate, so all, including the Navy, have an interest in promoting military energy security and have the potential to benefit from such an initiative. I agree that it is important for the Department to leverage the expertise of civilian agencies that have the lead or an interest in this area. The Defense Department has a long history of harnessing innovation to meet defense challenges in ways that can benefit the civilian economy, and there is potential for such gains in this case.

48. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, would you agree that leveraging the unique capabilities of these three agencies enhances the prospects for programmatic success?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #47.

49. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, in this budgetary environment, I understand that difficult decisions need to be made about funding defense programs. However, as the largest single consumer of fuel in the world, DOD uses approximately 120 million barrels of oil each year and spent over \$17 billion in fiscal year 2011 on fuel alone. This dependency on a single source of energy jeopardized our military's readiness. When the price of oil goes up \$1, it costs the Navy an additional \$30 million and the entire DOD over \$100 million. In 2011, the Navy was forced to pay an additional \$500 million because the price of fuel was higher than budgeted. Costs overruns could force the military to curtail training and less urgent operations—resulting in increased risk to future missions.

Do you believe that developing a commercially viable biofuels industry will help DOD diversify its fuel sources, reduce the risk of energy volatility, and ultimately produce cost savings for the Navy?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe it is in the long-term energy security interests of the United States to promote a commercially viable biofuels industry. A commercially competitive industry could help to reduce market volatility and reduce risk. If confirmed, I will look into the role biofuels could play in increasing military capabilities and lowering costs and risks for the Navy and other military departments.

## LITHIUM

50. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, DOD has indicated that sustaining domestic capacity of lithium metals is critical because of the military's reliance on rechargeable lithium batteries in the field and the importance of lithium to developing next generation batteries. Do you believe it is in our national security interest to secure domestic production of lithium metal and reduce our reliance on imports from China?

Mr. HAGEL. My understanding is the Department is examining a range of options to ensure adequate and sustainable supply of lithium metal. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring the Department has access to lithium metals, using all authorities available.

51. Senator HAGAN. Mr. Hagel, will you consider using authorities under the Defense Product Act to accomplish this goal?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #50.

## QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOE MANCHIN III

## DOWNSIZING THE FORCE

52. Senator MANCHIN. Mr. Hagel, if you are confirmed as Secretary of Defense, you will oversee the military's largest personnel downsizing in a generation. This, I believe, is one of the most important tasks facing the next Secretary, especially with the high rate of veterans' unemployment. I am very concerned about telling servicemembers, many who deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan multiple times, their services are no longer needed as the force downsizes. If confirmed, what approach would you bring to overseeing this massive personnel drawdown?

Mr. HAGEL. The Department must take care of its people, not only while they are serving, but it is an obligation that continues through the transition to civilian life. We, as a Nation, owe it to them for the sacrifices they have made.

It is my understanding that the Department has worked with the Department of Veterans Affairs, Department of Labor, the Small Business Administration, and the Department of Education to redesign the Transition Assistance Program (TAP). The redesigned TAP curriculum contains a Department of Labor sponsored employment workshop, a Veterans Affairs benefits briefing and registrations, a financial planning workshop and Service-specific training to equip members with the tools needed to successfully pursue their post military goals. The Department is also working with other agencies to meet the mandates of the VOW to Hire Heroes Act.

If confirmed, I will look at the services available for our men and women, both those that continue to serve and those that transition to civilian life.

## DOD AUDIT

53. Senator MANCHIN. Mr. Hagel, in your advance policy questions you provided the following statement regarding the Pentagon's audit objectives: "Yes. I support the effort and will maintain the Department's commitment to producing audit-ready financial statements by the congressional deadline of September 2017, with an audit beginning by the end of calendar year 2017." Will you do everything in your power to speed this process up?

Mr. HAGEL. Improving the Department's financial management capability is an important priority and, if confirmed, I will ensure that senior leaders throughout the Department are focused on this goal and hold them accountable. While I will push for this effort to be completed as soon as possible and by the dates we have set, the Department must also be careful not to take manual or "heroic" steps to achieve this goal in an inefficient manner. I understand Congress has, in fact, directed DOD not to follow such an approach.

## MILITARY FAMILIES

54. Senator MANCHIN. Mr. Hagel, DOD will face difficult budgetary choices in the future. Priorities will need to be evaluated and some programs will face cancellation or reduction. After a decade of war it is not only our soldiers that feel the stress, but so do their families. How will you help ensure programs for military families continue to be a high priority for DOD?

Mr. HAGEL. I share the concern of our senior military leaders that fiscal constraints will affect the very necessary programs needed to support the families of our servicemembers. If confirmed, I will seek to prioritize funding for family readiness programs to ensure that the quality of support for our military families is not negatively affected by budget reductions while also identifying the most effective programs and best practices. If confirmed, I will work through a newly formed Task Force on Common Services for military families to seek to protect funding for family readiness programs.

## U.S. ROLE IN THE PACIFIC

55. Senator MANCHIN. Mr. Hagel, there has been an increase in tension in the East China Sea around the Senkaku Islands in recent months. In your view, what is the role of the United States in territorial disputes in Asia?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the President's policy that while the United States does not take sides over competing claims, the United States opposes any and all forms of coercion to resolve disputes or apply pressure (including economic measures). In addition, I believe that the United States should continue to make clear that we will meet our Treaty commitments.

## QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

## SEQUESTRATION

56. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, in your responses to the advance policy questions, you support Secretary Panetta's assessment of the damaging effects that sequestration would have on the entire DOD and defense industries. Please describe the negative impact to military families should Congress fail to reach an agreement.

Mr. HAGEL. Sequestration will reduce the operations and maintenance (O&M) funding that is used to train our troops, to run our bases, and to run many of our family support programs. While the Department is still finalizing its assessment of specific impacts, I believe these cuts in O&M funding will likely force cuts in our civilian workforce that will lead to cuts in the hours, services, and staffing available at clinics, family support centers, libraries, and athletic facilities. Furthermore, I believe the Department has already concluded sequestration will force significant cuts in the maintenance of DOD facilities, which directly affects quality of life.

If confirmed I will make it a priority to minimize the impact of sequestration on our military families. Sustaining family support programs in these days of extreme budget uncertainties will be challenging, but it is an integral part of our military readiness. If confirmed, I will seek to minimize funding cuts to family support programs to the greatest extent possible.

57. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, please describe the negative impact to our defense industrial base should Congress fail to reach an agreement.

Mr. HAGEL. Sequestration would significantly curtail important industrial base capabilities and skills which, if lost, would be difficult, expensive, and perhaps even impossible to replace. My understanding is that the Department has worked diligently to preserve those truly unique industrial base assets. Sequestration would render these careful efforts largely ineffectual. I believe the Department is still assessing the impact on specific weapons programs and service support contracts, and that those impacts will vary from case to case, but each such program will be cut by about 10 percent.

## WOMEN'S HEALTHCARE

58. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, there have been a number of positive steps taken over the last year with respect to eliminating inequalities facing women in our military. One of which was our effort to bring female servicemember reproductive health care in line with Federal standards, to ensure women in uniform have the same access to care as their civilian counterparts. I was encouraged that we were able to change this policy during last year's NDAA, and I look forward to its full implementation.

It is my understanding that the Surgeon's Generals of each of the Services will issue guidance to their Departments to ensure that doctors and nurses are aware of new medical options available and are prepared to advise their patients. I also understand that the Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office will issue guidance to victim advocates to ensure they are aware of this policy change and are prepared to brief victims on the full range of medical options now available. Do you commit to implementing this measure, which is now law, to ensure that our service women have the same health care as the civilians they protect?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring that our female servicemembers are afforded the same reproductive health care options as women in the civilian population. I will work with the Services to guarantee that all medical personnel are aware of the new options and that every victim has all resources available. I assure you that I will fully implement all laws protecting women servicemembers' reproductive rights. My goal is to ensure the health care provided to our servicemembers remains world class and contemporary.

## LESBIAN/BISEXUAL/GAY/TRANSGENDERED MILITARY FAMILIES

59. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, as the implementation of the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy continues, concerns have been raised about remaining inequalities faced by Lesbian/Bisexual/Gay/Transgendered (LGBT) military families. We have a case in New Hampshire which demonstrates the pain and injustice inflicted by the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA). Charlie Morgan is a chief warrant officer in the Army National Guard. She served her country in the Active Army, the Reserve and the Guard, and most recently, she was deployed to Kuwait. Unfortunately, she has been diagnosed with inoperable breast cancer and due to DOMA,

her spouse, Karen, is denied any survivor benefits, and she is prohibited from health coverage worth well in excess of \$10,000 a year. She also cannot get a base pass that would let her escort her 4-year-old daughter to medical appointments on base. Though I recognize that certain restrictions on monetary benefits apply to LGBT families under DOMA, will you commit to ensuring that LGBT families are fully incorporated into military communities and social programs?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. As I have said, I know firsthand the profound sacrifice our servicemembers and their families make. We must always take care of our people. That is why, if confirmed as Secretary of Defense, I will do everything possible to the extent permissible under current law to provide equal benefits to the families of all our servicemembers, as members of our military community.

#### SUBMARINES

60. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, recent operations in Libya, Somalia, and around the globe highlight the value submarines continue to bring to the fight in both our conventional and covert operations. Can you discuss the importance of our undersea warfare capability, particularly with respect to the capabilities the *Virginia*-class submarines bring to the Navy?

Mr. HAGEL. U.S. undersea warfare capabilities are unparalleled in the world and give us an asymmetric advantage against our adversaries in both peace and war. Our U.S. Navy dominates the undersea domain, using attack and guided missile submarines for a variety of clandestine missions, including intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance, indications and warning, and special operations forces insertion and recovery. Submarines operate covertly in places that overt units cannot, providing unequaled capability for intelligence collection.

Ballistic missile submarines, the most survivable leg of the nuclear triad, are vital to the national mission of strategic deterrence, and under New START will comprise an increasing percentage of our operationally deployed weapons.

To maintain our undersea dominance, we must continue a vigorous submarine building program. The *Virginia*-class program is the Navy's most successful ship-building program, consistently providing submarines ahead of schedule and under budget.

#### PACIFIC VERSUS ATLANTIC FOCUS

61. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, obviously, our strategic shift towards the Asia-Pacific region prioritizes assets in that area of responsibility (AOR). However, as recent operations in Libya and Mali, as well as challenges throughout the Mediterranean, the Middle East, and North Africa demonstrate, we must maintain the capability to quickly respond to contingencies on the Atlantic side as well. Considering the uncertain and complex world of threats we face, how important is it to maintain flexibility and balance to ensure that our shift does not leave us vulnerable on the Atlantic side of the country?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that our military forces need to remain flexible, agile, and balanced in order to be ready for challenges around the world. I think that DOD recognizes the complexity and uncertainty of the global security environment and avoids predicting with certainty how the future will unfold. As outlined in the January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance, the Department is developing an adaptable and technologically-advanced Joint Force capable of responding to a wide range of contingencies. Regardless of where U.S. military forces may be positioned or stationed, one of the key advantages of our military is that we can bring to bear effective capabilities virtually anywhere throughout the world to address the threats countering our interests.

#### ISRAEL

62. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC) has been a strong proponent of U.S.-Israeli cooperation on missile defense and has provided significant funding for cooperative efforts, like the Arrow system, David's Sling, and the Iron Dome. Last year, the SASC provided \$211 million to help Israel procure additional Iron Dome defense systems in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013. What is your view on the importance of these cooperative programs?

Mr. HAGEL. I strongly support U.S.-Israel cooperative efforts on missile defense, including Iron Dome. U.S. cooperation with Israel, enabled by congressional support, has led to the development of one of the most comprehensive missile defense architectures in the world. Each of the Israeli programs—Iron Dome, David's Sling, and

Arrow—fill a critical requirement in a multi-layered architecture that has been designed to protect the Israeli populace from existing and emerging threats.

63. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, will you commit to continuing these programs?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, if confirmed, I will seek to continue these programs and to expand them as appropriate. As we saw in Operation Pillar of Defense in Gaza, these programs are a lifesaving investment in Israel's future and our defense relationship.

#### SERVICEMEMBER REINTEGRATION

64. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, you noted in your response to the advance policy questions that you are committed to working with State and local governments as well as private and community organizations to support reintegration of returning servicemembers, particularly those with combat injuries. Several States have established successful programs designed to augment reintegration services provided through DOD's Yellow Ribbon Reintegration Program (YRRP). New Hampshire's Deployment Cycle Support program is an example of these efforts that combine State and local as well as public and private funds to provide comprehensive assistance to military families. What steps can DOD take to better support these State and local efforts to ensure their continued success?

Mr. HAGEL. I am very familiar with the congressionally-mandated YRRP established in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2008 that assists National Guard and Reserve members as they transition between their military and civilian roles, providing servicemembers and their families with access to programs, services, resources, and referrals during all deployment phases.

I am also aware that there are several State programs that go beyond YRRP with strong networks of community-based service providers, and partnerships with State and local governments that are key in ensuring resources are readily available to servicemembers and their families when they need them.

I understand that one of the initiatives of the YRRP Center for Excellence includes evaluating State-based outreach and reintegration efforts to identify best practices in order to share those initiatives nationwide. Additionally, the Center for Excellence is evaluating and substantiating various Service curricula at YRRP events and post-event survey data to disseminate best practices. They are also creating on-line toolkits for use across all components at YRRP events.

If confirmed, I will review the Department's support to YRRP efforts within the Department and across the various State programs to ensure we are maximizing our combined efforts and sharing best practices as much as possible.

#### DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE

65. Senator SHAHEEN. Mr. Hagel, it is critical that DOD and the Services have an overarching direction and comprehensive policy for maintaining the manufacturing and engineering capabilities that are necessary to ensure we have production lines for building ships, combat vehicles, and even engines and transmissions for our current and future weapons systems. What is your view of the status and health of the defense-related industrial base, and can you give your assurances that you will work to ensure these capabilities remain viable and competitive in the near- and long-term?

Mr. HAGEL. I am committed to a healthy industrial base, and I am concerned that changes in the defense market may impact that base. If confirmed, I will work to ensure critical defense industrial base capabilities remain viable and competitive in the near- and long-term. The Department is dependent on a strong industrial base for the wide range of products and services needed to support the missions of our forces, and to provide for the innovation and technical excellence that provides technological superiority.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KIRSTEN E. GILLIBRAND

##### AFGHANISTAN

66. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, I was a cosponsor of the Afghan Women and Girls Security Promotion Act in the 112th Congress, both the standalone version and the bill in the form of an amendment that was included in the final version of the NDAA. I would like to know what actions you will take to follow the amendment's directive and execute as robust a report as possible on the efforts made by



the U.S. Government to ensure the security of Afghan women and girls during and after Afghanistan's transition process?

Mr. HAGEL. Promoting and protecting the security of Afghan women and girls has been a priority of both the Defense and State Departments in Afghanistan. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the State Department to monitor progress throughout the transition and provide Congress with information that is responsive to the NDAA.

67. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) has reported that some of the \$1 billion in fuel purchases from Russia and Turkmenistan were blended with Iranian oil. What measures are going to be put into place to ensure that we are not violating our own sanctions on Iran?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the SIGAR reported that there may be Iranian oil in some products we have purchased. I understand that our contracts for fuel in Afghanistan, including contracts for fuel purchased in Russia and Turkmenistan, require certifications that Iran was not a source of the oil. If I am confirmed, I will ensure that we have appropriate processes in place to preclude the purchase of fuel that may have come from Iran and to enforce our own sanctions against Iran.

#### WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

68. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, Secretary Panetta recently lifted the ban on women serving in direct combat roles. I applaud that decision and am happy to hear that you plan to continue its implementation, if confirmed. The military you served in with such distinction in many ways looks very different than the military of today. Today, women make up nearly 15 percent of the Armed Forces. More than 283,000 women have been deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan. More than 800 women have been wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan, and more than 140 women have died. Two women have earned Silver Star medals. Why do we need to wait until 2016 for the Services to complete their assessment when so many women are already serving on the front lines?

Mr. HAGEL. As I've said, I strongly support Secretary Panetta's decision to lift the ban on women serving in combat roles. While there are women serving on the front lines, the rescission of the Direct Combat Rule and Assignment Policy requires the Services to review the requirements and standards for all combat positions. It is my understanding that this process takes, at a minimum, 2 years in order to review tasks, develop testing, and validate the tests which will result in gender neutral standards.

69. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, I understand and appreciate that you support the announcement made last week regarding the policy of opening combat roles to women. I wholeheartedly support this overdue change in policy as women already have been fighting and dying on the frontline. I just as strongly believe that military standards should not be lowered for women seeking these roles and we will see extraordinary women meeting those standards and strengthening our national security. I am concerned, however, about the potential for the goal posts being moved back, or arbitrary standards set, which would in effect keep combat roles closed to qualified women. How will you ensure this policy is implemented as intended and as rapidly as feasible?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the military and civilian leadership are committed to implementing the rescission as quickly as possible and, if confirmed, I assure I will work to have it implemented expeditiously. I will ensure that all standards reflect legitimate requirements for combat roles. In short, if a female soldier has the full skills and capabilities required to perform in a position, I will make sure she does.

70. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, we know that women are already participating, unofficially, with many combat units and special operations units. With the lifting of the combat exclusion ban, what will happen to the women already serving with ground combat troops?

Mr. HAGEL. It's my understanding that women who served or are serving in units under an exception to the ground combat exclusion do so in an official capacity. It's also my understanding that women currently serving with ground combat troops will continue to serve with ground combat troops.

71. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, will their combat service now be recognized as such?

Mr. HAGEL. It's my understanding that women's service in combat is already being recognized. If confirmed, I expect we will continue to recognize their service and achievements based on the contributions they make toward mission accomplishment.

72. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, will they be eligible to compete now for combat arms leadership positions?

Mr. HAGEL. On January 24, 2013, Secretary Panetta rescinded the 1994 Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule and directed the integration of women into previously closed positions by January 1, 2016. If confirmed, I will continue implementation of that new policy. Within this policy I expect women will be able to compete for leadership positions where they are qualified and meet the standards.

73. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, sexual assault is an appalling problem in our military that continues to threaten the military's core value of protecting all members of the Armed Forces. It has been speculated that lifting the direct ground combat exclusion for women will help mitigate the sexual assault problems in our military by eliminating gender classes in the military. Do you agree with this theory, and if so, will you use it as leverage to ensure combat roles are opened to women swiftly and equally across the Services?

Mr. HAGEL. I have not had sufficient time to study this particular theory. As I have previously stated, sexual assault has no place in our military or anywhere in our society and I will work tirelessly to resolve that issue holding all commanders fully accountable.

74. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, lifting the combat exclusion ban has raised the question of whether women should be required to register for the Selective Service. Selective Service requirements are determined by law; would you support Congress' decision to include women in the mandatory registry for Selective Service at age 18?

Mr. HAGEL. This is an issue that concerns DOD, although it is not responsible for administering the Selective Service System. If confirmed, I will look forward to participating in any interagency discussion of the merits of extending selective service registration to women.

75. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, we have been told many times that commanders will be held responsible if there is a climate in their units that contributes to sexual assault or harassment. But I am concerned that measurable mechanisms for holding leaders accountable in addressing sexual violence issues have not been devised. DOD needs to develop a process for more directly holding leaders accountable for enforcing DOD's sexual abuse and harassment policies. The Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services even recommends that effectiveness in combating sexual harassment and assault should be a part of individual performance evaluations of all servicemembers and not just leaders. Accountability seems to be lacking in many respects. Case in point: Right now there appears to be no one person assigned to oversee the implementation of Secretary Panetta's directives on sexual assault prevention and response.

When it comes to issues of sexual violence in the military, what do you believe is the best mechanism for evaluating leaders?

Mr. HAGEL. The men and women who are serving their country face many challenges both on and off the battlefield. They should never have to fear the threat of sexual assault from a fellow soldier or superior.

Accountability is always the most important tool for leader evaluation. One of the most effective mechanisms across all Services is the command climate assessment. This tool provides timely feedback as a modality to determine if leaders have reinforced a culture of mutual respect and created an atmosphere that reinforces that sexual assault has no place within our ranks. The results from the assessment are key indicators whether leaders are taking responsibility for good order, morale, and discipline.

76. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that effectiveness in combating sexual harassment and assault should be part of individual performance evaluations for commanders?

Mr. HAGEL. Accountability is always the most important tool for leader evaluation. One of the most effective mechanisms across all Services is the command climate assessment. This tool provides timely feedback as a modality to determine if leaders have reinforced a culture of mutual respect and created an atmosphere that

reinforces that sexual assault has no place within our ranks. The results from the assessment are key indicators whether leaders are taking responsibility for good order, morale, and discipline.

77. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, in your opinion, what consequences should follow if a commander is found to be unresponsive or ineffective on this issue?

Mr. HAGEL. I will hold all commanders responsible for this issue.

In order to successfully address this issue, I will continue to advance the positive steps taken by Secretary Panetta to change the policies and the culture that has discouraged victims from speaking out and trusting that there are resources in place to support and protect them.

Among the initiatives that have already been taken by this administration, I feel strongly about efforts to raise the awareness of this issue and elevate its importance to the Department, including elevating disposition authority for the most serious cases, requiring commanders to conduct annual organizational climate assessments, and enhancing training programs for sexual assault prevention.

If confirmed, I will work closely with the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ensure that all of our commanders are responsive and establish appropriate repercussions for those commanders who do not fully support this goal.

#### WOMEN'S SECURITY

78. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, on December 19, 2011, the United States released its new National Action Plan (NAP) on U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security (WPS). The plan released by the administration is the first ever U.S. national action plan and Executive Order to implement these goals to establish women as influential and active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. On August 10, 2012, the United States released the first-ever U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally, and President Obama signed an accompanying Executive Order directing all relevant agencies to implement the Strategy. The Strategy underscores the U.S. Government's commitment to preventing and responding to gender-based violence.

We know that all too often violence against women is used as a tool of war, yet U.N. peacekeepers and regional forces are under-trained and under-equipped in addressing violence against women. What actions will you take to implement this Executive Order?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that, in the first year of implementation, the Department made noteworthy progress on the NAP for WPS objectives, both internally and with a range of foreign defense partners. First and foremost was Secretary Panetta's decision to rescind the restriction on women in direct combat, a decision I applaud. Externally, in bilateral and multilateral engagements, I am told combatant commands and our Regional Centers are focused on building the capacity of partner militaries to promote and strengthen gender equality.

I understand that the Department is developing a DOD Instruction to institutionalize the NAP's priorities. If confirmed, I would continue this progress in implementing the NAP and ensure the Department continues to lead by example on WPS issues.

79. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, are there assets, such as excess defense articles, that the United States can contribute to peacekeeping forces, such as those in the Congo, in order to specifically help women facing significant and constant threats of sexual violence?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I plan to fully support the Department's efforts to implement the U.S. Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender-based Violence Globally and associated Executive Order. In this context, training of peacekeepers is critical and I believe it is important that DOD peacekeeping training continue to include human rights training and targeted instruction on prevention of and response to sexual and gender based violence. If confirmed, I will also continue to leverage Department authority to provide excess defense articles to equip peacekeeping contingents, where appropriate.

#### CYBER

80. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, in your responses to the advance policy questions, you have said that "recruiting, training, and retaining military and civilian personnel needed for cyber operations will be a challenge". One noted expert re-

cently told the press that of the 10,000 necessary top cyber personnel, DOD has or can recruit only 2,000.

Why don't we begin an aggressive program of recruiting National Guard and Reserve cyber experts—a cyber corps—which would leverage the training and hiring of the private tech sector? The additional benefit from using the Guard is their ability to operate both in the military and Homeland defense space so that they can address the spectrum of threats to our national interests.

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that the National Guard and Reserve are a tremendous resource of talent and of surge capacity for DOD, and these skilled personnel can contribute greatly to the cyber mission. We are already using Guard and Reserve personnel in this mission area. It will not only be critical to recruit the right talent, but we must take a strategic approach to leveraging our National Guard and Reserve Forces as part of our overall structure. If confirmed, I will ensure that we appropriately draw upon a broad pool of our Nation's cyber experts in support of our critical cyber mission.

81. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, I also understand that the pipeline of cyber personnel has to start in early education in order to interest and educate the right number of future cyber warriors. Why don't we make Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) aptitude and interest a significant focus of our Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) selection?

Mr. HAGEL. The Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) is vital to training the exceptional officers upon which our military relies, including in cyber skill sets. I believe that we should explore many approaches to build the critical technical skills DOD needs, and this should include exploring STEM related incentives in our ROTC program.

#### NEW YORK INSTALLATIONS

82. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, I represent New York, home to our Nation's number one terrorist target. In the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, I worked to ensure the second WMD civil support teams for both New York and Florida were authorized, and that funds have been appropriated. Both of these units are fully trained and ready to deploy in the event of a terrorist attack, yet DOD and the National Guard Bureau are trying to disestablish our second teams. While I recognize the need for cost savings, these teams cost so little and yet provide so much to our country. Given the importance of these teams to our national security, do I have your commitment to follow clear congressional direction, which has authorized and fully funded these teams?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that WMD civil support teams are vital to our national security. I am not familiar with the funding for these teams, but I will look into this matter if confirmed.

83. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, I understand that the Army must cut its forces, but it is taking only two of its eight Brigade Combat Teams (BCT) slated for reduction out of Europe, and the rest from Continental United States (CONUS). Will you consider further cuts outside the CONUS (OCONUS), perhaps using rotational units?

Mr. HAGEL. The additional BCT reductions must be made consistent with our global strategy and treaty obligations. The three remaining BCTs not stationed in the United States, one in Korea and two in Europe, provide vital forward presence, partnership opportunities, deterrence, and rapid response. I will certainly work with my staff and the Secretary of the Army and Chief of Staff of the Army to see what other options may be feasible and affordable while still providing the requisite reassurance to our allies.

84. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, what metrics and methodology will DOD use in approaching reductions in overseas personnel and infrastructure, while concurrently taking actions which reduce force structure in the United States?

Mr. HAGEL. The Department will seek to balance posture reductions in a way that aligns with our national strategic interests. As we consider options, we will balance our strategic and operational priorities against the need to reduce costs.

85. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, the Army has reiterated the importance of rotary wing aviation in Iraq and Afghanistan as a critical asset to reducing the amount of casualties during ground convoys because of improvised explosive devices

(IED). As the Army downsizes, do you see the number of Combat Aviation Brigades decreasing as well?

Mr. HAGEL. As it downsizes, the Army must maintain the proper balance amongst all of its capabilities—Ground Combat capabilities, Combat Support capabilities, Sustainment and Logistics capabilities, and Institutional capabilities. Army Aviation must be part of this balance. I don't know to what extent Aviation will be affected, but I will review with the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Staff of the Army their plans for the Army drawdown and ensure that I and my staff continue to be comfortable with the Army's plan.

86. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, we've seen from Air Force 2013 Force Structure proposal, a disconcerting strategy which shifts more flying missions and iron to the Active component, while placing the Air Guard with fewer assets. The Guard getting unmanned missions is a welcome development, but the reduced manning requirements and the ability of the Air Guard to provide support to Governors with fewer numbers of critical assets, such as C-130s, remains a concern. It may also place a chill on Air Guard recruiting given the decreasing opportunities for pilots. What is your strategy to maintain a strong balance in flying missions and assets for the Air Guard over the next 4 years and beyond?

Mr. HAGEL. Since its inception, the Air Force has relied on the Total Force—made up of the Active, Reserve, and Air Guard components. Over the past 2 decades, the Air Force has become a more integrated force, both operationally and organizationally, as all three components—Active, Reserve, and Air Guard—have trained, deployed, and conducted the full range of missions together. I understand the Air Force continually reevaluates the mix between Active and Reserve components through an institutionalized process that includes representatives from all three components. If confirmed, I intend to work with Air Force leadership to understand and evaluate this process myself.

87. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, how will you assure that the Air National Guard has a greater voice in decisionmaking, rather than simply being handed decisions from the Air Force?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the work currently under way between the Department and the Council of Governors to develop a mutually agreed upon consultative process will ensure that the concerns of States are taken into consideration in future National Guard force structure, basing and budgeting decisions. I intend to continue with this effort and am committed to working closely with the Council of Governors.

88. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, with the downsizing of the military, and last year's request from the administration for Base Closure and Realignment (BRAC) authorization, I anticipate that we will be discussing a new round of domestic base closings in this year's posture hearings. How will the metrics rolled out by the Air Force and Army respectively, in the last year and a half, inform any BRAC decisions?

Mr. HAGEL. It is my understanding that BRAC recommendations must result from a process that meets the requirements of the specific BRAC legislation. Therefore, metrics developed outside the BRAC statutory process can be used only if authorized in the legislation.

89. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, you have said that you view cyber threats as one of the top security threats to the United States. Yet last year the Air Force cut its cyber research budget, and in the coming year, there is a plan to make the research budget pay for the operating costs at the Air Force Research Lab in Rome, New York. I am very concerned that such steps point to a hollowing out of our cyber preparedness, rather than taking the threat seriously. I hope to work with you to reverse this trend. Even in a budget scarce environment, cyber research pays tremendous dividends. Can I count on your support for increased cybersecurity research?

Mr. HAGEL. In today's complex global environment, cyber threats pose an increasingly serious challenge to national security. DOD organizations, including the Air Force Research Lab, provide for the development of vital capabilities needed for both today's warfighter and for the future strategic environment. If confirmed, I will work with Congress and the Services to ensure that DOD continues to assess and invest in critical cybersecurity research activities.

## COORDINATION WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

90. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, I am concerned about the transition our warriors face as they leave the DOD and enter the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA). While there have been improvements in the last few years, I am concerned there is still a gap. I am especially concerned about the issues our female warriors face as they make this transition, especially those who have been sexually assaulted while serving. I want to ensure they are getting the information, care, and assistance they need while not being revictimized by the system.

If confirmed, what are your plans for increasing coordination with the VA to ensure our troops, especially women, are getting the important transition information and assistance they need so that no one falls through the cracks?

Mr. HAGEL. I am committed to ensuring every servicemember receives the training, education, and credentials he or she needs to successfully transition to the civilian workforce. I believe we must embed servicemembers' preparation for transition throughout their military lifecycle. I understand that the Department has redesigned the Transition Assistance Program (TAP) to ensure all servicemembers are "career ready" upon separation. The redesigned TAP complies with the VOW to Hire Heroes Act of 2011 that mandates all servicemembers separating from title 10 Active Duty (including reservists and guardsmen) participate in the program to ensure they are better prepared when leaving the military for civilian life.

If confirmed, I will engage Department of Veterans Affairs Secretary Eric Shinseki in a specific dialogue on the unique issues facing the transition of our female servicemembers. I will also continue the practice of holding regular Secretarial-level meetings and will closely monitor the progress of the many important joint initiatives between the two Departments.

## DIRECTED ENERGY

91. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments recommended last year a much greater investment into directed energy weapons. While DOD has already spent billions of dollars over several decades on science and technology efforts related to directed energy, several recent demonstrations by the Navy using solid state lasers on surface ships indicate that we may be reaching the point where as a Nation we can begin to realize a return on the substantial investment and transition this capability from science and technology to development as a weapon system. I understand that shipboard directed energy weapons could provide an affordable solution to significant capability challenges associated with sustaining our forward presence in strategically critical areas such as the South China Seas, the Sea of Japan, and the Straits of Hormuz. What is your view of current DOD efforts to weaponize directed energy technologies?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that the Department has embarked on a deliberate path to develop the technologies to weaponize Directed Energy. If confirmed, I will continue to push for directed energy and other emerging technologies through robust research and development to continuously improve the capabilities we will field for our forces.

92. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, should the Navy formally consider initiating a development program of record for high energy solid state lasers to improve the affordability and capability of our surface ships?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that the Navy has and will continue to assess the solid state laser research and development efforts to determine transition opportunities given the remaining technical risk, costs and capability limitations that must be addressed prior to establishing a program of record.

93. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, should such a program, if undertaken, include contributions from willing and technically capable allies?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

## ASIA PIVOT

94. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, the President had announced an Asia pivot, and between North Korea's missile threats and China's increased aggressiveness with respect to its neighbors, we have a number of challenges to react to. But at a time of declining budgets, how would you balance this pivot against the continuing concerns in the Middle East and the growing threat in Africa?

Mr. HAGEL. As described in the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance, the Department is rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific while maintaining focus on the Middle-East. I think that the significant U.S. military presence and activities in Asia are a clear demonstration of the enduring U.S. commitment to the region and to addressing current and emerging challenges in the Asia-Pacific. Moreover, if confirmed as Secretary, I would take every step to maintain the ability of America to conduct successful combat operations in more than one region at a time, ensuring that we have the ability to meet threats around the world, as in the Middle East and North Africa, when they arise. Our global posture, engagement with allies and partners, and investment in flexible defense architectures for high-demand capabilities, such as ballistic missile defense, are of great importance.

95. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, how would this impact decisions over weapon systems and force structure?

Mr. HAGEL. While rebalancing, it will be important for the Department to protect new capabilities and investments to respond to the changing character of warfare; to preserve lessons, capabilities, and expertise built over the past 10 years; and to maintain a technological edge to meet future challenges.

#### CUTTING FORCES/HOLLOW FORCE

96. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, you have stated that a hollow force is one that has been rendered incapable of performing the mission that we expect it to conduct. With a hollow force, units do not have the resources, personnel, equipment, and training necessary to make them capable or ready to execute the defense strategies that secure our country. As the military draws down after a decade of war, what strategic approach would you implement to ensure we retain the appropriate balance of training, readiness, and modernization to prevent the force from becoming hollow?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that last year the President approved the Department's Strategic Guidance which provided priorities as well as force sizing direction. This was designed to ensure the Department could meet the missions we foresee and respond to the unexpected in a balanced way. However, any dramatic changes to the resources of the Department, such as with sequestration, would force military and civilian leaders to reevaluate that strategy.

97. Senator GILLIBRAND. Mr. Hagel, as conventional warfare becomes more technology-based, how do you believe that we should retain talent, especially in the fields of information technology and cyber warfare when the technology sector is able to provide pay and benefits that far exceed what the Government can offer?

Mr. HAGEL. Maintaining personnel critical technical skills will be an increasingly important challenge for DOD. Although the private sector may be able to offer better pay and benefits in some cases, my experience with DOD personnel has shown me again and again not only their talent but their commitment to their national security mission. In order to recruit and retain these talented individuals in information technology and cyberspace, I will use every tool I have afforded by OPM. In addition to many opportunities that the private sector cannot offer, DOD can focus on new ways to recruit, train, and retain talented cyber professionals. These include scholarships, partnerships, ensuring that technical people stay in mission essential technical jobs, and working creatively with the National Guard and Reserve components. If confirmed, I will work with DOD and congressional leaders to address this challenge.

---

#### QUESTION SUBMITTED BY SENATORS KIRSTEN E. GILLIBRAND AND RICHARD BLUMENTHAL

#### AUTISM

98. Senator GILLIBRAND and Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, we have worked very hard this year to pass a bipartisan, bicameral provision funding autism services under TRICARE. Unfortunately we only funded a 1-year project. We understand that you were also supportive of early intervention and treatment of autism. We'd like to work with you to find a way to permanently fund Tricare's coverage of autism services.

Mr. HAGEL. As I understand it, the TRICARE program provides medical benefits under the basic program and provides non-medical support benefits (including respite care) to Active Duty Families under the Extended Health Care Option (ECHO).

TRICARE has always covered medical benefits such as speech and physical therapy, to individuals with an Autism diagnosis under the medical benefit. In addition, TRICARE has implemented coverage of Applied Behavioral Analysis (ABA) as a medical benefit, and is reviewing additional provider treatment options for medical care. This medical care will be provided by authorized TRICARE providers who are licensed or certified to provide ABA therapy. If I am confirmed, I look forward to working with you on this important issue that affects so many families.

---

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR RICHARD BLUMENTHAL

VIETNAM ERA VETERANS

99. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, an estimated 70,000 veterans who served in the Vietnam war suffered from undiagnosed at the time Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) during their service and were given less-than-honorable discharges. I understand that less than 2 percent of those who have applied for discharge upgrades have been successful before the Army's records correction boards. In contrast, today's military personnel are properly and, if appropriate, given a medical discharge, which entitles them to disability compensation, medical care, and support. If confirmed, will you review the decisions and guidance of the Army records correction boards with regards to the denial of Vietnam veterans' requests for discharge upgrades?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I understand that the Boards for the Correction of Military Records all operate under procedures approved by the Secretary of Defense and if confirmed, I will ensure that those procedures protect all veterans suffering from PTSD.

MILITARY-TO-MILITARY RELATIONS

100. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, as a component of the Northern Distribution Network (NDN), Azerbaijan provides ground and naval transit for roughly 40 percent of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) coalition's supplies bound for Afghanistan. Azerbaijan has extended important over-flight clearance, landing, and refueling operations for U.S. and NATO flights to support ISAF. In 2012, more than 150 aeromedical evacuation flights of U.S. Air Mobility Command were flown over Azerbaijan, rushing more than 2,200 patients to a higher level of medical care. How do you assess current U.S.-Azerbaijan military-to-military relations and what will be your policy to expand this strategic partnership?

Mr. HAGEL. My assessment is that the U.S.-Azerbaijan defense relationship is strong—but still has room to grow. If confirmed, I will build on existing cooperation and ensure DOD continues to engage in regular consultations at high levels with Azerbaijani counterparts to identify areas where we can strengthen our cooperation and partnership. That growth will be based on shared interests and willingness to cooperate, available resources, and capacity to absorb new programs. I will also continue our engagement with Azerbaijan aimed at supporting Azerbaijan's defense reforms, its ability to interoperate with NATO, to deploy forces in support of coalition operations, and its capacity to address terrorism and other transnational threats and secure its maritime borders and energy infrastructure. I would look for the United States to be Azerbaijan's partner of choice and help Azerbaijan's defense establishment contribute to regional security and stability.

101. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, in September 2012, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta invited the Chinese PLA to observe the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) military exercise that will take place in 2014. In 2012, RIMPAC involved participants from more than 20 countries. If confirmed, would you consider extending a similar invitation to observe RIMPAC to Taiwan?

Mr. HAGEL. The United States is firm in its commitment to Taiwan's self-defense needs under the Taiwan Relations Act. That relationship includes defense exchanges and other interactions consistent with our unofficial relationship and as provided for in the Taiwan Relations Act. If confirmed, I will work to identify appropriate exchanges and interactions to assist Taiwan's self-defense capabilities, and contribute to peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

102. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed as Secretary of Defense, what additional steps would you take to strengthen our military-to-military relationship with Israel?



Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will consider what additional steps could further strengthen our military relationship with Israel, including but not limited to missile defense, intelligence sharing, counterterrorism, and maritime security. I know that over the past 4 years the administration has taken unprecedented steps to expand our cooperation with Israel. Today, with congressional support, the United States provides Israel over \$3 billion annually in Foreign Military Financing (FMF), which is the backbone of our commitment to Israel's defense. This financial support is complemented by extensive military-to-military cooperation, including joint exercises. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that we build on this cooperation and expand it into new areas as the United States and Israel address emerging threats at this time of historic change in the Middle East. I believe we have a tremendous opportunity for further expansion of our missile defense efforts as well as cooperation in areas like space and cyberspace.

The foundation for successful cooperation is the close personal relationships U.S. military and defense civilian leaders have with Israeli military and defense leadership. Secretary Gates and Secretary Panetta, as well as the Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have all developed very close relationships with their counterparts. Continuing with this tradition will be one of my highest priorities if I am confirmed. This will be vital to ensuring that we understand Israel's defense requirements, and to finding ways to address mutual threats that meet our common interests.

103. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, what role does Israel's participation in the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) program have in maintaining Israel's qualitative military edge in the region?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that the JSF will be a core component of Israel's qualitative military edge (QME). Israel's QME is predicated upon its ability to defend itself, by itself, from any and all threats in the region—whether the threat comes from state or non-state actors or a coalition of states. Air superiority is one of the most important components to Israel's QME, and the unique capabilities of the JSF will ensure Israeli air superiority for decades. Israel will be the only nation in the region with a fifth generation fighter aircraft, and Israel's JSF will be tailored to meet its specific security requirements.

#### RESERVE COMPONENT MOBILIZATION

104. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks against the United States, President Bush issued a partial mobilization of the Reserve components, authorizing the involuntary mobilization of up to 1 million members of the National Guard and Reserves at any one time for repeated service of up to 2 years. National Guard units like the 143rd Military Police Company out of West Hartford and the 1048th Transportation Company out of Stratford have served in Afghanistan for repeated deployments. I know the sustainability of an operational reserve is something that concerns you. In 2007, you introduced an amendment limiting the deployment of servicemembers serving in Iraq to 12 months. While the National Guard and Reserve have served with distinction, the operational reserve has without question had impacts that need to be addressed here at home. What is your vision for maintaining readiness levels within the Reserve component without continued Overseas Contingency Operations (OCO) funding post-2014?

Mr. HAGEL. I appreciate Congress' efforts in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2012 to increase authorities to fully use the Reserves in a planned and programmed manner. Without OCO, the required Reserve component readiness funding would need to be included in the Department's annual baseline budget to align resources with the Department's long-term mission needs.

105. Senator BLUMENTHAL. Mr. Hagel, what mobilization authority is appropriate to use as we continue our counterterrorism efforts with the Reserve component?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, and in light of the new strategy, I will consider the question of additional mobilization authorities, but at the present time I believe that appropriate policies and procedures are in place and current laws are adequate.

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR MAZIE K. HIRONO

##### U.S.-PACIFIC TIES

106. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, given the increasingly complex interrelationships of military, economic, political and diplomatic policies relevant to regional se-

curity issues, what is your view on the role for DOD institutes like Hawaii's Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) in advancing some of the goals of the rebalance to the Pacific and also in accomplishing a U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM) objective of developing professional and personal ties among with our allies throughout the region? APCSS brings together military and civilian representatives of the United States and Asia-Pacific nations to address regional and global security issues through its comprehensive program of executive education and conferences.

Mr. HAGEL. APCSS contributes to advancing America's Pacific rebalance by enhancing professional and personal ties with partners throughout the region, strengthening defense institutional capacity, promoting critical thinking on regional security issues, and providing a venue for communication and exchange of ideas involving military and civilian participants. I agree that APCSS has a unique convening ability to bring together influential civilian and military decisionmakers from governments in the region with business and civil society leaders.

107. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, in your response to an advance policy question concerning additional steps the United States should take to defend against the North Korean ballistic missile threat, you state that the "United States should also seek to enhance bilateral and trilateral missile defense cooperation with our ROK [Republic of Korea] and Japanese allies particularly in the area of information sharing." Last year, the Korean public's opposition, inflamed by heightened tensions with Japan, largely led to the failure of the ROK Government to sign an agreement with Japan that would allow the two countries to exchange key military intelligence. If confirmed, what would you do to enhance bilateral and trilateral defense cooperation with these allies?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will continue to explore ways to deepen our alliance cooperation with Japan and South Korea, emphasize and encourage trilateral cooperation, and, where possible, support efforts to strengthen ties between the two countries. I understand there are significant cooperative efforts already underway, including the Defense Trilateral Talks, which recently were conducted at the assistant Secretary level in Tokyo, and I would continue these initiatives, if confirmed. Deeper trilateral cooperation enhances our Alliance capabilities, sends a powerful message to the region, and serves to reinforce deterrence against possible aggression.

108. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, in your response to the advance policy question on the status of the U.S.-China relationship, you recognize the fact that "China is rapidly modernizing its military and increasingly asserting claims to territory". If confirmed, how should the United States respond to China's increasingly aggressive actions over the Senkaku Islands and what steps will you take to assure our Japanese allies of America's commitments to defend Japanese territory under Article V of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security.

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will continue our longstanding commitments to all of our Treaty allies, including Japan. My understanding is that the administration has made clear that while the United States takes no position on the sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands, our Treaty commitments apply to all territories under the administration of Japan. I would support continuing this policy and communicate it clearly to all parties involved in this issue. If confirmed, I also would continue U.S. efforts to promote the peaceful handling of the Senkaku Island dispute by all parties while at the same time ensuring that the United States maintains the ability to fulfill all of its security commitments.

109. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, in 2011, while I was attending the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Hawaii, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton appeared at the East-West Center in Honolulu and gave an address titled "America's Pacific Century". In her remarks, she stated that the United States has "a strong relationship with Taiwan, an important security and economic partner . . . ." In what specific ways will you build on this existing foundation and further enhance this important relationship as Secretary of Defense?

Mr. HAGEL. The United States is firm in its commitment to Taiwan's self-defense needs under the Taiwan Relations Act. This could include the provision of defense articles and services, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act, as well as training opportunities designed to improve Taiwan's self-defense capabilities.

110. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, what is your current assessment of our relationships with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Taiwan? Please de-

scribe your goals should you be confirmed as Secretary of Defense for each of these relationships.

Mr. HAGEL. My understanding is that our relationships with these allies and partners remain extraordinarily strong, and, if confirmed, I would ensure that we continue to prioritize our critical alliances and partnerships in the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan is the linchpin of our presence in Asia. Japan is an increasingly critical partner in missile defense, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, maritime security, and other important areas. If confirmed, I would continue the work of my predecessors to broaden and deepen this critical alliance to ensure that it is capable of responding to the security challenges of the 21st century.

The United States has a similarly robust relationship with the Republic of Korea (ROK). My understanding is that we have a comprehensive agenda aimed at facilitating the smooth transfer of wartime operational control in 2015, and ensuring the ROK Government has the capabilities necessary to defend the peninsula. If confirmed, I would continue these important efforts, and would also continue to stress the importance of trilateral ties between Japan, the ROK, and the United States.

The U.S.-Australia alliance is very strong, reflecting the enduring bonds forged through the sacrifices of United States and Australian forces in every major conflict of the last 100 years. The joint U.S.-Australia force posture initiatives in northern Australia reflect a reality we all recognize: security and prosperity of our two great nations is inextricably linked to the security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region. If confirmed, my goal would be to continue to invest in this critical relationship.

I understand that our alliance with the Philippines has matured substantially during the Obama and Aquino administrations. Over the past few years, our defense relationship has developed in many important dimensions. If confirmed, I would continue this trend by exploring options for increased rotational presence for U.S. forces in the Philippines while continuing to support the Philippines' development of a minimum credible defense capability.

The Taiwan Relations Act provides that the United States "will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." That policy has contributed to peace and stability in the region for over 30 years and is consistent with longstanding U.S. policy, which calls for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue in a manner acceptable to the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, the Commander of U.S. Pacific Command, and the Department's interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

#### WOMEN IN COMBAT

111. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, in light of DOD's recent announcement with regard to the role of women in combat, I'd like to ask about the priority you will give to developing implementation plans to move forward with the U.S. NAP on WPS released by the White House in December 2011. It is my understanding that the Department of State and USAID have released implementation plans building on the NAP.

If the White House plan envisions an active role in this regard by DOD, I would be interested in your vision for moving forward in this regard.

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that, in the first year of implementation, the Department made noteworthy progress on the NAP for WPS objectives both internally and with a range of foreign defense partners. First and foremost was Secretary Panetta's decision to rescind the restriction on women in direct combat, a decision I applaud. Externally, in bilateral and multilateral engagements, I am told combatant commands and our Regional Centers are focused on building the capacity of partner militaries to promote and strengthen gender equality.

I understand that the Department is developing a DOD Instruction to institutionalize the NAP's priorities. If confirmed, I would continue this progress in implementing the NAP and ensure the Department continues to lead by example on WPS issues.

#### FAMILY PROGRAMS

112. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, last year I attended a graduation ceremony at Pearl Harbor-Hickam Air Force Base. The graduates were 4-year-olds from military families involved in a YMCA [Young Men's Christian Association] program. These

kids reminded me that when our men and women in uniform are deployed, their families serve too. In the House of Representatives, I was the Co-Chair of the House Impact Aid Coalition. Impact Aid helps support local school districts that educate military-connected children. Please elaborate on how you will work to provide child care and educational opportunities to the children of military families.

Mr. HAGEL. I fully support the Impact Aid program, and these funds are primarily delivered through the Department of Education to local school districts. In addition, DOD has been providing hundreds of millions of dollars to local school districts through a congressionally-directed program to rebuild locally owned schools located on military bases that are falling into disrepair. More directly, DOD has spent billions of dollars on a multi-year program to rebuild Department owned schools that are in failing condition.

I believe that it is the duty of the Department to prepare military families to cope with the challenges that military service brings. In order to build and sustain resilient military families, the Department must continue to focus on programs that enhance their social, financial, educational and psychological well-being.

I believe there are opportunities to improve the efficiency and accessibility of the resources and programs that the Department, other Federal agencies, State and local governments, and Department partners like the YMCA provide our service-members and their families. If confirmed, I will explore these opportunities and how we can better coordinate efforts to more effectively provide programs to our military families.

#### RECRUIT READINESS

113. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, recently, a group of retired generals and admirals called Mission Readiness found that 75 percent of young Americans ages 17 to 24 are unable to join the military, primarily because they are poorly educated, physically unfit, or involved in crime. As Secretary of Defense, how will you work with other Federal agencies to combat these problems and improve the pool of potential recruitments?

Mr. HAGEL. Today's enlistment qualification standards are well-defined, supported by years of experience, and have stood the test of time. They are driven by the need to provide the Services with men and women who are prepared to adapt to the rigors of military life and meet performance requirements. It is imperative we maintain the highest standards for these reasons.

If confirmed, I will work closely with organizations such as Mission Readiness, the National Prevention Council and the First Lady's office to address these issues. I will explore opportunities in the Department to pilot healthy initiatives at several military installations to serve as a model for the department, and the Nation.

#### ENERGY SECURITY

114. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, across the globe resource scarcity, political and social upheaval, and other factors are changing the nature of the threats our Nation faces. These new challenges are particularly pronounced when we consider the global energy markets on which we rely. Prices are set based on global demand—not U.S. strategic and operational concerns—and many of the source nations are not our closest allies. Do you view U.S. energy security as a vital component to our overall national security?

Mr. HAGEL. Energy security is central to national security. DOD can play a role in promoting U.S. energy security in two ways.

First, DOD can improve the energy security of military operations and defense facilities. The Department has a long history of harnessing innovation to meet defense challenges in ways that can benefit the civilian economy, and there is potential for such gains in this case.

Second and more broadly, a core mission for DOD is preventing conflict, through deterrence and forward presence, partnerships with other nations, and a range of other activities. The Department also plays a supporting part in whole-of-government efforts to build peace, stability, and prosperity around the world. I view the Department's shaping and prevention efforts as vital to our overall national security, given the complexity of current and emerging threats and challenges. In that context, energy security is both part of the challenge and the response for DOD.

115. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, what role, if any, do you believe that DOD has in supporting efforts to increase U.S. energy security?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #114.

116. Senator HIRONO. Mr. Hagel, Congress has included provisions in past NDAA's to give the Secretary of Defense the guidance, tools, and support for initiatives intended to improve the military's energy security and reduce fuel costs. These include section 526 of the Energy Independence and Security Act, establishment of an Office of Operational Energy Plans and Programs headed by an assistant secretary, and other provisions. If confirmed, do you intend to continue to encourage the Services to utilize these authorities to meet their operational and installation energy needs effectively?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR TIM KAINE

##### ATLANTIC-PACIFIC MILITARY PRESENCE

117. Senator KAINE. Mr. Hagel, in 2012, DOD released its new strategy, noting a rebalance to Asia while also maintaining our commitments in the Middle East. This strategy is heavily dependent on the maritime forces of the Navy and the Marine Corps. What is your view on the necessity of maintaining our naval power projection in the Atlantic in order to maintain our presence in the Middle East, especially given the threat of Iran to the region?

Mr. HAGEL. Today, the United States must be able to project naval power globally, with a strategic emphasis on rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region and maintaining presence in and around the Middle East. Our Atlantic fleet will continue to play a vital role in meeting our global demands. If confirmed, I would work with the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ensure a strong and sustainable Navy and Marine Corps that can prevail in light of current and projected challenges.

118. Senator KAINE. Mr. Hagel, please describe your view on our naval presence, given the current defense strategic guidance and ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa region.

Mr. HAGEL. Historically, the Nation has used globally deployable Naval forces to provide presence and power projection capabilities in multiple regions, often shifting between regions on short notice in response to emerging security threats. Naval presence will continue to be vital if we are to rebalance toward the Asia Pacific while maintaining our defense commitments in the Middle East and elsewhere. If confirmed, I would work with the Secretary of the Navy, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to ensure a strong and sustainable Navy and Marine Corps that can prevail in light of current and projected challenges.

##### SHIPBUILDING

119. Senator KAINE. Mr. Hagel, State shipbuilding plans are critical to meet our strategic needs, as well as critical to maintain our defense industrial base and supply chain. Given the affordability challenges facing the defense industry, you have the responsibility to ensure that you set the course for our Navy's force structure and maintain the Nation's security, all while balancing cost and risk of shipbuilding efforts. Would you agree to work closely with me, with this committee, and with this Congress in addressing our shipbuilding needs?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

120. Senator KAINE. Mr. Hagel, will you remain committed to ensuring that the vessels we build for our sailors and marines are the finest this Nation can produce and that they meet military classifications for warships?

Mr. HAGEL. I am committed to ensuring that survivability shall be addressed on all new surface ship, combat systems and equipment designs, overhauls, conversions, and modernizations in order that the design is provided a balance of survivability performance, risk, and cost within program objectives.

121. Senator KAINE. Mr. Hagel, will you agree to analyze all avenues of optimal program management and cost control measures in shipbuilding in order to allow shipbuilders to optimize design and save taxpayers' dollars?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

## DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE

122. Senator Kaine. Mr. Hagel, numerous studies by the Defense Business Board, GAO, and others point to a need for increased collaboration between industry and DOD. This becomes ever more important as the need for efficiencies increases and the number of industry participants decreases. DOD must provide our servicemembers with the best equipment possible. Enhancing innovation for defense applications through the current acquisition system may be an ongoing challenge in this fiscal environment. How will DOD sustain and improve capabilities that have been developed through collaborative innovation with industry?

Mr. HAGEL. Industry is our partner in defending this Nation and I fully recognize the vital role it plays in our national security. If confirmed, I will assess our current programs regarding collaborative efforts with industry, particularly in the areas of research and development, to leverage the innovation of the private sector.

123. Senator Kaine. Mr. Hagel, what is your assessment of the health of the defense industrial base and areas that require more attention?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe in a strong, healthy industrial base, and I am concerned that changes in the defense market may impact that base. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department has a process to assess fragility of the capabilities needed provide our military with the best equipment in the world.

## VETERAN ASSISTANCE

124. Senator Kaine. Mr. Hagel, you noted in your advance policy questions your commitment to improving the care veterans receive as they transition from Active Duty to civilian life. In the past few years, we have seen a high rate of unemployment among veterans, as well as increasing rates of suicide among this population. In your view, what are the most critical areas of improvement for veterans care?

Mr. HAGEL. This is a far ranging issue that will warrant significant attention from me, if confirmed. It is my understanding that our current focus areas are providing: a seamless transition of health information from DOD to the Department of Veterans Affairs, timely processing of disability claims, and transitional support such as employment assistance and related help. If confirmed, I will evaluate the entire domain of veteran's transition for effectiveness and where we need more improvement.

125. Senator Kaine. Mr. Hagel, what are the areas of potential collaboration among public and private sector entities?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that there are numerous areas where public and private collaborations could advance solutions for some of our most pressing issues with veterans care. These include opportunities to collaborate in: scientific research; improving access to mental health care and piloting new and innovative models of care; ensuring that military training in medical triage and care provision translates to employment in the private sector through collaboration with professional organizations, certification bodies, and academic training programs (e.g., medics serving as EMTs); and developing evidenced-based care guidelines and treatment protocols for psychological health and Traumatic Brain Injury.

## QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR ANGUS S. KING, JR.

## CONCERN ABOUT THE INDUSTRIAL BASE

126. Senator King. Mr. Hagel, last year, the Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), Admiral Jonathan Greenert, testified before this committee about the consequences of sequestration for shipbuilding. Admiral Greenert said that if sequestration kicks in, we will lose capabilities in some of our shipyards and we would be looking at a fleet of 230 ships compared to the current fleet of 285 ships. He went on to say, "I'm very concerned about an industrial base that would be able to adjust from sequestration. It would be very difficult to keep a shipbuilder that could be efficient in building the types of ships we need." In short, he described the very type of irreversible consequences that we must avoid. I am proud of the workers at Bath Iron Works in my home State, but this issue is larger than that because the six remaining shipyards that build Navy ships are truly strategic assets that once lost, cannot be restored in a timely manner. Do you agree with the CNO's assessment and share my alarm that sequestration will result in greater per unit costs, an unacceptable danger to our industrial base, and a smaller Navy fleet?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, I agree that the industrial base is a strategic asset that needs to be protected and that sequestration may have irreversible impacts in the long term. Sequestration budget cuts would certainly reduce ship procurement and maintenance, impacting fleet size. Sequestration would also implement automatic spending cuts without regard for strategy or priorities, so the Navy would be forced into a position where they could not execute contract options that were negotiated to minimize unit costs and stabilize workload in the shipyards. If confirmed, I will work with Congress to avert sequestration and work with the Navy to protect the industrial base.

#### DDG-51 DESTROYER PROGRAM

127. Senator KING. Mr. Hagel, the enacted NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 authorized a multi-year procurement of up to 10 DDG-51 destroyers during the next 5 years beginning in fiscal year 2013. The Appropriations Committees of both the House of Representatives and the Senate adopted fiscal year 2013 defense appropriations bills also included funding to support a 10-ship program. Multi-years present unique opportunities to procure required major defense systems more cost effectively than through annual procurements. I realize that enactment of the fiscal year 2013 defense appropriations legislation is required before the Navy can execute this vital multi-year procurement and achieve cost savings while also helping to stabilize our specialized shipbuilding industrial base. Will you let the leadership on both sides of the aisle in the Senate and the House of Representatives know how critical it is that we enact a fiscal year 2013 Defense Appropriations Bill?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will certainly continue to stress to Congress the importance of receiving an enacted fiscal year 2013 Defense Appropriations Bill. A year-long CR reduces the Department's funding flexibility by spending money on last year's priorities not this year's—an untenable position. It also pushes the Department to use month-to-month contracts and prohibits doing “new starts” in military construction or acquisition programs.

#### BERRY AMENDMENT

128. Senator KING. Mr. Hagel, according to the Berry Amendment, DOD cannot procure clothing items unless they are produced in the United States. Congress first established this domestic preference for DOD procurement in 1941, and for decades the military branches complied by issuing American-made uniforms, including athletic footwear, for our troops. In recent years, however, DOD has circumvented this policy by issuing cash allowances to soldiers for their own purchase of training shoes.

New Balance makes a compliant athletic shoe. New Balance has 5,000 pairs of Berry-compliant footwear sitting on their shelves, as we speak. Next year, enforcing compliance with Berry would actually save money. Currently, the Navy gives a \$68 cash allowance to recruits, and Berry-compliant shoes from New Balance cost \$68. Next year, the allowance will increase to \$74, but the Berry-compliant shoe cost will remain the same. That's a \$6 savings per pair of running shoes.

Will you review this policy and work to assure that compliant gear is purchased and U.S. jobs are protected?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will review the Department's policies pertaining to the athletic running shoes provided to military enlisted recruits and will ensure the Department meets its obligations under the Berry Amendment.

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JAMES M. INHOFE

##### TAIWAN RELATIONS

129. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances of 1982 have contributed to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region for the past 3 decades. With the military balance—including air superiority—gradually shifting in China's favor, what are your plans to implement the security commitment the United States has for Taiwan under this framework?

Mr. HAGEL. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China means that Taiwan must devote greater attention to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan's strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, throughout DOD, and with our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

I believe that we should make available to Taiwan those defense articles and defense services which enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability, today and into the future. If confirmed, I will look at what specific self-defense capabilities Taiwan needs in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland.

130. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, as Taiwan is likely to retire some of its older fighter aircraft in the next 5 to 10 years, do you believe that sales of advanced aircraft are an important next step in this commitment?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #129.

#### EAST CHINA SEA

131. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, last August, Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou proposed an East China Sea Peace Initiative to address the ongoing dispute between Japan and China over the Senkaku or Diaoyutai Islands. While Taiwan also claims sovereignty over the islands as part of the Republic of China, it "calls on all parties concerned to resolve disputes peacefully based on the U.N. Charter and relevant provisions in international law." In its proposal, Taiwan goes on to call on all parties to:

1. Refrain from taking any antagonistic actions;
2. Shelve controversies and not abandon dialogue;
3. Observe international law and resolve disputes through peaceful means;
4. Seek consensus on a code of conduct in the East China Sea; and
5. Establish a mechanism for cooperation on exploring and developing resources in the East China Sea.

Do you believe that such an initiative is a constructive and necessary step in resolving the dispute in a peaceful and comprehensive manner?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, working with the Secretary of State and other inter-agency counterparts, I would carefully consider any initiative that seeks to reduce tensions and facilitate a diplomatic solution to the current tensions.

#### EAST ASIA

132. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, Myanmar has been invited as an observer to the Cobra Gold exercises in 2013. Do you believe inclusion of the Burmese military is timely?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that plans call for two Burmese military officers to be included in the Cobra Gold Observer Program as a way to promote the Burmese military's exposure to the international community and international norms of behavior. I believe that this step is timely and sensible. I also agree with the current Department stance that future participation should be contingent on continued progress by the Government of Burma in consolidating democratic reforms, improving its human rights record, promoting national reconciliation, and suspending military ties to North Korea.

133. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you envision that the Burmese will be brought into security partnerships with the United States bilaterally or through multilateral arrangements with regional militaries?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the administration's approach of cautious and calibrated engagement with the Burmese military through bilateral and multilateral arrangements. If confirmed, I will consult with Congress regarding the scope and scale of bilateral engagement. I also agree with the current policy that a normalization of defense relations with Burma can only occur if the Government of Burma continues its efforts to democratize, improves its human rights record, implements national reconciliation efforts with its various ethnic groups, and suspends military ties to North Korea. I also support robust multilateral engagement of the United States with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM+) efforts, of which Burma is a member and will be chair in 2014.

134. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, will a reduction of DOD's budget impact security cooperation and regional security in East Asia?

Mr. HAGEL. As the President has stated, the United States is a Pacific power with enduring interests in the peace and security of the region. If confirmed, I will work to uphold and prioritize our security commitments in the Asia-Pacific region. How-



ever, sequestration's effects would be disastrous for the Department and would necessitate a review of the new defense strategy.

135. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, will budget cuts impact our ability to perform humanitarian relief missions or participate in military exercises like Thailand's Cobra Gold?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I would continue ongoing efforts to ensure that the United States remains the security partner of choice in the Asia-Pacific region. However, sequestration would necessitate a reevaluation of the U.S. defense strategy and any further reductions could require adjustments to overall implementation of the strategy.

#### IRAN

136. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the Iranian regime continues to threaten neighbors—our allies in the region like Azerbaijan. There were news reports throughout the past year that Azerbaijan's security services arrested several activists belonging to the Iranian intelligence service and Hezbollah. These operatives were suspected of planning terrorist attacks against foreigners in the capital Baku, including the U.S. and Israeli embassies. The United States has long-term interests in the Caspian region and the South Caucasus. Azerbaijan and the United States cooperate in countering terrorism, nuclear proliferation and narcotics trafficking, and promoting security in the wider Caspian region and beyond. As a key component to the NDN, Azerbaijan provides ground and naval transit for roughly 40 percent of the ISAF coalition's supplies bound for Afghanistan. Azerbaijan expressed its commitment to support U.S. and NATO efforts in stabilizing Afghanistan beyond 2014 and is among first eight non-NATO potential operational partners. Azerbaijan has been extending important over-flight clearance, landing, and refueling operations for U.S. and NATO flights to support ISAF. In 2012, more than 150 aero-medical evacuation flights of U.S. Air Mobility Command have flown over Azerbaijan, rushing more than 2,200 patients to a higher level of medical care. The United States has also energy interests in the region and our energy companies have interests in exploring Caspian Sea oil resources and deliver them westwards to provide for energy security to our European allies.

If confirmed, what do you think DOD should do to strengthen the security of our regional allies, like Azerbaijan, that face pressure and open threats from Iran on a daily basis, and what are the areas you think we should look into to expand security and defense cooperation with Azerbaijan to ensure it has adequate means to defend its territory?

Mr. HAGEL. I have deep concerns about Iran's destabilizing activities and recognize the many shared interests between the United States and Azerbaijan. If confirmed, I would continue the Defense Department's high level engagement with its counterparts in Azerbaijan. In particular, I would seek to strengthen existing areas of partnership and identify new areas of cooperation in support of Azerbaijan's defense reforms, its ability to interoperate with NATO and deploy to coalition operations, its capacity to address terrorism and other transnational threats and to secure its maritime borders and energy infrastructure. I would look for the United States to be Azerbaijan's partner of choice and help Azerbaijan's defense establishment contribute to regional security and stability, such as by continuing to encourage Azerbaijan's significant support to international efforts in Afghanistan.

#### MILITARY SUICIDES

137. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, I am very concerned about the significant rise in military suicides. According to the most current published DOD Suicide Event Report, 301 suicides occurred among military servicemembers in 2011. DOD recently reported 349 suicides in 2012—more than the total number of deaths incurred in combat. Do you believe DOD is doing all it can to prevent the tragic number of suicides in the Military Services?

Mr. HAGEL. The Department is doing all that it can given the complex nature of suicide and society's limited base of knowledge in this realm. Suicide among our Nation's military is clearly tragic and will require solutions that are informed by evidence of effectiveness. There is some proof that peer support and call lines help. There is also a need to continue the focus on resilience building and leadership education.

138. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what will you do to get this problem fixed?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I am committed to seeing that programs that focus on resiliency and leadership education continue and are further evaluated with additional research. Furthermore, I understand that the Department is in the process of drafting its first comprehensive suicide prevention program policy. It would be a top priority to review and implement this program policy as soon as it is ready.

139. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, is DOD fully funding the Services' suicide prevention programs and research programs that inform us about effective prevention strategies?

Mr. HAGEL. I am not currently familiar with the details of our research program spending in this area, but I share the views of the leadership of the Army and the entire Department that this is a top priority. If confirmed, I will review these research programs for efficiency and effectiveness in identifying strategies to prevent suicides and will work to ensure that sufficient funding is available for this important effort. As with other programs, sequestration could have a damaging impact on our efforts in this area.

140. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, how will you continue to fund these efforts under sequestration and a year-long Continuing Resolution?

Mr. HAGEL. The impact of sequestration combined with a year-long Continuing Resolution will present the Department with very serious funding challenges. I am deeply concerned about the significant rise in military suicides and am firmly committed to ensuring that the Department have the funds necessary to provide high-quality behavioral health care to servicemembers and their families. But protecting these vital personnel programs will require sacrifices in other important areas.

#### IMPACT OF SEQUESTRATION ON THE DEFENSE HEALTH PROGRAM AND FAMILY SUPPORT PROGRAMS

141. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, in your advance policy questions you agreed with the Joint Chiefs when they said that a full-year Continuing Resolution and sequestration would "damage our readiness, our people, and our military families." Additionally, you stated: "Sustaining family programs in the current fiscally constrained environment will be challenging, but it is of vital importance."

Under sequestration, do you agree that morale will suffer and beneficiaries may not be able to get the health care and support services they need?

Mr. HAGEL. I share the concern of our senior military leaders that the morale of the force will be affected in ways that are unpredictable if sequester goes into effect and disrupts our training, readiness, and family support programs. If confirmed, I will attempt to ensure that reductions do not break faith with our troops and they continue to receive the health care and support services they need.

142. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you ensure that defense budget cuts will not hinder or harm the extraordinary care and support that our wounded warriors and their families receive?

Mr. HAGEL. I want to make it clear that if confirmed I will make it a priority to minimize the impact of sequestration on our wounded warriors and their families. However, sequestration provides no exemption for military health care funding, and across the board cuts to those programs are required by law if sequester takes place. If confirmed, I will seek to protect funding for wounded warrior care to the greatest extent possible, subject to those constraints.

#### BUDGET

143. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, during a series of video interviews with the Financial Times on August 29, 2011, you were asked about the prospect of sequestration and its impact on DOD. When asked about the impact of an automatic \$600 billion cut to DOD (beyond the \$487 billion already proposed by the President in April 2011), you appear to disagree with Secretary Panetta's assessment that such cuts would be devastating. Instead you stated that you feel DOD is "bloated" and that "the Pentagon needs to be pared down".

In an exchange with Senator Blunt at your confirmation hearing, my colleague asked you to provide some specific examples of what you were referring to when you identified the DOD budget as being "bloated." During the hearing, you failed to provide any specificity, so please do so now of where you believe defense spending is excessive and what accounts and programs you believe should be cut.

Mr. HAGEL. I have never said that I support sequestration. I do not nor have I ever supported sequestration. I support the 2011 Budget Control Act. I stand by my view that inefficiency and waste exists in DOD that could and should be reduced or eliminated. The record shows, in my view, that both the Department's leadership and Congress have expressed similar views. In his May 2010 speech at the Eisenhower library, then-Secretary Gates launched an effort to cut inefficiency and waste in the Department that had grown up over the previous decade of rising budgets.

As he noted at the time, inefficiency is not just about money. He cited in that speech a "top-heavy hierarchy" in DOD that was out of step with the 21st century. Following that speech, the Department began reducing unneeded senior executive and general officer positions to reduce layers of management.

In the Department's next two budget submissions for fiscal year 2011 and fiscal year 2012, they produced separate justification books, which the Committee has on file, detailing plans to cut inefficiency and lower-priority programs by \$178 billion and then another \$60 billion, respectively. I believe many of those reductions, in areas such as information technology, smarter acquisition, streamlined management, and reorganizations, are underway but not yet fully realized.

Notwithstanding these efforts by the Department, Congress was able to find additional savings and reduced defense spending below the level requested by the Department in both of these fiscal years by approximately \$20 billion per year.

143a. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe military resources should drive strategy or should strategy drive resources?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe strategy should drive our resource decisions, but our strategy must also be realistic and resource-informed.

144. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that DOD should pursue a National Security Strategy that assumes a relatively high degree of risk for our military?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the Department has developed a strategy that meets the challenges of the current and future security environment that both minimizes risk and complies with the fiscal constraints imposed by the Budget Control Act (BCA). I also believe that by ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and rebalancing to a strategic posture that modernizes alliances, builds partner capacity and maintains a ready, agile and responsive force, we reduce the risk to our military.

145. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, if it is determined that the reductions being proposed need to be revised and that additional resources are necessary to meet our national security needs, do you believe you would have the flexibility to advocate for a decrease in the \$487 billion reduction to defense budgets if you determined a significant adverse impact to national security?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will continue to work with OMB and Congress to seek the resources necessary to provide the military capabilities the defense of our Nation requires. However, the mechanism of sequestration enacted in the Budget Control Act and the lack of a full year appropriation are my immediate concerns as they would severely limit the Department's flexibility to ensure the military has the funds it requires to fulfill its mission.

146. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, over the past 4 years this administration has pursued the systematic disarming of U.S. military power under the guise of defense budget cuts in order to maintain significantly higher levels of funding for non-security-related domestic programs. In a letter I sent to Secretary Panetta earlier this month, I reiterated that we are in full agreement that any additional cuts to defense spending, especially those of the magnitude of sequestration, would be unacceptable and will result in serious and lasting harm to the capabilities and readiness of our military. Do you agree that sequestration would have lasting harm to the capabilities and readiness of our military?

Mr. HAGEL. The combined impacts of a Continuing Resolution and Sequestration will have a devastating impact on our readiness, especially given that we have a shorter period of time and limited flexibility to manage where the reductions are taken. Based on my assessment to date, sequestration would harm military readiness and disrupt each and every investment program. Some of the more notable impacts of sequester would be reduced global activities, less training which would decrease readiness, disruption of investment programs, limits on military construction, and forced furloughs and hiring freezes for civilian workers.

147. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that averting sequestration should be our highest priority?

Mr. HAGEL. Adverting sequestration, as well as providing the Department a fiscal year 2013 appropriations bill, should be Congress' highest priority.

148. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that Congress and the administration have a shared responsibility in averting sequestration?

Mr. HAGEL. The ability to avoid sequestration and to pass a full-year appropriations bill for DOD is within the power of Congress. It is my desire that Congress and the administration reach an agreement on a balanced package of deficit reductions that leads to detragging of sequestration and regular appropriation bills.

#### CYBERSECURITY

149. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, in your advance policy questions you stated that it is "your understanding that the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) has the lead for domestic cybersecurity." Cyberspace perhaps more so than any other domain is not bound and has little regard to geographical boundaries. When it comes to the defense of the Homeland from a foreign attack what role do you believe DOD should play?

Mr. HAGEL. DOD has the responsibility to defend, deter, and when directed by the President, take action to defend the United States, its allies, and its interests in cyberspace as in all domains. I agree that threats in cyberspace can cross both physical boundaries and particular departmental responsibilities, and, therefore, believe it is critical for the Department to work closely with both the public and private sectors. To support DOD national security responsibilities, I believe that the Department must maintain a close partnership with DHS.

149a. Senator INHOFE. Do you believe DOD should be the principal U.S. Government agency responsible for protecting the United States against foreign cyberattacks to the Homeland?

Mr. HAGEL. It is my understanding that DOD has the mission to defend the Nation in cyberspace and that DHS should be the lead for coordinating the cybersecurity of U.S. critical infrastructure. I support these roles and relationship.

150. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, I understand there is some confusion over the role DHS would play in such an attack on the Homeland in cyberspace. Do you believe that DHS should have anything more than a supporting role to DOD in a cyberattack against the Homeland?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that DOD has the mission to defend the Nation in cyberspace, and that this includes a close partnership with DHS in its role of leading efforts for the cybersecurity of U.S. critical infrastructure, and non-DOD unclassified government networks. I believe that DHS plays a vital role in securing unclassified Federal civilian government networks and working with owners and operators of critical infrastructure to secure their networks through risk assessment, mitigation, incident response capabilities, and sharing cyber threat and vulnerability information. DOD supports DHS in its domestic role.

151. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, who, in your opinion, should be that principal agency with the responsibility of coordinating the defense of the Homeland from a foreign cyberattack and the response?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the current administration approach, in which DOD has the responsibility to defend, deter, and, when directed by the President, take action to defend the United States, its allies, and its interests in cyberspace as in all domains. I also support DOD's partnership with DHS in its role leading efforts for the cybersecurity of U.S. critical infrastructure.

152. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, capabilities-wise, do you agree that DOD and the National Security Agency have the most comprehensive set of resources to defend the Nation from a foreign cyberattack?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. At the same time, I believe that DOD should work closely with other departments and agencies that have unique responsibilities, capabilities, and expertise, such as DHS and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

153. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that establishing bureaucracies and duplicative efforts at DHS would be unwise?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that departments and agencies should not set up unnecessary bureaucracies or duplicative efforts. In the cyber domain, I believe that DOD and DHS should continue to team together to address cyber threats, understanding that

each has specific roles and missions, and that DOD has the mission to defend the Nation in cyberspace.

154. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, a recent Wall Street Journal article titled "Banks seek U.S. Help on Iran Cybersecurity" states that "major U.S. banks are pressing for government action to block or squelch what Washington officials say is an intensifying Iranian campaign of cyberattacks against American financial institutions." The article asserts that some of the financial institutions are concerned by the lack of U.S. Government response arguing that the banks "can't be expected to fend off attacks from a foreign government." According to the article, "U.S. officials have been weighing options, including whether to retaliate against Iran."

What role do you believe DOD should play in events such as the recent/ongoing Iranian attacks on the financial sector and do you believe there is an offensive role DOD should be able to utilize via cyberspace?

Mr. HAGEL. Although I am not aware of the specific details of these events, DOD plays a critical role in a whole-of-government effort to address threats to both our national and economic security. The President has made clear that the United States will respond to hostile acts in cyberspace as we would any other threat to our country, and that the United States reserves the right to use all necessary means, including military means as a last resort, to defend our Nation and our interests. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department develops the necessary cyber capabilities to defend and, if directed by the President, conduct offensive operations.

155. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, I was concerned to read in your advance policy questions that you seem to believe that we are deterring and dissuading our adversaries in cyberspace. In a letter sent to Senator McCain last year by General Alexander, the Commander of U.S. Cyber Command, he asked a similar question to which Gen. Alexander simply stated "No ... much remains to be done across both the public and private sector."

Do you agree with General Alexander's assessment? If not, why not?

Mr. HAGEL. I do believe that the United States has successfully deterred major cyber attacks. However, I agree with General Alexander that there is much more to be done to protect the Nation from cyber threats. If confirmed, I am committed to continuing DOD efforts to strengthen the Department's cyber capabilities and support cybersecurity efforts across the public and private sector. One such opportunity would be to pass legislation that allows for increased information sharing on cyber threats and the development of critical infrastructure cybersecurity standards in partnership with the private sector.

156. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what role do you believe offensive cyber capabilities should play in cyber deterrence?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that an important element of deterrence is to develop and maintain a wide variety of capabilities, including cyber capabilities, that can impose costs on a potential adversary. If confirmed, I will ensure that DOD provides the President with a broad range of military options.

157. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the mission to defend the Homeland will require both offensive and defensive cyber forces and tools?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I believe the Department must provide a wide range of credible capabilities in all domains, both offensive and defensive, to defend the Nation.

#### NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE

158. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you still support the Missile Defense Act of 1999?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, I co-sponsored the National Missile Defense Act of 1999, and I continue to support the law.

159. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that protection of the United States from the threat of ballistic missile attack is a critical national security priority?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

160. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree it is necessary to modernize and expand our national missile defense, formally known as the GMD system, to keep pace with the growing threat?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the continued modernization, and expansion if necessary, of the GMD system and the other missile defense efforts that can contribute to the protection of the homeland in the future.

#### MISSILE DEFENSE IN EUROPE

161. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the deployment of SM-3 interceptors in Poland and Romania, as currently planned, is provocative for the Russians?

Mr. HAGEL. While the Russians have argued that the later phases of the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) could undermine their strategic deterrent, the United States has repeatedly stated that the EPAA is not directed at Russia and will not have the capability to undermine Russia's ICBM forces. I agree with this view.

162. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you support President Obama's commitment to deploy SM-3 missiles in Romania and Poland as currently planned?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the President's approach to missile defense in Europe, including the deployment of the Aegis Ashore sites in Romania and Poland as currently planned. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continues to support the implementation of the European Phased Adaptive Approach.

163. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the United States should provide legal assurances to Russia that would limit U.S. missile defense capabilities?

Mr. HAGEL. The President is on record as saying, and I agree, that the United States cannot accept any limits on its BMD systems.

164. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree to inform this committee about ongoing discussions with the Russians concerning potential limits to U.S. missile defense capabilities or cooperation with Russia in missile defense?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will keep Congress apprised as required by the 2013 NDAA.

#### NUCLEAR WEAPONS

165. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you support modernization of the nuclear triad and the nuclear weapons complex, as per the stated intent of the President in his Message to the Senate on the New START treaty?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the President's commitment to a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent as long as nuclear weapons exist. I believe that modernizing nuclear forces and infrastructure is critical and should be a national priority. I also believe that there is a continuing need to sustain the skilled workforce that underpins deterrence capabilities.

166. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that restoring NNSA's production infrastructure is necessary to allow excess warheads to be retired along with other potential stockpile reductions to the nondeployed stockpile over time?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that modernizing the nuclear weapons production infrastructure is very important, and that doing so is necessary to reducing the stockpile hedge over time.

167. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe it is important to have the capacity to surge production in the event of significant geopolitical surprise?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that a modernized nuclear weapons infrastructure that would allow production of additional warheads is important to hedge against significant, unforeseen changes in the international security situation.

168. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what do you believe should be the proper role of DOD in determining the annual funding requests for NNSA Weapons Activities?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that the Nuclear Weapons Council (NWC) provides a statutory forum wherein the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration and DOD come together to make programmatic and funding decisions and, as appropriate, recommendations for the Secretaries to coordinate requirements and expenditures. If confirmed, I look forward to working with the NWC and the Secretary of Energy to best coordinate our requirements in a fiscally responsible manner to continue to meet the Nation's security needs.

## ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE

169. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that any outstanding nuclear weapons treaty compliance concerns should be addressed before the United States pursues further nuclear arms reduction negotiations with Russia?

Mr. HAGEL. Compliance with legal obligations is central to the effectiveness of arms control treaties, and concerns about non-compliance must be addressed. If confirmed, I will ensure that DOD works with the Department of State and other inter-agency partners in assessing and responding to compliance concerns. While resolution of such issues with Russia is clearly important, I do not believe that discussions of possible further nuclear arms reductions need await resolution of all compliance issues.

## DOD FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

170. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, are you committed to modernizing DOD's financial management systems?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I understand that implementation of modern, integrated business systems is well underway and I will continue to monitor and support these efforts. They must contribute to improved efficiency and must also sustain the quality and fidelity of financial information that we need to manage with.

171. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, would you emphasize financial management improvement and audit readiness as a top priority?

Mr. HAGEL. Improving the Department's financial management capability is an important priority and if confirmed, I will ensure that senior leaders are focused on this goal and hold them accountable.

## BUDGET CUTS AND OPERATIONAL READINESS

172. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, does the fiscal year 2013 defense budget of \$525.3 billion with \$88.5 in OCO funding, affect DOD's ability to "respond to every contingency" as you highlighted in your opening statement?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, the Department's ability to respond to contingencies is directly related to the funding it receives which is translated into military capabilities. I believe the Department can implement the administration's present strategy within the budget it has requested. That said, if sequestration occurs, the Department would need to significantly revise the defense strategy and, in all probability, would need to make some hard choices about which of our current national defense capabilities we could afford to retain.

## AGING MILITARY EQUIPMENT

173. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and the Commandant of the Marine Corps have stated that they need at least 2 years of OCO funding after withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan in order to reset their equipment. If confirmed, will you be prepared to continue requesting OCO funding until all equipment has been reset?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I believe that it will require considerable time to repair equipment returning from operations in Afghanistan because of the nature of the repairs and difficulty of removing the equipment from Afghanistan.

## END STRENGTH REDUCTIONS

174. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do the planned reductions to Army and Marine Corps end strengths affect DOD's ability to "respond to every contingency" as you highlighted in your opening statement?

Mr. HAGEL. Current reductions in the Army and Marine Corps are being carefully managed in order to balance risk with the right mix of capabilities necessary to fulfill all of the missions required by the Defense Strategic Guidance. Currently, reductions are predicated on the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) plans to continue off-ramping forces heading to Afghanistan. This risk we can manage. However, I am very concerned about the risk to the Nation given the possibility of sequestration and the potential for a full year Continuing Resolution. If not resolved, the fiscal situation could have significant impact on the ability of the Department to do what is required by the Defense Strategic Guidance. It is not the planned cuts to the

Army and Marine Corps that cause significant risk, but rather the ones that we may be forced to make due to the uncertain fiscal environment.

#### DEFENSE BUDGET PRIORITIES

175. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, during your testimony you stated that, if confirmed, you will confine the dollars we are going to spend in the defense budget for defense purposes, in support of the warfighter. Do we also have your assurance that you will submit a budget that reflects this commitment?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe a fundamental foundation of any defense budget submission is to provide the best support we can to our warfighters and ensure their capabilities, readiness and agility are sustained. If confirmed, I will uphold this commitment.

#### INDUSTRIAL BASE

176. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what is your definition of the industrial base?

Mr. HAGEL. The defense industrial base is a diverse and dynamic set of companies that provide both products and services, directly and indirectly, to national security agencies, including the military. The defense industrial base includes companies of all shapes and sizes from some of the world's largest public companies to small businesses.

177. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, what will be your approach to preserving the industrial base?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will ensure the Department continually assesses the health of the industrial base. I will work closely with industry and Congress and will be prepared to act to preserve needed skills and manufacturing capabilities, as resources permit.

#### ACQUISITION REFORM

178. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, it seems that every time we have a change in administrations or the Secretaries of Defense, another acquisition study is commissioned, usually ignoring the 300 plus studies that have already produced a report. If confirmed, what will be your approach to ensuring the acquisition system produces affordable capabilities that are responsive to the needs of the warfighter?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand the Department has undertaken a series of "Better Buying Power" initiatives as a broadbased collection of comprehensive, detailed, initiatives to improve acquisition practices and ensure the Department is procuring affordable, technically achievable capabilities on cost and schedule. If confirmed, I will examine these initiatives to ensure that they adequately address the problems with the Department's acquisition system.

#### GREEN AGENDA

179. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, following up on your testimony, you stated in response to questions posed by the committee on your priorities for defense investments in energy technologies that "my broad priorities for defense energy investments will be those that: increase military capabilities, provide more mission success, and lower total cost."

With the budget cuts DOD is facing, how will your priorities impact DOD's current plan to invest \$9 billion over the next 5 years on energy technology investments and an additional \$4 billion for renewable energy facility projects?

Mr. HAGEL. I have not yet reviewed the Department's budget related to energy technologies. If confirmed, I will ensure that investments in the operational energy area drive enhanced military capabilities, facilitate mission effectiveness, and lower costs.

180. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, what criteria would you establish to focus investments on your priorities?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, my main criteria will be to ensure that DOD investments enhance readiness and warfighting effectiveness and increase our national security.



181. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that defense funds should be used to develop a commercial biofuels refinery?

Mr. HAGEL. The Nation's long-term energy security would benefit from a competitive, domestic renewable fuels industry; as a major consumer of liquid fuels, the Department would benefit, as well. That said, I am not yet in a position to comment on the trade-offs between the value of this investment and the other priorities of the Department.

182. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that critical operations and maintenance funds intended for the training, equipping, and readiness of our Armed Forces should be used to pay for alternate fuels that exceed the cost of traditional fossil fuels?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the Department's primary operational energy goal should be to ensure operational military readiness. I understand that most of the Department's investments in alternate fuels since 2003 have been for the purpose of ensuring that military platforms can operate on a wide range of fuels, providing useful military flexibility if and when they become commercially available and cost competitive with petroleum products.

183. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, will you pledge to work with Congress to ensure that all investments and purchases of renewable energy technologies and alternate fuels are supported by specific congressional authorizations for that purpose?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department's energy investments comply with congressional authorizations.

184. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, according to a recent report by a major oil and gas company, the United States will be energy self-sufficient in 2030. Other reports by respected organizations have agreed. Do you agree that the United States could become energy independent in the next 20 years?

Mr. HAGEL. I am greatly encouraged by the recent developments in the U.S. energy sector and the benefits for our economy.

185. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, how do you foresee this impacting U.S. foreign policy?

Mr. HAGEL. Reducing the Nation's dependence on foreign oil is an important national security imperative. That said, because oil prices are set on a global market and will be for the foreseeable future, the stability of global oil markets will continue to be important for the U.S. economy.

#### U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

186. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the outgoing Secretary of Defense has been a strong supporter of U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) and critical engagement and operations ongoing throughout the continent of Africa. AFRICOM has less than 5,000 boots on the African continent to cover 54 countries and over 12 million square miles. Its forces are completely shared with U.S. European Command (EUCOM). How will the United States be able to adequately support AFRICOM operations given the cuts in EUCOM personnel, coupled with additional cuts in DOD funding?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that our low-cost, small-footprint presence and operations in Africa are appropriate to promoting our interests and addressing threats to us and our partners. U.S. forces are managed globally to address ongoing needs anywhere, so forces that operate in and around Africa extend beyond those assigned to EUCOM. Moreover, since the attacks on our diplomatic facilities in Benghazi, I understand that the Department has undergone a rigorous evaluation of our military posture across the region, to including assessing EUCOM and AFRICOM force posture. If confirmed, I would continue to ensure that we appropriately manage the allocation of U.S. military forces across the globe, including in Africa, to ensure we are best positioning ourselves on any given day for contingencies that may arise.

187. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the President's new strategy calls for a "rebalancing" of resources to the Asia Pacific theater, maintaining focus on the Middle East, and "evolving" force posture in Europe. Do you believe the President's new Asia-focused strategy puts our operations at high risk for Africa and South America?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree with the Defense Department's new strategy and move to rebalance to the Asia-Pacific region while maintaining focus on challenges in the Middle East. The strategy also makes it clear that we will still have interests we need

to protect in other regions of the world and that we will do so through continued partnership, rotational presence, and smaller foot-print activities. If confirmed, I will make sure that we are always mindful of how we address threats, manage risk, and promote our interests in all parts of the world, and what role the U.S. military and DOD play in that as part of an overall U.S. effort. However, we may have to seek different approaches to pursuing our interests in these other regions if the size of our overall defense budget declines further.

188. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the headquarters for AFRICOM is in Stuttgart, Germany. Would you consider moving AFRICOM out of Germany and somewhere in Africa?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand the Department has just completed a study that compares the costs and benefits of moving the AFRICOM headquarters. In the end Secretary Panetta considered both cost and operational factors and decided to keep the headquarters in Stuttgart, Germany. When assessing possible relocation to the African continent the Department considered the difficulties in determining a representative country on such a diverse continent, diplomatic challenges, high costs of infrastructure, security concerns and mobility and access challenges. It was decided that a move to the African continent was not feasible at this time.

#### BUDGET CUTS AND OPERATIONAL READINESS

189. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, you stated in responses to questions posed by the committee in regard to the Joint Chief's concerns about a hollow force that "the concerns the Joint Chiefs have expressed about readiness come from a variety of factors, including the challenges of recovering from 10 years of operational stress, of transitioning to a broader range of operations, and of doing all of this in the face of fiscal austerity and budget uncertainty." How do you plan to monitor risk and the potential mismatch between constrained resources and demands of operational plans?

Mr. HAGEL. I am deeply impressed by the caliber and capabilities of our military forces. It is vitally important that they be ready to respond to the Nation's needs, and I am concerned that further budget cuts will negatively affect readiness. If confirmed, I will get regular updates by the Joint Chiefs on where we must devote the Department's attention and resources to ensure the readiness of the force.

190. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe there currently exists a mismatch between readiness requirements and military strategy when assessing the resources available? Please explain.

Mr. HAGEL. Maintaining ready forces is a priority. If confirmed, I will work with the Joint Chiefs to better understand the basis of their assessment and how we can most effectively address the readiness challenges our military faces.

My sense is that the concerns the Joint Chiefs have expressed about readiness come from a variety of factors, including the challenges of recovering from 10 years of operational stress, of transitioning to a broader range of operations, and of doing all of this in the face of fiscal austerity and budget uncertainty. If confirmed, I will carefully monitor how all of these factors are posing risks to readiness and will work closely with the military and civilian leadership of the Department to mitigate those risks to the greatest extent possible.

191. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, as to the mitigation of risk of a hollow force, do you believe the President will provide you the discretion to request higher defense budgets than are currently proposed by the administration over the next 10 years?

Mr. HAGEL. I will always give the President my most honest and informed opinion about all necessary requirements for America's national security.

I understand the administration has developed Strategic Guidance consistent with the funding limits of the budget control act. Any changes to those limits, such as sequestration, will cause a dramatic change in the force and require a different strategy or different resources. Additionally, unexpected demands for forces will likely result in a request for additional funding, as they always have.

#### GEOGRAPHIC RISK POSED BY THE REVISED MILITARY STRATEGY

192. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, in your response to the committee on a question regarding the revised military strategy announced by the President in the wake of the administration's decision to cut defense budgets by \$487 billion over 10 years, you state: "By emphasizing the Asia-Pacific while also focusing on the Middle East,

rebalancing will necessarily accept risk in other areas given the resource-constrained environment.” How do you believe the President’s military strategy is taking risks in regions other than Asia and the Middle East?

Mr. HAGEL. By prioritizing resources for Asia and the Middle East, the current defense strategy accepts some risk in terms of the military’s ability to address security challenges elsewhere. I believe this risk is manageable at the levels of defense spending provided for in the Budget Control Act. Regardless of where U.S. military forces may be positioned or stationed, one of the key advantages of our military is that we can bring to bear effective capabilities where needed to address threats to our interests. If confirmed, I would work with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Services to ensure that readiness is one of our top priorities, so that our forces are ready to respond to the full range of contingencies that may threaten our key interests.

193. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what specifically are the risks for Africa and South America?

Mr. HAGEL. In Africa, partner states accept a greater share of the burden to counter the growing capacity of violent extremist organizations and ensure regional stability. While we believe this African-led approach manages the threats to U.S. interests, the limited defense capacities of most African states and the modest investments in the African security sector are a source of risk. In South America, transnational criminal organizations undermine peace and security across the region and into the United States. As in Africa, partner states in South America will accept a greater share of the burden to address transnational criminal organizations.

194. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, why do you believe this risk is necessary?

Mr. HAGEL. Not all problems are best met with military tools. Many of our national security objectives around the world, and notably in Africa and South America, are best secured through diplomacy and economic development. I believe DOD’s current strategic approach balances the risk of overwhelming these two regions with U.S. military presence with the need to be ready to respond to crises that may emerge there, using globally agile forces.

195. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what do you believe was lacking in our military strategy for Asia that required a rebalancing?

Mr. HAGEL. As the United States draws down from more than a decade of war in Afghanistan, we face an inflection point allowing for a transition from fighting today’s wars to preparing for tomorrow’s challenges. The President has been clear that U.S. economic and security interests are inextricably tied to the Asia-Pacific. The emerging economic and political dynamism in the Asia-Pacific requires strong and continuous U.S. commitment and the rebalance is a whole-of-government effort to renew and deepen U.S. engagement throughout the region. The rebalance will inform the allocation of activities and resources to the Asia-Pacific, where the Department will contribute to peace and prosperity in the region. If confirmed, I will continue the Department’s efforts and activities to seek greater engagement with allies and partners to build capacity for security cooperation, build mutual trust, understanding, and norms among countries in the region.

196. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what does rebalancing mean for the U.S. military effort in the Asia-Pacific region in terms of force structure changes, additional or modified military capabilities, and defense budget modifications?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will focus on strengthening our relationships, building the capacity of key allies and partners, as well as maintaining the United States’ ability to deter conflict and respond to any potential contingencies in the Asia-Pacific region. The rebalance renews emphasis on air and naval forces while maintaining distributed ground forces. The rebalance also requires the Department to develop new capabilities in order to maintain a technological edge, our freedom of action, and ability to project power in the region. I would work closely with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Services, and Office of the Secretary of Defense leadership to assess any additional changes in resources, force structure, equipment, and training.

197. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance says that “our posture in Europe must evolve.” What is your assessment of the specific programs and strategic efforts that DOD is executing, or has planned, to evolve our posture in Europe?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the Department’s current approach to posture in Europe and its emphasis on maintaining our Article 5 commitments to Allied security and

promoting enhanced capacity and interoperability for coalition operations. For instance, I strongly support ongoing efforts related to the European Phased Adaptive Approach, the establishment of an aviation detachment in Poland, and enhanced training and exercises with European allies and partners through rotational deployments from the United States. All of these efforts introduce more modern capabilities appropriate for future challenges and demonstrate our commitment to NATO and the strength of the Alliance.

198. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, how do you believe our evolving force posture in Europe will affect our commitment to NATO?

Mr. HAGEL. The Department's evolving defense posture in Europe focuses on enhancing interoperability and training and introducing modern capabilities more appropriate for future challenges. These evolutions demonstrate our commitment to NATO and the strength of the Alliance. Regardless of the rebalance, NATO is already adapting to meet new and emerging threats, to acquire the core enabling capabilities needed to respond to the full range of contingencies, and to better align U.S. and NATO training and education efforts in order to solidify and maintain the gains realized from having operated together in Afghanistan. As Secretary Panetta has said, "Europe is our security partner of choice for military operations and diplomacy around the world." Our investment in Europe is, therefore, crucial.

#### IRAN MINISTRY SUPPORT

199. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, Iran's Foreign Ministry was quoted as being hopeful your appointment would improve relations between Tehran and the United States "We hope that practical changes will be created in the U.S. foreign policy and the U.S. officials' approach will change to respect the Nations' rights. We hope that the U.S. officials will favor peace instead of warmongering and recognize the rights of nations instead of interfering in the countries' internal affairs."

You stated in October 2009 that "President Obama's approach to achieving a Middle East peace is connected to other vital regional and global issues—like helping forge an emerging Arab consensus on peace, combating terrorism, and future relationships with Iran and Syria. These issues are all in the long-term interests of Israel, the U.S., the Middle East, and the world."

In describing the President's approach, what specifically were you referring to regarding future relationships with Iran and Syria?

Mr. HAGEL. While I cannot speak to the motivations of the Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesperson behind making those statements, there should be no doubt that I fully support and—if confirmed—will faithfully execute the President's multi-vector strategy towards Iran. This strategy has included tough-minded diplomacy, crippling sanctions, and serious contingency planning with the objective of preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

My comments in 2009 reflected my support for the President's use of diplomacy as an effective tool of statecraft. This approach allowed the United States to test the intentions of the regimes in Iran and Syria, expose them before the world, and when they failed to seize the opportunities presented to them, build a global coalition against them.

200. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, how would these relationships with these two terrorist regimes be in the long-term interests of Israel and the United States?

Mr. HAGEL. Much has changed since 2009 in Iran and Syria. With that in mind, I believe that only after there is a change in regime in Syria and serious changes in the regime's behavior in Tehran, can we conceivably think about long-term relationships with these two countries that could be beneficial to the interests of the United States and the State of Israel. At the same time, I think the United States should continue to reach out to the people of Syria and Iran—as the best long-term investment for our and Israel's interests. Both societies are tremendously important to the stability of a region that is of great interest to the United States.

201. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, how would you assess the success of the President's approach to date in the region?

Mr. HAGEL. I think the President's approach to the region has had some great success during the first term. President Obama responsibly drew down our presence in Iraq, crippled al Qaeda, isolated and weakened Iran, strongly supported the security of the State of Israel, and focused on transforming our relationship with peoples of the region, while advancing our core interests. That said, much remains to be

done during the second term, and—if confirmed—I look forward to advancing our interests in the vitally important region of the Middle East.

## NORTH KOREA

202. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, you wrote that “Kim Jon Il’s government is a genuinely rogue regime whose nuclear ambitions and capacity for mischief have been more or less contained, though imperfectly, through the U.N. and a mature diplomatic structure that includes the United States, Russia, China, Japan and South Korea.”

Given North Korea’s ballistic missile launch in December and recent threats to conduct further nuclear testing, do you still think that the diplomatic structure is effectively containing North Korean nuclear ambitions?

Mr. HAGEL. North Korea’s December Taepo Dong II missile launch and recent threats to conduct a third nuclear test underscore the growing North Korean threat to international peace and security. U.S. diplomatic efforts following the December missile launch, particularly with China, resulted in U.N. Security Council Resolution 2087, which affirms the international community’s opposition to North Korea’s provocations. The tightened sanctions in the resolution will help impede the growth of North Korea’s weapons of mass destruction program. If confirmed, I will continue to ensure our military provides the deterrence and defense necessary to protect our allies and our interests. This posture is also the best way to create conditions where diplomacy has the best possible prospects to succeed.

203. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you see the future force structure of U.S. forces in Korea decreasing below the current size?

Mr. HAGEL. To secure peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia, it is important that the United States and the Republic of Korea (ROK) maintain a robust combined defense posture. If confirmed, I will work with ROK leadership to ensure that the United States maintains an appropriately sized and ready force to respond to evolving threats in the region.

204. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you think any capabilities need to be added to our force structure in the Asia-Pacific theater to ensure regional stability in light of increased North Korean belligerence?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will maintain the U.S. commitment to the defense of the ROK using globally available U.S. forces and capabilities that can be deployed to augment the combined defense in case of crisis. If confirmed, I would ensure that we have the capabilities necessary to deter, and, if necessary, defeat, North Korean aggression.

## TAIWAN

205. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, tensions in the Asia-Pacific have increased significantly due to more aggressive posturing of China in places like Scarborough Reef and the Senkaku Islands as China continues to pursue increased military capabilities. Do you fully support the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979?

Mr. HAGEL. I fully support the Taiwan Relations Act. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China increasingly means that Taiwan must devote greater attention to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan’s strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, the Commander of U.S. Pacific Command, and our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

206. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do you support the sale of F-16C/Ds to Taiwan, why or why not?

Mr. HAGEL. With respect to advanced fighter sales, I believe that we should make available to Taiwan those military capabilities that would allow the Taiwan Armed Forces to execute its missions effectively not only for today, but well into the future. If confirmed, I will look at what specific capabilities those are—or should be—in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland. In addition, if confirmed, I will work with the Commander of U.S. Pacific Command to identify appropriate military training and exercise opportunities that will advance U.S. interests, enhance Taiwan’s defense capabilities, and contribute to peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

207. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, would you support the sale of F-35s to Taiwan? Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #206.

208. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, how would you strengthen the U.S. security relations with Taiwan?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that the Taiwan Relations Act has contributed to peace and stability in the region for over 30 years. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China means that Taiwan must devote greater attention to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan's strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, the Commander, PACOM, and our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act. I believe that we should make available to Taiwan military capabilities that would allow the Taiwan Armed Forces to execute its missions effectively not only for today, but well into the future. If confirmed, I will look at what specific capabilities those are—or should be—in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland. In addition, if confirmed, I will work with the Commander, PACOM to identify appropriate military training and exercise opportunities that will advance U.S. interests, enhance Taiwan's defense capabilities, and contribute to peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

209. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, does the United States need to maintain a two carrier presence in the Pacific at all times and can this be done if sequestration goes into effect?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will work with the Secretary of the Navy, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and U.S. Pacific Command to ensure that we allocate our naval resources at the level of presence necessary to support our strategic goals, striking a balance between carrier presence in the Pacific Ocean and other regions. The current budget uncertainty, combined with ongoing high demand in the Gulf, has made sustaining two carriers in the Pacific challenging; further significant cuts in the defense budget would make it, extraordinarily difficult especially if preserving other U.S. interests—particularly Gulf presence.

#### SUPPORT FOR ISRAELI SECURITY AND REGIONAL STABILITY

210. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, given the high demand and low density of our missile defense assets globally, do you support the allocation of a TPY-2 radar and a BMD-capable ship to the defense of Israel?

Mr. HAGEL. I support strong missile defense cooperation with Israel, including the deployment of the U.S. TPY-2 radar and operational cooperation and support, including ship-based. In addition, the United States and Israel have a long history of cooperative research and development on missile defense. If confirmed, I will continue to support a robust missile defense cooperative relationship with Israel.

#### IRAN

211. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, will a two-carrier presence in the Gulf be sustainable given expected severe defense budget cuts?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that it is critical that the U.S. military maintain a robust presence in the region to counter Iran, reassure our partners, and build partner capacity. Our carrier presence is a key element of this presence. If confirmed, I will work with the combatant commanders to revalidate our posture and ensure it best addresses the threats, challenges, and opportunities in the region to preserve all options for the President while balancing other national security needs. Current budget uncertainty and further significant cuts in the defense budget would make sustaining this critical Gulf presence, and preserving other U.S. interests, extraordinarily difficult.

212. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, do we have enough missile defense assets in the Middle East to adequately protect our partners and allies from an Iranian ballistic missile attack?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the phased adaptive approach takes the appropriate steps to protect our interests in the region. If confirmed, I will make it a priority to assess the adequacy of our missile defense posture in the Middle East to protect our deployed forces, allies, and partners from attack, and will seek adjustments as appropriate. I will also work to strengthen our cooperative relationships in the Middle

East, and encourage our partners to continue to make investments in missile defense.

#### LISTENING TO COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND

213. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, our commanders on the ground in both Iraq and Afghanistan asked for a surge to achieve national security objectives – and you disagreed with both of them.

How much weight will you give your combat commanders on the ground when you make future decisions or recommendations to the President?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I would of course place great weight on the assessments and recommendations of combatant commanders and theater commanders on how best to achieve our military and national security objectives in their theater. If confirmed, it would be my responsibility to weigh their recommendations against global risk and force posture, and to offer that judgment to the President alongside theirs. If confirmed, I will honor the principles, enshrined in law, that allow the Chairman and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to voice their best military advice to the President. I will continue to foster an environment that welcomes critical thinking and diversity of views from theater commanders, combatant commanders, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as better and wiser strategic choices will result.

#### RUSSIA RESET

214. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, the administration has made major efforts towards resetting our relationship with Russia. However, on major issues such as Syria, Russia remains uncooperative. What is your assessment of the reset with Russia with respect to military-to-military relations?

Mr. HAGEL. Although we do not see eye-to-eye with Russia on every issue, there are many areas of cooperation that have been positive, including transit into and out of Afghanistan, support on sanctions against Iran, and increased transparency on military reform and modernization.

215. Senator INHOFE. Mr. Hagel, what areas do you see for future increased military cooperation with Russia?

Mr. HAGEL. The enhanced bilateral military relationship we have developed with Russia under the reset is worthwhile. If confirmed, I would seek to continue it, while considering what adjustments may be needed. My understanding is that DOD has been pursuing several areas of increased cooperation with Russia, with a focus on developing transparency by providing a reliable and predictable channel of communications between our militaries. If confirmed, I would seek to increase U.S. consultations with Russia on its internal defense reform efforts, such as modern military recruitment, compensation and benefits systems, and developing noncommissioned officers. Assisting the Russian military to enact reforms in these areas will help make it a more confident, secure and stable organization. If confirmed, I would also seek to pursue cooperation with Russia on strategic issues critical to both of our Nations, such as counterterrorism and missile defense.

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN

##### AFGHANISTAN

216. Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Hagel, in an interview with the Financial Times on August 29, 2011, you are quoted as saying, “I disagreed with President Obama, his decision to surge in Afghanistan, as I did with President Bush on the surge in Iraq.” Do you unequivocally stand by your statement that you disagreed with President Obama’s decision to surge troops in Afghanistan?

Mr. HAGEL. I did disagree with President Obama’s decision to surge troops to Afghanistan. Notwithstanding any past differences in view, if confirmed, I will work with our military commanders and Joint Chiefs to ensure that President Obama has the best possible advice in developing and implementing a strategy that best protects our national interests.

217. Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Hagel, do you advocate the full withdrawal of U.S. forces by the end of 2014?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the President’s plan to transition full security responsibility to the Afghan National Security Forces by the end of 2014, and to retain an enduring commitment in the future. As the President has stated, a residual force after

2014 would focus on two primary missions: to deny safe haven to al Qaeda and its affiliates; and to train, advise, and assist the Afghan forces so they can maintain their own security. I further support the President's position that any residual U.S. force would have to be at the invitation of the Afghan Government and would need to be guaranteed certain legal protections, which will be negotiated under the Bilateral Security Agreement.

## SYRIA

218. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, more than 60,000 Syrians have been killed in some 22 months of conflict between the rebels and the Assad regime. You are quoted in an August 29, 2011, interview with the Financial Times, as saying, "I think Syria, the outcome there has far more important consequences for America's national interests than Libya." Should the United States provide at least the same level of support to anti-Assad forces as we provided to anti-Qaddafi forces?

Mr. HAGEL. I continue to believe that the United States has significant national security stakes in the outcome in Syria. I believe that the steps taken by the administration to date, including political, diplomatic and economic pressure, as well as assisting the unarmed opposition, have been appropriate. If confirmed I will support the President's ongoing reassessment of the continuously changing dynamics on the ground in Syria, to determine what additional steps may be appropriate.

219. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, are U.S. forces capable of executing, without operational support from international partners, no fly zones in Syria?

Mr. HAGEL. While I have not been briefed in detail on U.S. capabilities for such a mission, I am confident that the U.S. military could enforce a no-fly zone over Syria. However, because Syria has an advanced air defense network, I understand that such a mission could involve a significant number of and risk to U.S. forces.

220. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the United States should deny Assad his use of air power?

Mr. HAGEL. The President has said Assad must go, and a democratic political transition should remain our goal. If confirmed, I will support the current focus on weakening the Assad regime through political, diplomatic, and economic pressure, as well as assisting the unarmed opposition. Regarding any additional options, military and non-military, if confirmed, I will support the President's continuing reassessment of what additional steps may be appropriate.

221. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the United States should provide arms, intelligence, or other military support to Syrian rebels?

Mr. HAGEL. I do not believe that providing lethal support to the armed opposition at this time would improve the terrible situation in Syria; however, this question should continue to be re-evaluated over time. The Syrian people are in urgent need of assistance during this difficult period, and the United States is helping to address those basic needs by providing medical assistance, humanitarian assistance, and political support on the international stage.

## IRAQ

222. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, do you regard the 2007 Iraq surge as a mistake?

Mr. HAGEL. When former President Bush announced his decision to surge troops to Iraq in 2007, I was against it. I thought the Bush administration had not defined a clear end state for the war in Iraq, and under these circumstances I did not believe that adding more U.S. troops was worth the likely cost in American lives. It is now clear that a combination of steps including the surge, improved counter-terrorism techniques, and the Anbar Awakening, contributed to reducing violence in Iraq. The cost of the surge in American lives was almost 1,200 dead and thousands wounded. What is still not clear, however, is what role the surge played relative to the other steps that we took, or what would have happened if we had not undertaken the surge; those are questions for historians.

223. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, could the other factors that contributed to the stability of Iraq circa 2007, such as the Anbar Awakening, have succeeded without the surge?

Mr. HAGEL. The Anbar Awakening was an important development—along with the Shia militant ceasefire—that was a result of the decision of the Iraqi people to take back their country from extremist forces. Many of the Anbar Awakening tribes



fought alongside our troops, and they should be commended for their efforts. Over 100,000 young Sunis were paid by the United States between \$350 and \$500 per month of helping us. Our troops benefited from the Awakening and in turn the Awakening forces were further bolstered by the support offered by our troops. But ultimately, it is difficult to make a judgment on the causal relationship between the surge and the Anbar Awakening. Again, this will be a question best reserved for history to make an ultimate judgment.

224. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, you advocated the complete withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Iraq by 2011, rather than negotiating an agreement for an enduring presence of U.S. forces. The President ultimately did exactly what you recommended—reportedly against the advice of his military leaders. Do you believe that Iraq is more stable and better off today as a result?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, I fully supported the withdrawal of all U.S. combat forces from Iraq by December 2011 in accordance with the November 2008 U.S.-Iraq Security Agreement. It was the right decision and it gave the Iraqis the chance to take full ownership and responsibility for their country. Iraq is better off today because of it. The drawdown has allowed us to chart a new path in our strategic partnership with a sovereign Iraq based on mutual interests and mutual respect.

While Iraq is a better place today, it is clear that Iraq has a long way to go to move beyond a history of violence and instability. Iraq continues to face security challenges, but our focus must be on the future. A normalized relationship between our two countries, based on mutual respect and mutual interests, is the best way to advance U.S., Iraqi, and regional interests. If confirmed, I will continue Secretary Panetta's work to strengthen our military-to-military relationship with Iraq, and further its re-integration into the region.

#### DOD BUDGET

225. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, if additional resources are necessary to meet our national security needs, would you advocate for a restoration of some of the \$487 billion the President plans to cut from future defense budgets?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will work with the President, OMB, and Congress to provide the military capability necessary to defend our Nation. I recognize that the Budget Control Act of 2011 requires that to be done within constrained resources. I believe we can defend the Nation within those limits. If confirmed, I would expect to consult with the President and Congress as circumstances change. However, I do believe that if significant multi-year reductions in funding take place (such as those required by sequestration), the Department would need to revise the defense strategy.

226. Mr. Hagel, do you agree with former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates that a 10 percent, or approximately \$50 billion, cut to defense spending in 1 year "operationally would be catastrophic"?

Mr. HAGEL. As both Secretaries Gates and Panetta repeatedly stated, sequestration—both the size and the arbitrary manner of these cuts—would be devastating to the Department. It would harm military readiness and disrupt each and every investment program. Based on my assessment to date, I share their concern. I urge Congress to eliminate the sequester threat permanently and pass a balanced deficit-reduction plan.

#### FORCE STRUCTURE AND END STRENGTH

227. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, do you support the President's plan to reduce military force structure over the next few years, including reducing Army end strength to approximately 490,000 soldiers by 2017?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will be committed to maintaining the best Army in the world—capable and ready—an Army that will support the mission requirements associated with our defense strategy. In the future our Army will not be sized for large-scale, long-duration stability operations, but instead have the agility to respond where the Nation needs it. I support an Army that is sized according to the defense strategy and the mission requirements that support that strategy.

228. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, given our poor track record of predicting future requirements for ground forces, what do you believe to be the justification for reducing the size of the Army and Marine Corps so dramatically?

Mr. HAGEL. Our force structure and end strength levels should support the overall national security and defense strategies. The defense strategy places emphasis on a smaller, leaner force that is agile, flexible, and ready to deploy quickly; not a force that is sized for large, protracted stability operations. You are right that we have a poor track record in predicting the future. But we have shown that we can rapidly grow our ground forces, if necessary. We also plan to preserve readiness in our Reserve Forces.

229. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, the President has exempted military personnel accounts from cuts related to budget sequestration. Do you agree that cutting training and equipment funding without proportional cuts to military personnel accounts will lead to a hollow force?

Mr. HAGEL. In general, I agree that we must maintain the right balance of end-strength, modernization, and training to guard against a hollow force. However, in the case of the blunt instrument of sequestration, I support the President's exemption of military personnel accounts in fiscal year 2013 due to the fact that across-the-board reductions would be inadvisable for the morale of the force and not cost-effective.

230. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, in the context of overall budget reductions, not specifically budget sequestration, would you recommend curtailing civilian personnel by amounts proportional to cuts made to the military personnel accounts?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that Secretary Panetta has directed an internal scrub to see where savings can be made in civilian personnel accounts. To me this is a prudent review, and something the Department should do continuously. However, it is not clear that a reduction of a certain percentage of uniform personnel can be met with a corresponding reduction in civilian personnel. The two serve different functions, and in some cases, for example cyber efforts, we foresee a growth in civilian personnel. But if confirmed, this is an area I intend to look at closely.

231. Senator McCAIN. Mr. Hagel, do you intend to comply with section 955 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013, which directs savings in civilian personnel and service contractor workforces of DOD?

Mr. HAGEL. If I am confirmed, I will ensure the Department complies with section 955.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR SAXBY CHAMBLISS

##### GULF REGION MILITARY POSTURE

232. Senator CHAMBLISS. Mr. Hagel, in hindsight it appears your assessment was wrong on both the effectiveness of the Iraq surge and on our method of withdrawal. Some argue that our departure from Iraq and our subsequent disengagement have opened the door to greater Iranian influence in Iraq and strengthened Teheran's position in the Middle East. What alterations, if any, are necessary to our military force posture in the Gulf Region to deter Iranian regional ambitions and support international diplomatic efforts to stop Iran's effort to acquire nuclear weapons?

Mr. HAGEL. In my view, our military posture in the Middle East region remains strong and is a critical component of the President's multi-vector strategy to ensure Iran does not acquire a nuclear weapon. If confirmed, I will continue to work with the Joint Chiefs and the CENTCOM Commander to ensure that the Department is fully prepared and adequately postured for any military contingencies in this critically important region, particularly with respect to Iran and the President's firm commitment to prevent it from acquiring a nuclear weapon.

##### MILITARY READINESS DEPOTS

233. Senator CHAMBLISS. Mr. Hagel, Georgia is home to two of our critical defense depots—Warner Robins Air Logistics Complex and Marine Corps Logistics Base-Albany. One sequestration scenario directs the Military Services to cancel vital 3rd and 4th quarter depot-level maintenance activities. This will have an immediate and lasting impact on military readiness and make it difficult to recover a force that has seen combat for the better part of 2 decades. Furthermore, thousands of highly-skilled workers would lose their jobs; and thousands of hours would be lost for flight time, drive time, and repairs that would ensure our military's equipment is ready when the Nation calls upon them. Describe in detail how you will ensure that de-

pots accomplish their mission and not lose the continuity that is vital to the success of our force readiness if sequestration occurs.

Mr. HAGEL. The work done by the skilled workforce at our defense depots is critical to the Defense Department. I agree with Secretary Panetta that the effects of sequestration will be devastating and will lead to a decline in military readiness. If confirmed, I will work with the Secretaries of the Military Departments, Joint Chiefs, and Military Services to sustain readiness as best we can. However, this will be extremely difficult given the impact of sequestration, especially when combined with the effects of a year-long Continuing Resolution. If sequestration occurs, it will likely not be possible to keep our depots fully operating, and this will impact our future readiness.

#### GENERAL/FLAG OFFICER REFORM

234. Senator CHAMBLISS. Mr. Hagel, historically, during military draw-downs, enlisted personnel percentages take the brunt of the attrition while a disproportionate amount of general and flag officers remain in place. It seems we have an excessive number of general officers in the ranks. If confirmed, will you take a closer look at the number of general/flag officer authorizations in the military and the size of their support staffs?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that the Track Four Efficiency Study, initiated by Secretary Gates and continued by Secretary Panetta, identified both Service and joint general and flag officer positions for elimination, realignment, or reduction. Execution of these modifications is planned to continue over the next 2 years.

If confirmed, I would support continued efforts to ensure we maintain the appropriate level of leadership across our joint force, seeking efficiencies as mission and force structure changes allow.

#### DOD FINANCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY

235. Senator CHAMBLISS. Mr. Hagel, in the current fiscal environment it is imperative that we maintain proper financial accountability in DOD. DOD is required to have an auditable financial statement by 2017, an objective that Secretary Panetta accelerated to 2014. What specific steps would you take for DOD to reach this goal by that date?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree financial management improvement is an important priority and support the Department's current plan to have the budgetary statement ready for audit by 2014 and the full set of statements ready by 2017. If confirmed, I intend to review the Department's progress with my senior leadership team on a regular basis and work through them to remove any institutional barriers to achieving this goal.

#### POST-2014 AFGHAN BILATERAL SECURITY AGREEMENT

236. Senator CHAMBLISS. Mr. Hagel, under the strategic partnership agreement signed by the United States and Afghanistan in May 2012, both countries are obligated to negotiate a bilateral security agreement within 1 year. The talks will set conditions for U.S. forces in Afghanistan after 2014 as part of a train, advise, and assist mission. Oversight is key for this process to be successful. We owe it to our military forces to have an organized, methodical plan in order to not squander the incredible effort expended by the United States in Afghanistan. Will you ensure that Congress is involved in the development process with the bilateral security agreement so that the administration is not planning in a potentially disastrous vacuum?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree on the importance of the Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA) for setting the parameters for our forces in Afghanistan after 2014 and with the need to maintain regular communication with Congress as the BSA negotiations proceed. If confirmed, I will support the administration's sustained engagement with Congress throughout the Bilateral Security Agreement negotiation process.

237. Senator CHAMBLISS. Mr. Hagel, from your viewpoint, what conditions need to be set in a post-2014 Afghanistan with U.S. and coalition involvement for the Afghanistan Government to continue to be successful?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that improvements in security conditions, enabled by continued development of the Afghan National Security Forces, will continue to be critical. Good governance, including sustained efforts to end corruption, is also important to ensure that security gains result in sustainable Afghan self-reliance and governance. Regional peace and deepened cooperation between Afghanistan and its neigh-

bors will also be important for long-term success. If confirmed, I will monitor conditions in and around Afghanistan closely and will continue to assess progress in consultation with commanders on the ground and the Joint Chiefs, to ensure that we are helping to set the conditions for continued success in Afghanistan beyond 2014.

---

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR ROGER F. WICKER

USE OF MILITARY FORCE

238. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, in your responses to the advance policy questions, you state that one of the key lessons learned from the Iraq war is the need to think more carefully before using military force, especially regarding the need to plan for all phases of operations before beginning a preemptive conflict.

You have stated repeatedly that the United States should keep all options on the table, to include the use of preemptive military force, to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons. Some military theorists argue that such an attack, even if successful, has the potential to result in a variety of reactions from Iran, including direct attacks on U.S. and allied military forces, attempts to interrupt the flow of commerce through the Strait of Hormuz, and the use of Iranian special operations forces and proxies to conduct destabilizing operations in vulnerable regional countries. Arguably, the second and third order effects of such an attack would be far more widespread than those resulting from the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003.

You also noted in your answers to the advance policy questions that you do not feel knowledgeable enough about how the U.S. military has implemented the lessons learned in Iraq and Afghanistan to make recommendations on additional changes. Why do you believe an attack on Iran is now a viable option, whereas in 2006, you felt differently?

Mr. HAGEL. I am fully committed to the President's policy of preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon, and believe all options should be on the table to achieve that goal. A military attack on Iran would most likely have significant consequences, as you have described. But as I've also said, the military option should be the last option considered. However, a nuclear-armed Iran would have far-reaching and unacceptable consequences on regional stability, and on the security of the United States.

239. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, do you feel the U.S. military is adequately prepared to deal with the repercussions from a strike against Iranian nuclear facilities? If not, what changes would need to be implemented?

Mr. HAGEL. While I do not currently have access to the information needed to answer this question, I have great confidence that General Mattis, the Joint Chiefs, and Secretary Panetta have ensured that the U.S. military is prepared to deal with any repercussions from a strike against Iranian nuclear facilities. If confirmed, I will work with the CENTCOM Commander to refine planning as necessary over time, to ensure that our forces remain ready to take any actions the President directs and to defend themselves and the United States.

240. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, how would you engage regional partners to limit the potential destabilizing effects of a strike on Iranian nuclear facilities?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will continue to promote and advance the Department's military-to-military and defense relations with our key partners in the region. These relationships are critical to advance U.S. strategic interests, including preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, supporting the security of the State of Israel, and building the capacity of partner nations to meet common challenges and address future contingencies, if required.

241. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, do you believe you possess the requisite knowledge about the state of the U.S. military and our allies and that you are ready now, given the current state of affairs with Iran, North Korea, and China, to effectively advise the President on the employment of U.S. military forces towards achieving U.S. strategic objectives?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. If confirmed, advising the President regarding the employment of military forces will be my most important duty. I believe I currently have the judgment and experience necessary to advise the President on such matters and have a clear understanding of the role of our military and alliances in achieving national security objectives. If confirmed, I will ensure that my first priority and responsibility is to match this prior experience with deeper knowledge of the current plans and capabilities of our military.

## U.S. SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY

242. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, would you agree to work closely with this committee and with this Congress in addressing the urgent need to increase our shipbuilding rates?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

243. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you remain committed to ensuring that the vessels we build for our sailors and marines are the finest this Nation can produce and that you will never agree to procuring vessels that do not meet the current military classifications for warships?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I am committed to ensuring the Navy's fleet is appropriately sized and possesses the capabilities necessary to fulfill its role in defending U.S. interests both in peace and wartime. Recognizing the challenges faced within the Department of Navy to build and maintain an affordable and balanced fleet, I am committed to ensuring that survivability shall be addressed on all new surface ships, combat systems and equipment designs, overhauls, conversions, and modernizations in order that the design is provided a balance of survivability performance, risk, and cost within program objectives.

244. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you agree to analyze all avenues of cost reduction in shipbuilding, including multi-year procurements, block buys of material for multiple ships, and level loading the funding profiles to allow shipbuilders to optimize design and material procurement prior to the start of construction?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

245. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, can you provide a rationale for the Defense Logistics Agency's (DLA) move toward a proposed noncommercial model?

Mr. HAGEL. I don't have insight into the specifics of what the DLA proposed model is; however, it is my understanding that the DLA is looking at ways to strengthen its relationships with suppliers to mitigate contract risks. If confirmed, I will be able to look into the details of the specific objectives and actions.

246. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, what additional oversight would such a model provide to ensure the prevention of waste, fraud, and abuse?

Mr. HAGEL. At this time I don't have insight into the DLA model. However I believe it is important that we have transparent contracting practices that reduce risk and prevent fraud, waste, and abuse.

## TAIWAN AND U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

247. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, during an official visit to China in September 2012, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta extended an invitation to his Chinese counterpart, General Liang Guanglie on the People's Liberation Army's (PLA) participation in the biennial RIMPAC in 2014. RIMPAC is the world's largest international maritime warfare exercise, which in 2012 involved over 40 ships and submarines, more than 200 aircraft, and 25,000 personnel from more than 20 countries from the Pan Pacific region.

The Taiwan Strait has long been a potential flashpoint in the region. Taiwan, one of America's important strategic allies in the region, has been constantly under the threat of a growing PLA. If the PLA is to be invited to RIMPAC, I believe we should consider involving Taiwan as well. Would you consider inviting Taiwan's navy to participate in RIMPAC?

Mr. HAGEL. The United States is firm in its commitment to Taiwan's self-defense needs under the Taiwan Relations Act. That relationship includes defense exchanges and other interactions consistent with our unofficial relationship and as provided for in the Taiwan Relations Act. If confirmed, I will work to identify appropriate exchanges and interactions to assist Taiwan's defense capabilities, and contribute to peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

248. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances of 1982 have contributed to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region for the past 3 decades. With the military balance—including air superiority—gradually shifting in China's favor, what are your plans to implement the security commitment the United States has for Taiwan under this framework?

Mr. HAGEL. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China means that Taiwan must devote greater attention

to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan's strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, throughout DOD, and with our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

249. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, as Taiwan is likely to retire some of its older fighter aircraft in the next 5 to 10 years, do you believe that sales of advanced aircraft and submarines are an important next step in this commitment?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that we should make available to Taiwan those defense articles and defense services which enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability, today and into the future. If confirmed, I will look at what specific capabilities those are—or should be—in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland.

#### EXPORT CONTROL REFORM

250. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, during his tenure as Secretary of Defense, Robert Gates championed export control reform. Specifically, he called for streamlining the foreign military sales, release, and disclosure processes. It is vital that our partners and allies have more certainty of timelines for delivery of critical defense articles and services; however, this is not always the case when our processes get bogged down. Is this something you will also champion if confirmed as Secretary of Defense?

Mr. HAGEL. I fully support the reform efforts because I believe they are absolutely necessary to meet 21st century national security challenges. Secretary Gates played a key role in setting the administration's export control reform objectives: a single list, a single licensing agency, a single primary enforcement coordination agency, and a single U.S. Government-wide information technology licensing system. The administration has made progress in this reform effort, but the work continues. DOD has been fully engaged in revising the U.S. Munitions List and I understand that it plans to continue to focus on completing this important work with our interagency partners to produce a list that is more transparent and predictable for government and industry and which focuses on protecting the most important technologies.

I also fully support ongoing efforts within the Department to streamline and improve U.S. technology security and foreign disclosure processes so that decisions are made in a timely fashion and enable us to focus on the protection of the technologies that are most important, while providing important capabilities to our allies and partners. Finally, if confirmed, I would support implementation of the steps that the Department has taken to continue to improve the Foreign Military Sales process.

#### ENERGY CERTIFICATION

251. Senator WICKER. Mr. Hagel, section 2830 of the Military Construction Authorization Act for fiscal year 2012 requires DOD to submit to Congress a report on the cost effectiveness of certain green building standards. Part of the report by DOD found that the adoption of Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design certifications by certain departments of DOD is not the most cost effective practice for energy and water savings. As Secretary of Defense, what policies would you implement to ensure that DOD's green building policies meet the military's primary missions of energy and water savings and do not arbitrarily discriminate against American products such as domestic wood?

Mr. HAGEL. While I am not completely familiar with the different green building standards that are available, I do think we need to adhere to the general philosophy of minimizing life-cycle costs and incorporating features in building construction that result in reduced operating costs and lower utility bills. I will support policies to this effect. I will not support policies that arbitrarily discriminate against American products.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KELLY AYOTTE

##### MEDIUM EXTENDED AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM

252. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, section 221 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 prohibits the use of any funding for Medium Extended Air Defense System (MEADS). Are you aware of this provision?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

253. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you ensure that DOD fully complies with this law?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department fully complies with this law.

254. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, how much fiscal year 2012 MEADS funding remains unobligated and how much has been obligated/expended for MEADS under the terms of the Continuing Resolution?

Mr. HAGEL. It is my understanding that of the \$390 million in the U.S. fiscal year 2012 funding provided to the NATO management office for MEADS, a total of \$335 million has been fully obligated to fund data analysis, archiving the technology and design, capturing performance results, formal contract closeout; and if necessary for termination liabilities for contracts and/or subcontracts. \$55 million of fiscal year 2012 funding was also provided to the U.S. Army for management and oversight of sensitive technologies in MEADS. The Department is consulting with our partners, Germany and Italy, in order to complete as much of the remaining design and development effort as possible while allowing for contract closeout. I understand that \$210 million of the total fiscal year 2012 funds has been expended as of February 1, 2013. No fiscal year 2013 funds are authorized and none have been obligated or expended under the CR.

255. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, for what purpose were these funds obligated?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #254.

#### JOINT LAND ATTACK CRUISE MISSILE DEFENSE ELEVATED NETTED SENSOR SYSTEM

256. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, can you provide an update on the deployment status of Joint Land Attack Cruise Missile Defense Elevated Netted Sensor System (JLENS)?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand JLENS is still in development, and that the Department recently completed a study on JLENS location and operational use. It is my understanding a JLENS deployment site was selected and planning is underway for preparing the site. If confirmed, I will review the status of these preparations with the Secretary of the Army and the Commander of U.S. Northern Command.

257. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you commit to ensuring that JLENS will be deployed in a timely fashion?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #256.

258. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what combatant commands have a validated requirement for JLENS or have expressed an interest in JLENS?

Mr. HAGEL. It is my understanding that because of the unique capabilities of JLENS to detect a range of air threats, CENTCOM, U.S. Southern Command, U.S. Pacific Command, and U.S. Northern Command have expressed interest in this capability.

#### F-35 JOINT STRIKE FIGHTER

259. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your assessment of China and Russia's development of fifth generation fighters?

Mr. HAGEL. I have not reviewed the breadth of the programs in detail, but both China and Russia are pursuing advanced fighter aircraft. We are examining ways to respond to these efforts to upgrade their capabilities.

260. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the F-35 JSF is necessary in an increasingly contested operating environment?

Mr. HAGEL. My view is we cannot let any nation achieve parity with the United States in our ability to control the air. I understand the F-35 will bring advanced capability to the warfighters in a contested environment and ensure the United States can act in our national interest around the globe.

261. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you continue the development and procurement of the fifth generation JSF, including the Marine Corps variant?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will review the F-35 program, to include the Marine Corps variant, to ensure the aircraft are delivered with the capability we need and at a cost we can afford.

## BALLISTIC MISSILE THREATS

262. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, analysts have estimated that Iran may be capable of striking the CONUS with a ballistic missile by 2015. Do you agree with this assessment?

Mr. HAGEL. It is clear that Iran continues to pursue longer-range missiles and develop technology that could allow Iran to deploy an ICBM in the future. I believe that U.S. missile defenses must be prepared to defend the United States today and in the future against any potential threat posed by countries like Iran and North Korea.

263. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, in light of this analysis, Congress included section 221 in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013. This section requires the Secretary of Defense to conduct a study that evaluates three possible additional locations in the United States, including two on the east coast, for future deployment of an interceptor to protect the Homeland against missile threats from countries such as North Korea and Iran. Are you aware of this reporting requirement?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

264. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, do you pledge to have the results of this study delivered to Congress within the timeframe outlined in section 221, as required by law?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will work to ensure that the study is delivered on time and that Congress remains informed about the Department's decisions about how to best protect the U.S. Homeland from this threat.

## SUBMARINE REQUIREMENTS

265. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe the Virginia payload module will mitigate some of the anticipated gap in undersea strike volume?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, although I understand that the cost to include this capability in the *Virginia*-class is a challenge to available shipbuilding resources.

266. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what percent of combatant commander attack submarine requirements were met by the Navy in 2012?

Mr. HAGEL. I have been informed that the Navy has met approximately 60 percent of the combatant commanders' total attack submarine requirements and 100 percent of the Secretary of Defense-approved Global Force Management Allocation Plan adjudicated requirement for Navy support since 2010. The Global Force Management process allows Navy to meet the combatant commanders' highest priority needs as determined by the Secretary of Defense and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

267. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you support Congress' intent to build two *Virginia*-class submarines in 2014?

Mr. HAGEL. Submarines are critically important to our strategy and future; therefore, resources permitting, I would support plans to build two *Virginia*-class submarines in 2014.

## ELECTRONIC WARFARE

268. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your view on the future of electronic warfare/electronic attack?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe the Electronic Warfare/Electronic Attack (EW/EA) will play an increasingly important role in future military operations. It is both an enabler of U.S. operations and a capability that potential adversaries will exploit to counter the longstanding U.S. technological edge in weapon systems. Potential adversaries are pursuing more advanced battlefield systems, including EW/EA, to deny U.S. power projection capabilities and curtail our ability to maneuver, conduct precision strikes, and communicate effectively in a conflict scenario. Continued U.S. investment in EW/EA will be critical to ensuring that the United States can achieve its operational objectives in a timely manner and with a minimum of losses; EW/EA systems will also contribute to the deterrent effect that highly capable U.S. forces exert on potential adversaries.

269. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you believe it still plays a vital role in our national security?



Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #268.

#### U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

270. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you agree that the United States should not initiate negotiations with Russia for a new arms treaty unless and until we can confirm that Russia is fully honoring existing arms treaties with the United States?

Mr. HAGEL. Compliance with legal obligations is central to the effectiveness of arms control treaties, and concerns about non-compliance must be addressed. If confirmed, I will ensure that DOD works with the Department of State and other inter-agency partners in assessing and responding to any compliance concerns. While resolution of such issues with Russia is clearly important, I do not believe that discussions of possible further nuclear arms reductions need await resolution of all compliance issues.

271. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, is Russia fully honoring all existing arms treaties with the United States?

Mr. HAGEL. I do not believe that the Russian Federation is fully honoring all of its obligations under existing arms control treaties. For example, Russia ceased implementing the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty in 2007.

#### PATRIOT MISSILE SYSTEM

272. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, section 226 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 requires the Secretary of the Army to submit a prioritized plan to Congress for the modernization of the Patriot missile system. Are you aware of this requirement?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

273. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you ensure that the Army delivers this plan within the timeframe outlined in section 226, as required by law?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will work with the Secretary of the Army to ensure the Army delivers this plan as required by law.

#### OVERSEAS CEMETERIES

274. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, are you aware that section 2857 in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 requires DOD to designate a Federal or private agency to maintain base cemeteries before closing overseas military bases?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

275. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you ensure that this provision is adhered to, as required by law?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will carry out the direction given to the Department in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013.

#### MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

276. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, are you aware that section 206 in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 authorizes a DOD program to enhance DOD's research, treatment, education, and outreach initiatives focused on addressing the mental health needs of members of the National Guard and Reserve members?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

277. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you share my belief that DOD must address these needs?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I am deeply concerned about the mental health issues faced by our servicemembers and their families. If confirmed, I will be committed to providing the highest quality of mental health care and will comply with the provision in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013.

#### BUDGET AUDITABILITY

278. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, section 1005 in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 that requires DOD to complete a full statement of budget resources by 2014, with the ultimate goal to be full auditability by 2017. Are you aware of this requirement?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes. I understand that those commitments in our current plans have been included in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013.

279. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, do you commit to meeting this statutory requirement and to doing all that you can to promote good financial stewardship and financial transparency at DOD?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree financial management improvement is an important priority and support the Department's current plan to have the budgetary statement ready for audit by 2014 and the full set of statements ready by 2017. If confirmed, I will be committed to achieving this goal and will ensure that senior leaders remain focused on this goal and hold them accountable.

#### WOMEN IN SELECTIVE SERVICE

280. Mr. Hagel, would you support requiring women to register for the Selective Service? Please explain your response.

Mr. HAGEL. I strongly believe all Americans should be able to serve in our Armed Forces to their maximum abilities. The Selective Service Act is administered by an agency outside of DOD. If I am confirmed, I will look forward to participating in any interagency consideration of selective service registration that may occur. We currently have an All-Volunteer Force that is the finest military in the world. I do not want to suggest that it would be necessary or advisable to restore the draft.

#### PROSTHESES FOR SERVICEMEMBERS

281. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, are the prostheses that our servicemembers are receiving after a severe injury the most advanced available on the U.S. market?

Mr. HAGEL. The care and support provided to our wounded, ill, and injured are key focus areas for the Department. I understand that the Department supports, along with the Department of Veterans Affairs, an Extremity Injury and Amputation Center of Excellence and that the standard and quality of care regarding prosthetics meets or exceeds what is provided in the private sector. I also understand that the Department supports a variety of research to ensure cutting edge technology is incorporated into addressing the issues for servicemembers with extremity amputations. This includes advanced research into tissue engineering and transplantation. If confirmed, I will continue to support these collective efforts to improve care.

282. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if not, what actions are being taken to gain access to these prostheses for our servicemembers?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #281.

#### NATIONAL GUARD YOUTH CHALLENGE PROGRAM

283. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, the National Guard Youth Challenge Program (NGYCP) works to intervene in and reclaim the lives of at-risk youth by enhancing their skills, education, and self-discipline. The program has distinguished itself as an effective intervention in the lives of troubled young men and women. Over 110,000 students have graduated from 33 programs nationwide and a majority of these graduates earn their GED and are actively employed following graduation.

The outstanding success enjoyed by the NGYCP is largely a result of the leadership and unique advantages the National Guard brings to the program. The program has also been successful because of the National Guard's emphasis on quality training for the staff.

A 2012 RAND Corporation study highlighted the value of continued investment in the NGYCP. According to the report, the program earned \$2.66 in social benefit from students graduating and becoming productive citizens for every \$1 spent. Yet, only two cents of that original investment was spent on training the program staff.

Based on the critical role training has played in this essential program's success, if confirmed, do you commit to examining funding for the NGYCP staff training to determine how it has changed over time and whether it is sufficient to maintain the quality of the program?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that training plays a large part in the success of the 100,000 cadets who have successfully completed this program. The Department continues to review ways in which to further improve the NGYCP's performance nationwide, including staff training. If confirmed, I will work closely with Reserve component leaders to evaluate funding for training and other resources.

## GUARD AND RESERVES

284. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your view of the appropriate role of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff?

Mr. HAGEL. The Chief of the National Guard Bureau serves as a full member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and as the principal advisor to the Secretary of Defense, through the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on matters involving non-Federalized National Guard forces.

285. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your assessment of the Reserve and how it will fit into this new strategy of smaller, more lethal forces rotating into and out of many locations of strategic interest?

Mr. HAGEL. The Reserve components have served with distinction over more than a decade of war and continue to be a relevant and cost effective part of the Total Force. In a time of declining budgets and complex contingencies, I believe that the Department will continue to call on both Active and Reserve components to accomplish the domestic and overseas requirements of the new strategy. We are still in the process of finding the proper Active component/Reserve component mix that will most effectively accomplish our new strategy in a constrained fiscal environment.

286. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your understanding of the appropriate size and makeup of the Reserve components in light of the current defense strategy and our constrained defense budget?

Mr. HAGEL. The Services each have different requirements for their Reserve Force in their role as force providers. The Service internal force management processes will continue to refine the size and capabilities of each Reserve component to accommodate changes to the defense strategy and reduced budget.

287. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your assessment of advances made in improving Reserve and Guard component mobilization and demobilization procedures, and in what areas do problems still exist?

Mr. HAGEL. The Department has made great improvements to the mobilization and demobilization procedures over the past decade. Over 850,000 Reserve and National Guard members have been effectively mobilized to support contingency and support operations. If confirmed, I would expect the Services to continue to review procedures in order to keep faith with our Reserve component members, their families, and civilian employers and make necessary adjustments as needs are identified.

288. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what do you consider to be the most significant enduring challenges to the enabling of an operational reserve aimed at ensuring Reserve component and Guard readiness for future mobilization requirements?

Mr. HAGEL. The Reserve components currently serve in an operational capacity—available, trained, and equipped for predictable routine deployments. With the projected defense budget, the most significant enduring challenge will be sufficient funding to sustain the operational experience of the Reserve components gained over the past decade of utilization.

289. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, do you see a need to modify current statutory authorities for the mobilization of members of the National Guard and Reserves or to further enhance their ability to perform various national security missions?

Mr. HAGEL. At the present time I believe that appropriate authorities are in place to access the National Guard and Reserves across their full spectrum of mission assignments.

290. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, when will dwell time objectives be met for the Reserve components?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand the vast majority of dwell time goals for the Reserve components are currently being met. As we continue the draw-down in Afghanistan these numbers should continue to improve and it is expected that dwell time objectives will be fully met during the last stages of operations there.

291. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what effect would an inability to meet dwell time objectives have on your decision to implement the planned end strength reductions?

Mr. HAGEL. The ability to meet dwell time objectives will be one of the many factors taken into account when determining proper end strength requirements to meet our emerging strategy. Meeting dwell time objectives is an important factor in keep-

ing faith with our All-Volunteer Force and their families but cannot be the sole factor when considering planned end strength requirements.

292. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what is your understanding and assessment of the current size and structure of the Army's Reserve component?

Mr. HAGEL. The Army Reserve component is currently organized with 350,200 soldiers in the Army National Guard and 205,000 soldiers in the Army Reserve. Any changes to the size or force structure capabilities for the Army Reserve components will be analyzed within the Total Force requirements of the Army and will reflect the projected changes in budget and defense strategy.

293. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, what size or force structure changes, if any, would you propose for either the Army Reserve or the Army National Guard?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #292.

#### INVOLUNTARY SEPARATION

294. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, are you aware of section 525 in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 conference report regarding reports on involuntary separation of members of the Armed Forces?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes.

295. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you comply with this law?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will make certain the Department complies with the provisions of NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013.

#### SIZE OF THE NAVY

296. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, are you aware of section 1015 of the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 conference report related to the size of the Navy?

Mr. HAGEL. Yes, I am aware of the reporting requirement in the NDAA for Fiscal Year 2013 related to the size of the Navy. My understanding is that the Navy has complied with the law and submitted the report to Congress on 1 February 2013. The report was submitted as an unclassified document, and additional information about the Force Structure Assessment was also submitted in a classified document.

297. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed, will you comply with this law?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #296.

#### GLOBAL ZERO REPORT

298. Senator AYOTTE. Mr. Hagel, what specific portions of the May 2012 Global Zero report that you authored do you believe should not be implemented?

Mr. HAGEL. In the Global Zero report we took a longer term view of what might be possible under different circumstances, and the report's illustrative reductions to nuclear forces were just that—intended to provide a stimulus to national debate about how many nuclear weapons are enough and to illustrate a possible pathway forward. If confirmed, I will focus on implementing the recommendations of the 2010 NPR, while also considering what additional steps may be appropriate, and will consult with Congress on the way forward.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR LINDSEY GRAHAM

##### ISRAEL

299. Senator GRAHAM. Mr. Hagel, you were one of four Senators not to sign a bipartisan letter (dated October 12, 2000, circulated by Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott and Senator Tom Daschle) to President Clinton expressing the Senate's solidarity with the State of Israel, at a time when both Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Arafat and the Palestinian Authority failed to restrain or comment on violence by Palestinians in violation of the peace process. If you had a chance to reconsider your decision, would you now choose to sign the letter?

Mr. HAGEL. With respect to this specific October 2000 letter, I wholeheartedly agreed with the objectives at the time—expressing solidarity with Israel at a time of crisis—as I do today. Yet, as the AIPAC Press release of October 13, 2000 states,

I was unable to be reached by the deadline in order to sign the letter. The October 13, 2000 press release explicitly states that while two Senators refused to sign the letter (Senators Abraham (MI) and Byrd (WV)), “Senators Hagel and Gregg (NH) could not be reached” by the deadline.

Although the circumstances and leaders have changed significantly since the letter you referenced was sent in 2000, I continue to support the substance of the letter—expressing solidarity with Israel at a time of crisis—and I will continue to express this solidarity and support as I work with my Israeli counterparts if confirmed as Secretary of Defense. The President has said we have Israel’s back, and I agree.

As my record in the Senate, my public speeches, and writings in my book demonstrate, I have always been a strong supporter of the U.S.-Israel relationship and of Israel’s right to defend itself. Additionally, I was a cosponsor of and voted in favor of a number of pieces of legislation condemning terrorism against Israel, including the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006. The Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006 not only condemned Palestinian terrorism, but also placed restrictions on U.S. assistance to the Palestinian Authority (PA) unless the PA, and all components within it, accepted the quartet principles of renouncing violence, abiding by previous agreements, and recognizing Israel’s right to exist.

#### NATIONAL GUARD

300. Senator GRAHAM. Mr. Hagel, the Reserve Forces Policy Board recently issued a report on the fully burdened and lifecycle cost of military personnel and found that a Reserve component member (National Guard or Reserve) when not activated is one-third the cost of an Active component servicemember. In an era of declining budgets, how do you envision leveraging the cost-effectiveness of the National Guard and Reserve Forces to meet our Nation’s security needs?

Mr. HAGEL. The highly cost effective National Guard and Reserve have served the Nation well both in peacetime and war. During the last 12 years their service has been particularly admirable both overseas and in reacting to many emergencies here at home. Although I have not analyzed the Reserve Forces Policy Board report you cite, I do believe the Guard and Reserve are less costly in a part time status, and clearly provide highly trained ready assets with a high degree of long-term cost efficiency to significantly help sustain the All-Volunteer Force. If confirmed, it would be my intention to maintain a strong Guard and Reserve, and to take advantage of their skills and efficiencies as we structure an affordable military force in an era of challenging budgets.

---

#### QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR DAVID VITTER

##### TAIWAN RELATIONS

301. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances of 1982 have contributed to the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region for the past 3 decades. With the military balance—including air superiority—gradually shifting in China’s favor, what are your plans to implement the security commitment the United States has for Taiwan under this framework?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree that the Taiwan Relations Act has contributed to peace and stability in the region for over 30 years. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China means that Taiwan must devote greater attention to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan’s strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, throughout DOD, and with our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

302. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, as Taiwan is likely to retire some of its older fighter aircraft in the next 5 to 10 years, do you believe that sales of advanced aircraft are an important next step in this commitment?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will look at what specific capabilities will help Taiwan meet its self-defense needs in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland.

303. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, Secretary Leon Panetta previously extended an invitation to China to be part of RIMPAC last year. Do you believe that as one of the U.S. strategic partners in the region it is important to include Taiwan into the RIMPAC exercises? If so, what is your plan to implement this?

Mr. HAGEL. The United States is firm in its commitment to Taiwan's self-defense needs under the Taiwan Relations Act. That relationship includes defense exchanges and other interactions consistent with our unofficial relationship and as provided for in the Taiwan Relations Act. If confirmed, I will work to identify appropriate exchanges and interactions to assist Taiwan's defense capabilities, and contribute to peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

#### MILITARY STRATEGY

304. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, our military leaders have stated that the United States and its military is at a strategic crossroads marked by significant challenges. We have done a remarkable job over the last 12 years at catching up to an enemy that we were largely unprepared for: political Islam and those radical Islamists who seek to impose their ideology in order to rule others—to govern political, social, and civic life, as well as religious life. However, we are currently facing a damaging sequester, additional proposed Navy, Army, and Air Force cuts, while engaging in a shift of U.S. strategy towards Asia that seeks to downplay the difficulty associated with the Middle East and Africa. The report calls for a scaling back of stability operations while suggesting that operations carried out using special operations units and drone strikes be increased or sustained. How do you see the military maintaining its joint readiness training aspects as it draws down from two wars when our strategy appears to be heading down a dangerous road?

Mr. HAGEL. Maintaining ready forces is a priority. If confirmed, I will work with the Joint Chiefs to better understand the basis of their assessment and how we can most effectively address the readiness challenges our military faces.

My sense is that the concerns the Joint Chiefs have expressed about readiness come from a variety of factors, including the challenges of recovering from 10 years of operational stress, of transitioning to a broader range of operations, and of doing all of this in the face of fiscal austerity and budget uncertainty. If confirmed, I will carefully monitor how all of these factors are posing risks to readiness and will work closely with the military and civilian leadership of the Department to mitigate those risks to the greatest extent possible.

305. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, what impact do you think current force posturing will have on our ability to deploy to address potential threats that are posed by North Korea, Iran, and around the globe?

Mr. HAGEL. As described in the 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance, the Department is rebalancing toward the Asia-Pacific while maintaining focus on the Middle-East. I think that the significant U.S. military presence and activities in Asia are a clear demonstration of the enduring U.S. commitment to the region and to addressing current and emerging challenges in the Asia-Pacific. Moreover, if confirmed as Secretary, I would take every step to maintain the ability of America to conduct successful combat operations in more than one region at a time, ensuring that we have the ability to meet threats around the world, as in the Middle East and North Africa, when they arise. Our global posture, engagement with allies and partners, and investment in flexible defense architectures for high-demand capabilities, such as ballistic missile defense, are of great importance.

North Korea's December Taepo Dong II missile launch and recent threats to conduct a third nuclear test underscore the growing North Korean threat to international peace and security. U.S. diplomatic efforts following the December missile launch, particularly with China, resulted in U.N. Security Council Resolution 2087, which affirms the international community's opposition to North Korea's provocations. The tightened sanctions in the resolution will help impede the growth of North Korea's weapons of mass destruction program. If confirmed, I will continue to ensure our military provides the deterrence and defense necessary to protect our allies and our interests. This posture is also the best way to create conditions where diplomacy has the best possible prospects to succeed.

With respect to Iran, I believe that it is critical that the U.S. military maintain a robust presence in the region to counter Iran, reassure our partners, and build partner capacity. Our carrier presence is a key element of this presence. If confirmed, I will work with the combatant commanders to revalidate our posture and ensure it best addresses the threats, challenges, and opportunities in the region to preserve all options for the President while balancing other national security needs.

306. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, you stated in responses to advance policy questions in regard to the Joint Chief's concerns about a hollow force that: "the concerns the Joint Chiefs have expressed about readiness come from a variety of factors, in-

cluding the challenges of recovering from 10 years of operational stress of transitioning to a broader range of operations, and of doing all of this in the face of fiscal austerity and budget uncertainty.”

Successfully meeting our national security strategic objectives with a smaller, overall force will require us to improve our focus on training our servicemembers from the separate branches effectively. Last year General Ray Odierno, USA, Chief of Staff of the Army spoke to this committee about the importance of a joint force that is flexible and adaptive to the challenges of the new environment. Could you please provide assurances that vital training will not be walked away from, training such as Joint Readiness Training Centers where the Air Force and Army conduct training operations that hugely effect fundamental joint operations?

Mr. HAGEL. Maintaining ready forces is of highest priority, especially in a world of ever changing challenges and threats. If confirmed, I will work with the Joint Chiefs to better understand the basis of their assessment and how we can most effectively address the readiness challenges our military faces. The highest yield training exercises will be revisited frequently to ensure that our forces remain flexible and adaptive to meet our new challenges.

307. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, how do you plan to monitor risk and the potential mismatch between constrained resources and demands of operational plans?

Mr. HAGEL. I am deeply impressed by the caliber and capabilities of our military forces. It is vitally important that they be ready to respond to the Nation's needs, and I am concerned that further budget cuts will negatively affect readiness. If confirmed, I will get regular updates by the Joint Chiefs on where we must devote the Department's attention and resources to ensure the readiness of the force.

#### NUCLEAR DETERRENT

308. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, in the Global Zero report, within the context of rebalancing nuclear deterrence you state, “new opportunities will emerge for cooperation with allies and other countries with common security interests.” In your 2008 book you stated that, “the world needs to establish a new global consensus on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation . . . as the world's largest nuclear power the United States has a responsibility to lead in that effort . . .” and that “we must once again convince the world that America has the clear intention of fulfilling the nuclear disarmament commitments that we have made.”

There are nine nuclear powers who are out there and a number of others who are pursuing nuclear capabilities. Do you believe the elimination of the U.S. nuclear triad or Global Strike Command as an independent command will increase the security of the United States and lead to a more peaceful world?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe in the President's long-term vision of a world without nuclear weapons. It is a vision shared by nearly every President since Eisenhower, including Ronald Reagan. I also support the President's commitment that the United States will not disarm unilaterally. If confirmed, I look forward to leading DOD in supporting the President's objectives to reduce the number of nuclear weapons and their roles in national security policy and to create the conditions that will allow others to join with us in this process. Our efforts to modernize the nuclear deterrent and build a responsive infrastructure go hand-in-hand with efforts to reduce the world's nuclear dangers. The United States must have a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent so long as nuclear weapons remain. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the needed leadership focus on this issue and that institutional excellence for nuclear deterrence remains a part of the President's comprehensive approach to nuclear security.

309. Senator VITTER. Mr. Hagel, the Global Zero report would seriously limit B-52s and U.S. nuclear deterrent. Please share your thoughts on how you balance your previous position with your statements that you support our nuclear deterrents.

Mr. HAGEL. In the Global Zero report we took a longer term view of what might be possible under different circumstances. The report's illustrative reductions to nuclear forces were just that—intended to provide a stimulus to national debate about how many nuclear weapons are enough and to illustrate a possible pathway forward. If confirmed, I will focus on implementing the recommendations of the 2010 NPR, while also considering what additional steps may be appropriate, and will consult with Congress on the way forward.

## QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR ROY BLUNT

## JOINT PROFESSIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION

310. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, do you believe Joint Professional Military Education (JPME) helps ensure that the individual Services and other agencies that play a role in national security cooperate effectively?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe JPME, as established under the Goldwater-Nichols Act, has been central to strengthening and integrating the Joint Force. It is my understanding that the JPME system is fundamentally designed to foster cooperation and jointness among the members of the different Services. I also understand that members of the interagency, as well as international partners, attend JPME. As the last decade of war has shown, jointness among our servicemembers and their civilian partners is critical to success.

311. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, if so, what would you do as Secretary of Defense to continue to expand and improve our JPME culture and programs?

Mr. HAGEL. I am not yet familiar with the scope of current JPME programs. If confirmed, I will work with civilian and military leadership to assess the effectiveness of these programs and propose any changes that are deemed necessary.

## DEFENSE BUDGET AND NATIONAL MILITARY STRATEGY

312. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, given the potential severe cuts that could be imposed upon the defense budget due to sequestration, how will you put a process in place to ensure a strategy-driven QDR process that produces recommendations “fully independent of the budget”?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will work with the Department’s leadership team to ensure that the QDR starts with an assessment of the opportunities and challenges that the Nation faces in the emerging global security environment, and then identifies priorities based on our national security interests for defense policy and force planning. The assessment of threats, risks, and opportunities, along with the identification of national security interests, would be undertaken fully independent of the budget. Prioritization of objectives and identification of approaches would follow and be resources informed in order to ensure they are realistic and appropriate.

## CYBER SECURITY

313. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, what should be the DOD’s role in protecting the United States against foreign cyber-attacks to the Homeland?

Mr. HAGEL. DOD has the mission to defend the Nation in cyberspace and to support a whole-of-government effort to address cyber threats. I support this approach. This mission includes a close partnership with DHS in its role of leading efforts for the cybersecurity of U.S. critical infrastructure, and non-DOD unclassified government networks.

314. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, what should be the DOD’s role in protecting the United States against Iranian attacks on the financial sector?

Mr. HAGEL. While I cannot speak to the details of any specific attacks, I believe that DOD should contribute its capabilities to support a whole-of-government effort to address cyber (and other) threats to U.S. national and economic security. The President has made clear that the United States will respond to hostile acts in cyberspace as we would any other threat to our country, and that the United States reserves the right to use all necessary means, including military means as a last resort, to defend our Nation and our interests. I support this approach.

315. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, are we adequately deterring our adversaries in cyberspace?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that a number of important steps have been taken to deter malicious activity in cyberspace, but that the United States must do more to protect public and private networks from cyber threats. DOD should continue to develop its cyber capabilities and expertise, and it should work closely with its public, private, and international partners to deter and discourage malicious behavior. I also believe that legislation providing for increased information sharing on cyber threats and the development of critical infrastructure cybersecurity standards, in partnership with the private sector, would help reduce vulnerabilities and protect our national and economic security.



316. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, are you worried that America's use of cyberwarfare capabilities—such as the famous STUXNET attack on Iran—is setting a dangerous precedent for others?

Mr. HAGEL. I am not able to comment on STUXNET or who was responsible for it, but I do think that the increased frequency of disruptive cyber activities is a clear national security concern. Recent such examples of destructive attacks, such as the Shamoon virus that virtually destroyed 30,000 computers at Saudi Arabian State Oil Company Aramco, are a significant escalation in the cyber threat.

317. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, given our growing dependence on computer networks, should we pursue some sort of a global regime to limit this danger?

Mr. HAGEL. I agree with the President that longstanding norms guiding state behavior, including the law of armed conflict, also apply in cyberspace. I also believe we should continue to press for the development of international cyberspace norms that build upon common principles for responsible state behavior.

#### TAIWAN

318. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, in accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act, the 113th Congress will likely advance commercial relations with and foster future defense sales to Taiwan. However, as China's naval, air, and missile capabilities increase, defending Taiwan will become increasingly difficult. Please describe your security commitments to Taiwan as they relate to the sale of advanced aircraft to the Taiwan Government.

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that the Taiwan Relations Act has contributed to peace and stability in the region for over 30 years. In my view, the increasing complexity and sophistication of the military threat to Taiwan from China means that Taiwan must devote greater attention to asymmetric concepts and innovative technologies to maximize Taiwan's strengths and advantages. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, throughout DOD, and with our interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act. If confirmed, I will look at what specific capabilities self-defense capabilities Taiwan needs in light of the security situation in the Taiwan Strait and the evolving military capabilities on the mainland.

#### U.S. POLICY IN THE CAUCASUS

319. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, how do you assess U.S.-Azerbaijan relations and what will be your policy to expand this strategic partnership?

Mr. HAGEL. I recognize the many shared interests and current cooperation between the United States and Azerbaijan across the foreign policy, economics, energy, and cultural spheres. In particular, the U.S.-Azerbaijan defense relationship is strong, with room to grow. I understand that DOD engages in regular consultations at high levels with Azerbaijani counterparts to identify areas where we can strengthen our cooperation and partnership.

If confirmed, I would continue this senior level engagement with Azerbaijan and continue the Department's commitment to supporting Azerbaijan's defense reforms, ability to interoperate with NATO and deploy to coalition operations, and capacity to address terrorism and other transnational threats and secure its maritime borders and energy infrastructure. I would look for the United States to be Azerbaijan's partner of choice and help Azerbaijan's defense establishment contribute to regional security and stability, such as with Azerbaijan's significant support to international efforts in Afghanistan.

320. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, how should the United States respond to the continued presence of Russian military forces inside internationally-recognized Georgian territory?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that the United States should continue to support Georgia's territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders, and remain steadfast in non-recognition of the occupied territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. We should continue to object to Russia's occupation and militarization of Georgian territory. If confirmed, I would speak out in support of Georgia's territorial integrity and to call on Russia to fulfill its obligations under the 2008 ceasefire agreement, including withdrawal of its forces to pre-conflict positions and free access for humanitarian assistance. I would continue to support the U.S. role as an active participant in the Geneva discussions, working with the co-chairs and others in pursuit of a resolution to the conflict.

We should continue to fully support Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity as we seek to work on practical steps with Russia to promote stability and security on the ground and ultimately, a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

321. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, how do you assess the current U.S. military relationship with countries in the Caucasus region, specifically Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan?

Mr. HAGEL. I believe DOD has fostered strong relations with Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to strengthen each nation's political independence and contributions to broader regional security and stability. I understand that there are regular senior level consultations with each of these partners, in support of defense reforms, interoperability with NATO and support to coalition operations, and building capacity to address the range of transnational threats in the region. I believe that these defense partnerships have produced notable successes, including the significant contributions made by each country to NATO operations. In Afghanistan, Georgia has deployed two battalions of soldiers. Armenia and Azerbaijan have each supplied a company to the NATO International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). Georgia and Azerbaijan provide key transit access into the Afghanistan theater. In Kosovo, Armenia has deployed a platoon of soldiers under U.S. command to the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR).

Our defense partnerships should take into account the many political and security challenges the region faces, among them the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the occupied territories in Georgia. We should design our engagement deliberately so that it carefully contributes to regional stability rather than enflaming existing tensions.

322. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, should the United States deepen its military ties with these nations?

Mr. HAGEL. The United States has a shared interest with Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to partner on the development of each nation as a contributor of security and stability to the broader region. If confirmed, I would continue to engage these nations and seek areas to deepen these partnerships in ways appropriate to our shared interests, political will, available resources, and capacity to absorb new capabilities and missions.

323. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, how will these ties impact U.S. relations with Russia?

Mr. HAGEL. It is prudent to give consideration to how improved ties with one country might affect the broader region. If confirmed, I would support DOD efforts to seek and provide transparency in our defense cooperative relations in the region. I would look for Department engagement to be guided by principles that strive to enhance regional security, the strengthening of responsible defense reforms, and adherence to the rule of law. These principles must also strengthen sovereignty and independence—the United States should continue to emphasize its desire to cooperate and assist, not to dominate or impose. If confirmed, I would support engagement with key states throughout the region, including Russia, and strive to ensure all recognize that U.S. cooperation with one is not at the expense of the cooperation with or security of another.

324. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, do you believe that NATO should expand?

Mr. HAGEL. I support the administration position that NATO's door remains open.

325. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, please describe how U.S. defense policies can ensure the sovereignty and political independence of our regional partners such as Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Mr. HAGEL. The objective of our relations with Azerbaijan and Armenia should be to strengthen each nation's political independence and contributions to broader regional security and stability. We should continue to seek regional stability through our bilateral and multilateral engagement. DOD has an important role to play in those regards, supporting overall U.S. engagement objectives.

#### U.S. AFRICA COMMAND

326. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, undoubtedly, radical fundamentalism and terrorism continues to spread in Northern Africa. What is U.S. Africa Command's (AFRICOM) role in responding to and preventing the spread of terrorism in Mali, Nigeria, Somalia, Libya, and now Egypt?

Mr. HAGEL. Countering terrorism in Africa, just as elsewhere in the world, is a multi-faceted problem requiring a whole-of-government solution. DOD contributes to the counterterrorism mission in Africa primarily by strengthening the defense capabilities of African states and regional organizations, and by working to support African-led operations, such as the African Union Mission in Somalia. AFRICOM is responsible for implementing DOD's counterterrorism and partner capacity-building missions throughout the African continent through military-military exchanges, exercises, and security cooperation on the African continent. When directed, AFRICOM is also prepared to conduct military operations in order to deter and defeat terrorism and other transnational threats, and to provide a security environment conducive to good governance and development.

#### MOVEMENT OF TROOPS TO AUSTRALIA

327. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, please describe the nature, purpose, and strategic importance of our "permanent and constant" commitment to a U.S. military presence in Australia as it relates to countering China's influence and reasserting U.S. interests in the region.

Mr. HAGEL. In 2010, the Prime Minister of Australia and President Obama agreed to establish a rotational U.S. Marine Corps presence in northern Australia. The first rotation of approximately 200 U.S. marines took place from April through September 2012. In addition, closer cooperation between the Royal Australian Air Force and the U.S. Air Force has resulted in increased rotations of U.S. aircraft through northern Australia. These two initiatives further enhance the capabilities of both countries by increasing opportunities for combined training and enabling more effective pursuit of common interests in the Asia-Pacific region. Building on the interoperability developed through joint operations over the past decade in Iraq and Afghanistan, these initiatives will help us deepen that interoperability long after the wars are over. The United States will not build any U.S. bases in Australia. U.S. forces will rotate in and out of Darwin and will be co-located with Australian forces on existing Australian military bases.

Our military cooperation with Australia helps the United States rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region and specifically supports efforts to become more geographically distributed and operationally resilient in the Pacific. U.S.-Australian force posture initiatives are not aimed at any one country. I believe that the U.S. rotational presence in northern Australia and our strong alliance with Australia will lead to further cooperation with a variety of nations. The United States sees many shared regional challenges in the Asia-Pacific, including responding to natural disasters, countering extremism, ensuring freedom of navigation, and enhancing regional stability.

#### SATELLITE AND RADIO SYSTEMS

328. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, DOD's satellite and radio systems are essential to our national security. However, some of the spectrum that DOD currently controls is well-suited for use for commercial mobile broadband services. In fact, the 1755–1780 MHz band, which DOD holds the license for, is particularly well suited for mobile broadband because it is already being used for this purpose internationally. Additionally, the administration has a stated priority, as part of the National Broadband Plan, of making more spectrum available for auction to commercial providers for consumer use. Ostensibly, this plan would include both the reallocation of some broadcast spectrum and of some spectrum licenses held by government users. Can you provide the cost estimate for relocating DOD operations off of the 1755–1780 MHz band?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand that DOD and the other Federal agencies are working through National Telecommunication and Information Agency's (NTIA) established processes to support the President's goal to make 500 MHz available for commercial mobile broadband use. As part of that process, the Department has conducted a detailed study of the cost and operational feasibility of reallocation of the entire 1,755–1,850 MHz band, which is used by the Department to meet mission requirements. The NTIA has reported that it would cost nearly \$13 billion for DOD to vacate the entire 95 MHz, and \$18 billion to cover non-Department systems as well, and that alternate spectrum and adequate time to transition to that alternate spectrum would need to be provided. If I am confirmed, I will direct the Department to consult with NTIA about whether it would be useful for the NTIA to initiate a detailed study of vacating just the lower 25 MHz.

## BASE REALIGNMENT AND CLOSURE COMMISSION

329. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, what is your position on the establishment of a new BRAC Commission to oversee additional domestic base closures?

Mr. HAGEL. I understand Congress did not accept that the administration's proposal for two rounds of BRAC. However, I think it is necessary for the Department to examine its infrastructure and eliminate excess. While the BRAC process is not perfect, it is the best process identified to date, and I believe a fair and comprehensive way to right-size the Department's domestic footprint. If confirmed, I would have to look at the need for BRAC in the future and would work with Congress on any such proposal.

## TACTICAL AVIATION COMPETITION

330. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, DOD faces an upcoming challenge to maintain a competitive and innovative defense industrial base to meet the Nation's tactical aviation needs. The fiscal year 2013 President's budget demonstrates a near-term shift to a single manufacturer for tactical aircraft. This outcome will have significant consequences: with a single-source option for tactical aircraft programs, DOD will lose vital competition that can help drive down costs, leading to potentially more expensive, less capable systems; investment in innovative technology and engineering for tomorrow's capabilities will suffer without a balanced, diverse tactical aviation base; and a limited manufacturing capability will struggle to be flexible to cope with changing demand and there will be no way to manage risk for future developing programs. Today, the F/A-18 program provides DOD with a highly capable, affordable, and available manufacturing line that promotes competition and drives innovation into tactical aviation. It is the only current American tactical aircraft that can fill operational gaps or address the Navy's tactical aviation shortfall. All F/A-18 aircraft—the F/A-18E/F Block II Super Hornet and EA-18G Growler—continue to be delivered on-cost and ahead of schedule. Can you please discuss the importance of maintaining competition in tactical aviation production?

Mr. HAGEL. I recognize that competition in all acquisition programs, including tactical aviation production, is key to affordability, to innovation, and to a strong industrial base. I intend to fully support the continuation of appropriate competition.

331. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, if confirmed as Secretary of Defense, what can DOD do to ensure that the F/A-18 line isn't ended in the near-term, both for the purposes of filling potential operational gaps and managing risk of future tactical aviation programs?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will assess the balance of strike fighter capability, and the state of the F/A-18 production line. I will also ensure the Department supports international sales of the F/A-18.

## INTERNATIONAL SALES

332. Senator BLUNT. Mr. Hagel, in your testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, you discussed the need to protect the core defense industrial base, even during a time that budget challenges will lead to some necessary cuts in spending. One particular way to support the Nation's defense infrastructure is to support international sales of American defense manufacturing. International sales help keep manufacturing facilities alive while ensuring that the engineering expertise and workforce are retained for additional domestic production. Your predecessor, Secretary Panetta, took this responsibility very seriously, advocating for American defense platforms vigorously as they competed against other international options in campaigns abroad. The Military Services can also be strong advocates, although not all demonstrate the same level of commitment to international campaigns. If you are confirmed as Secretary of Defense, can you describe your role—both personally and as a broader policy within DOD—to support international sales of eligible American defense programs? Please discuss on how DOD and the individual Services might better promote American products abroad.

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that international sales help to sustain the defense industrial base, and strengthen our relationship with allies and partners.

If confirmed, I would work closely with the Secretary of State and Congress to shape international sales planning and to support the timely transfer of capability. I would also meet with defense industry leaders to identify areas where foreign sales opportunities exist that would help sustain needed industrial capabilities.

Furthermore, if confirmed, I would continue to build on the foundation established by both Secretaries Gates and Panetta to streamline the Department's foreign military sales process.

---

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR MIKE LEE

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

333. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, nuclear deterrence has been a successful element of our national defense posture for decades. What is your position on and rationale for the number of nuclear warheads and their disposition among the three forms of delivery in order to maintain a credible and successful nuclear deterrent posture for our Nation?

Mr. HAGEL. America's nuclear deterrent for more than 60 years has played a central role in ensuring global security. If confirmed, I will be committed to maintaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal. I believe that a triad of ICBMs, SLBMs, and nuclear-capable heavy bombers continues to support U.S. national security interests under New START limits.

334. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, what do you see as the future of Minuteman III? Mr. HAGEL. With regard to Minuteman III, I am aware that the NDAA for 2007 requires sustaining the Minuteman III weapon system through 2030. If confirmed, I will ensure that the Department continues to assess the whole Minuteman system and its components to be sure that this system is sustained through at least 2030.

F-35

335. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, the Air Force has retired nearly 1,900 aircraft over the past decade, the majority of which have not been replaced. Fighter inventories have been reduced by almost 25 percent and F-22 production was truncated to well below original Air Force requirements. While newer aircraft tend to be more capable than those they replace, even a more capable aircraft can only be in one place at one time. The F-35 is now the sole remaining fighter modernization program in DOD. What is your position on the need for this aircraft and how will you ensure we continue to modernize an aging fighter force?

Mr. HAGEL. My view is we cannot let any other nation achieve parity with the United States in the ability to control the air. My understanding is that other nations are developing modern fighters that will challenge our existing fighters and that the F-35 is needed to maintain our advantage. If confirmed I will review the health of the F-35 program to ensure the aircraft are delivered with the capability we need and at a cost we can afford. I will also examine our options for continued modernization in this critical area.

DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE

336. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, DOD relies on our Nation's defense industrial base to provide and support the equipment needed by our military to fulfill its role in our national defense. What steps would you take to ensure that we have a robust defense industrial base, both public and private, that can reliably and affordably provide and support our military equipment in a timely manner in the future?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will place a high priority on ensuring the continued viability of the industrial base. I will assess the programs the Department has already authorized and that are underway to ensure they meet that goal.

Working closely with the Military Services and industry, I will ensure early identification of those skills and manufacturing capabilities that are both critical and increasingly fragile, and take appropriate actions necessary to preserve those few capabilities.

U.S. ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS

337. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, what role should the United States play within the U.N. peacekeeping missions?

Mr. HAGEL. The United States has historically played an important role in guiding and supporting U.N. peacekeeping missions, and I believe that this approach continues to make good sense. As a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, we should continue to exert leadership across the full spectrum of peacekeeping

activities—from mission inception and establishment, through various phases of operations until mission closure. In such diverse venues as Haiti, Liberia, Sudan and South Sudan, U.N. peacekeeping is making vital contributions to peace and stability in the face of enormous challenges. It will not always make sense for the United States to provide “boots on the ground” to U.N. peacekeeping missions, but I do believe there are likely to be cases where U.S. direct involvement will be in U.S. national interests.

338. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, do you still feel that the United States should deploy ground troops as U.N. peacekeepers in a non-militarized Palestinian state? If not, what has changed?

Mr. HAGEL. I support a two-state solution, with two states living side-by-side in peace and security: the Jewish State of Israel and an independent Palestinian State; each state enjoying self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace. The arrangements necessary to achieve a lasting and effective peace can only be determined by the parties through negotiations. In addressing the specific security arrangements, these details will also need to be determined by the parties, along with the other final status issues. Israel must be able to defend itself—by itself—against any threat. The security provisions in a final peace deal must be robust enough to prevent a resurgence of terrorism; to stop the infiltration of weapons; and to provide effective border security. The United States, and the international community, should be prepared to support these security requirements as requested by the parties.

#### MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN ASIA

339. Senator LEE. Mr. Hagel, in your opinion what effect will the recent shift to the Pacific bring to Asian countries? What will the shift mean for: Russia, China, North Korea, Japan, and the Republic of China?

Mr. HAGEL. The President has said that the rebalance to the Asia-Pacific is a whole-of-government effort to renew and deepen U.S. engagement throughout the Asia-Pacific. This policy is not a new shift, but an increased assertion of this region's relative economic, political, and security importance—one with which I agree. A key tenet of the rebalance should continue to be modernizing our alliances and deepening partnerships, especially through increased regional engagement and capacity building, bilaterally and multilaterally.

Japan is the linchpin of our presence in Asia. Japan is an increasingly critical partner in missile defense, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, maritime security, and other important areas. I would continue the work of my predecessors to broaden and deepen this critical alliance to ensure that it is capable of responding to the security challenges of the 21st century.

The United States has a similarly robust relationship with the Republic of Korea (ROK). My understanding is that we have a comprehensive agenda aimed at facilitating the smooth transfer of wartime operational control in 2015, and ensuring the ROK Government has the capabilities necessary to defend the peninsula. I would continue these important efforts, and would also continue to stress the importance of trilateral ties between Japan, the ROK, and the United States.

The Taiwan Relations Act provides that the United States “will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability.” That policy has contributed to peace and stability in the region for over 30 years and is consistent with longstanding U.S. policy, which calls for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue in a manner acceptable to the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. If confirmed, I would work closely with Congress, the Commander of U.S. Pacific Command, and the Department's interagency partners to ensure the continued effective implementation of all of the relevant provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

Our relationship with China will be critical in the rebalance. We will continue to build our partnership with China based on practical steps to address shared challenges and interests in the region while also monitoring the rapid modernization of China's military and assertion of territorial claims in the region.

Through the rebalance we will work with our partners to deter destabilizing and provocative behavior by North Korea, including its proliferation activities, ballistic missile program, and nuclear program which continue to present a serious threat to the United States, our regional allies, and the international community. We will also ensure that we can deter and, if necessary, defeat North Korean aggression.

The United States will work to build trust and understanding with Russia in areas of mutual interest in Asia and encourage it to be a contributor across a broad range of issues in the region.

---

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR TED CRUZ

IRAN SANCTIONS

340. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, you claim to have voted against the renewal of the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act (ILSA) in 2001 because “I thought there might be other ways to harness our vast power and that of our allies.” Please specify what other ways would have been more effective than the sanctions imposed by ILSA.

Mr. HAGEL. I believe that multilateral sanctions against Iran, backed by a unified world community, are the most effective sanctions. For example, the multilateral sanctions implemented in U.N. Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1929—which resulted from President Obama’s work in 2010 to cement the Permanent 5 UNSC members in unanimously supporting multilateral efforts—are the most crippling sanctions against Iran in history. Continuing to maintain the international community’s unified stance to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon—to include further sanctions if necessary—is more effective than implementing unilateral sanctions. However, times and circumstances have changed significantly since 2001 and I agree that Iran’s continued pursuit of a nuclear weapon means that further sanctions, both multilateral and unilateral, may be necessary.

341. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, after receiving criticism for your record on sanctions, you wrote in a letter to Senator Barbara Boxer that you now “agree that with Iran’s continued rejection of diplomatic overtures, further effective sanctions, both multilateral and unilateral—may be necessary . . .” In your advance policy questions, you also compliment the President’s strategy on Iran, and acknowledge that it has “included the application of smart, unprecedented, and effective sanctions against the Iranian regime . . .” The sanctions the President has utilized include unilateral sanctions. Why do you now feel you can support unilateral sanctions, when for years in the Senate you opposed their use?

Mr. HAGEL. I continue to fully support President Obama’s policy with respect to sanctions on Iran. While there are some circumstances in which unilateral sanctions are effective, I believe that multilateral sanctions against Iran are the most effective approach. For example, the multilateral sanctions implemented in UNSC Resolution 1929—which resulted from President Obama’s work in 2010 to cement the Permanent 5 UNSC members in unanimously supporting multilateral efforts—are the most crippling sanctions against Iran in history. Continuing to maintain the international community’s unified stance to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon—to include further sanctions if necessary—is more effective than implementing unilateral sanctions.

That said, now that we have built international support for sanctions against Iran, unilateral sanctions are more likely to have a crippling effect. As I wrote to Senator Boxer, I agree that with Iran’s continued pursuit of a nuclear weapon may make further effective sanctions, both multilateral and unilateral, necessary.

342. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, in your advance policy questions, you also state that the President’s strategy on Iran “smartly . . . made clear that all options are on the table” and that you “agree with the President that the United States should take no options off the table in our efforts to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon.” You then promise that, if confirmed, you “will focus intently on ensuring that the U.S. military is, in fact, prepared for any contingency.” Yet in 2010 you told a forum at the Atlantic Council that you were “not so sure it is necessary to continue to say all options are on the table” with respect to Iran. You wrote in your 2008 book *America: Our Next Chapter* that, “the genie of nuclear armaments is already out of the bottle, no matter what Iran does,” and went on to imply that sovereign nation states possessing nuclear weapons could be expected to respond with “some degree of responsible, or at least sane, behavior.” Please clarify your view on whether or not the military option should remain on the table with Iran.

Mr. HAGEL. Let me be clear: I support the President’s policy on Iran of prevention, not containment. We must prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon. I have never advocated for a policy of containment nor have I ever stated the United States could live with a nuclear Iran. In order to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, we must keep all options on the table, including the military option. If confirmed as the Secretary of Defense, I will—as stated previously—ensure that the

U.S. military is planning and prepared for all contingencies. I have consistently argued in favor of keeping all options on the table, including in my September 28, 2012 Washington Post op-ed co-authored with two former CENTCOM commanders, where we said, “Our position is fully consistent with the policy of presidents for more than a decade of keeping all options on the table, including the use of military force, thereby increasing pressure on Iran while working toward a political solution.”

343. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, in regards to the quote in your book, why would you feel that a military option would be necessary, when you seem to believe that the United States and our allies could live with a nuclear Iran?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #342.

#### NUCLEAR WEAPONS

344. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, you are a signatory of Global Zero, an initiative dedicated to the elimination of all nuclear weapons. You were also a member of the six-person Global Zero U.S. Nuclear Policy Commission, headed by retired U.S. Marine Corps General James Cartwright. As a result, your name appears on the Commission’s May 2012 report, which calls for cutting deployed U.S. nuclear warheads from 1,550 to 450 strategic weapons by 2022. In your testimony, you insisted this report was merely illustrative and had no relevance to your actual policy on our nuclear arsenal. Yet in your 2008 book *America: Our Next Chapter*, you wrote with respect to nuclear disarmament: “As the world’s largest nuclear power, the United States has a responsibility to lead in this effort. There is no other way. In particular, we must once again convince the world that America has the clear intention of fulfilling the nuclear disarmament commitments that we have made.” Please explain specifically how you will fulfill the responsibility you believe we have to lead the effort on nuclear disarmament.

Mr. HAGEL. I believe in the President’s long-term vision of a world without nuclear weapons. It is a vision shared by nearly every President since Eisenhower, including Ronald Reagan. I also support the President’s commitment that the United States will not disarm unilaterally. If confirmed, I look forward to leading DOD in supporting the President’s objectives to reduce the number of nuclear weapons and their roles in national security policy and to create the conditions that will allow others to join with us in this process. Our efforts to modernize the nuclear deterrent and build a responsive infrastructure go hand-in-hand with efforts to reduce the world’s nuclear dangers. The United States must have a safe, secure, and effective nuclear deterrent so long as nuclear weapons remain. If confirmed, I will work to ensure the needed leadership focus on this issue and that institutional excellence for nuclear deterrence remains a part of the President’s comprehensive approach to nuclear security.

#### NEGOTIATING WITH RUSSIA

345. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, you have insisted that you have always been a strong proponent of bilateral arms control agreements, and you have spoken warmly in the press (Interview on the Riz Kahn Show, Al Jazeera, 3/21/09) of former President Dimitri Medvedev as a youthful leader with a strong commitment to nuclear arms reduction. Going into the new round of arms talks with Russia that was announced this week, do you consider President Vladimir Putin a similarly reliable negotiating partner?

Mr. HAGEL. While there has been no announcement of new arms control talks, if there are such talks in the future, I would expect President Putin to come to the table as a reliable negotiating partner. Of course, being a “reliable” partner does not mean that President Putin, or any negotiator, will agree with U.S. positions or perspectives. But I expect that he would enter into negotiations as a reliable negotiating partner.

346. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, Senator Kerry was asked during his confirmation hearing about our relationship with Russia and if he would recommend entering into any new arms control measures until all compliance and verification issues regarding existing agreements were fully settled. Would you recommend any new arms control agreements if there are existing verification and compliance issues with current agreements?

Mr. HAGEL. Compliance with legal obligations is central to the effectiveness of arms control treaties, and concerns about noncompliance must be addressed. If con-



firmed, I will ensure that DOD works with the Department of State and other inter-agency partners in assessing and responding to compliance concerns. While resolution of such issues with Russia is clearly important, I do not believe that discussions of possible further nuclear arms reductions need await resolution of all compliance issues. If confirmed, I would have the Department work with the interagency to address any compliance concerns through the existing arrangements established by the respective treaties for that purpose. If resolution in that manner is not possible, the administration should raise the issues with the Russian Federation government at higher levels, including up to the ministerial or presidential level if necessary.

347. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, how specifically would you address these issues?  
Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #346.

348. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, should any new arms control agreements be negotiated, would it be your policy that they will occur through the treaty power and come to the Senate for ratification?

Mr. HAGEL. If confirmed, I will consult closely with Congress regarding any additional arms control agreements—and whether they should occur through the treaty power and come to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification.

#### ISRAEL

349. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, in a number of statements (for example your July 28, 2006, speech to the Brookings Institution), you have spoken highly of the 2002 Beirut Declaration by the Arab League as a “squandered” diplomatic opportunity for both the United States and Israel. Do you believe Israel should be prepared to accept the “achievement of a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem to be agreed upon in accordance with U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194” as per the Declaration?

Mr. HAGEL. I continue to believe, as I did when I cosponsored and voted for the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006, that any partner for peace must renounce violence, abide by previous agreements, and recognize Israel’s right to exist. Negotiations between the parties are the only viable path to peace and the two-state solution, with two states living side by side in peace and security: the Jewish State of Israel and an independent Palestinian State.

With those goals in mind, the Arab Peace Initiative is a step in the right direction toward a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. I do not believe that Israel or the Palestinians should have an agreement imposed on them. The details included in the Arab Peace Initiative, like all details of a peace agreement, will need to be negotiated by the parties. Other Arab states seeking normalization with Israel, as suggested in the Arab Peace Initiative, is an aspirational goal for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

All sides seek a just and lasting peace that will ensure Israel’s security. If confirmed as Secretary of Defense, I look forward to working with Secretary Kerry to assist the administration’s efforts toward peace.

350. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, your 2006 comment to Aaron David Miller about how “The Jewish lobby intimidates a lot of people up here” remains troubling. Do you think that people who advocate for a strong U.S.-Israel relationship—whether you call them part of the Jewish lobby or the Israel lobby—are advancing the interests of a foreign government, namely Israel, above those of the United States?

Mr. HAGEL. In conjunction with his interview with me in 2006, Aaron David-Miller also wrote that, “Hagel is a strong supporter of Israel and believer in shared values.”

As I have stated many times, I regret my unfortunate choice of words regarding the Jewish lobby to describe the pro-Israel lobby. I believe one of the essential elements of our democracy is that every American has the right to express their views to their elected officials. In fact, in that same interview with Aaron Miller, I also said that “Everyone has a right to lobby; that’s as it should be. Come see your Senator, your Congressman, and if you can get the guy to sign your letter: great, wonderful.” I know that the pro-Israel lobby includes Jews and non-Jews whom are all Americans supporting Israel because it is in the interest of the United States. I consider myself to be a pro-Israel American and have supported Israel throughout my career because of our shared values and ideals of democracy.

On expanding U.S.-Israel cooperation, if confirmed, I intend to continue to strengthen our bilateral defense relationship in a number of ways. These include, but are not limited to, missile defense, intelligence sharing, counterterrorism, and

maritime security. I know that over the past 4 years the administration has taken unprecedented steps to expand our cooperation with Israel. Today, with congressional support, the United States provides Israel over \$3 billion annually in Foreign Military Financing (FMF), which is the backbone of our commitment to Israel's defense. In addition, President Obama, Secretaries Gates and Panetta have worked to provide extensive support of over \$270 million to Israel for the Iron Dome counter rocket system. As Iron Dome has proven itself very well in the field and saved many Israeli lives, I intend to continue such support.

This financial support is complemented by extensive military-to-military cooperation, including joint exercises. If confirmed, I will seek to ensure that we build on this cooperation and expand it into new areas as the United States and Israel address emerging threats at this time of historic change in the Middle East. I believe we have a tremendous opportunity for further expansion of our missile defense efforts as well as cooperation in areas like space and cyberspace.

Finally, the foundation for successful cooperation is the close personal relationships U.S. military and defense civilian leaders have with Israeli military and defense leadership. Secretary Gates and Secretary Panetta, as well as the Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, have all developed very close relationships with their counterparts. Continuing with this tradition will be one of my highest priorities if I am confirmed. This will be vital to ensuring that we understand Israel's defense requirements, and to finding ways to address mutual threats that meet our common interests.

351. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, if not, why did you say that you would support the positions of what you called the "Jewish lobby" if you were an Israeli Senator, but that you couldn't since you were a United States Senator who had taken an oath to the United States?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #350.

352. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, how does that not imply that only people loyal to Israel could support the positions of the Jewish lobby?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #350.

353. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, given your disavowal of this remark in your testimony, can you specify how you intend to "expand the depth and breadth of U.S.-Israel cooperation" as you pledged in your January 14, 2013, letter to Senator Barbara Boxer?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #350.

354. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, you have been widely linked in the press with your Atlantic Council colleague Charles W. Freeman, who has been a vocal supporter of your nomination. Please review paragraph 5 from Mr. Freeman's May 4, 2011, speech to the Palestine Center in Washington, DC. (the transcript and video of the speech are available here, if you would like the full context <http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/ht/display/ContentDetails/i/29130/pid/897>):

"Similarly, the cruelties of Israelis to their Arab captives and neighbors, especially in the ongoing siege of Gaza and repeated attacks on the people of Lebanon, have cost the Jewish state much of the global sympathy that the Holocaust previously conferred on it. The racist tyranny of Jewish settlers over West Bank Arabs and the progressive emergence of a version of apartheid in Israel itself are deeply troubling to a growing number of people abroad who have traditionally identified with Israel. Many—perhaps most of the most disaffected—are Jews. They are in the process of dissociating themselves from Israel. They know that, to the extent that Judaism comes to be conflated with racist arrogance (as terrorism is now conflated with Islam), Israeli behavior threatens a rebirth of anti-Semitism in the West. Ironically, Israel—conceived as a refuge and guarantee against European anti-Semitism—has become the sole conceivable stimulus to its revival and globalization. Demonstrably, Israel has been bad for the Palestinians. It is turning out also to be bad for the Jews."

Do you consider Mr. Freeman's statement to be an expression of mainstream thinking on Israel?

Mr. HAGEL. As I told you at the hearing, I have not spoken with Mr. Freeman in several years and do not support his comments. The views expressed in the speech by Chas Freeman that you reference are his own, and, in my opinion, not accurate.

I am pleased that Israeli and U.S. leaders agree that the U.S.-Israel Defense relationship is stronger than ever. I intend to work to continue to strengthen the rela-

tionship and am looking forward, if confirmed, to working closely with my Israeli counterparts.

As I have said consistently throughout my career, Israel has a right to defend itself. Israeli efforts to protect its citizens against the actions of terrorist organizations, including Hamas and Hezbollah, are part of Israel's right to self-defense. Palestinians will not achieve peace or prosperity if Hamas insists on a path of terror and rejection, and Palestinians will never realize their independence through unilateral actions. I continue to believe, as I did when I cosponsored and voted for the Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006, that any partner for peace must renounce violence, abide by previous agreements, and recognize Israel's right to exist. Negotiations between the parties are the only viable path to peace and the two-state solution, with two states living side by side in peace and security: the Jewish State of Israel and an independent Palestinian State.

355. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, would you affirm that if confirmed, you will not recommend the nomination or appointment of Mr. Freeman to a position in DOD?  
Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #354.

#### U.S. TROOPS TO U.N. MISSION

356. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, in a 2009 report that you co-authored for the U.S./Middle East Project, you advocated for the deployment of U.S. ground troops as U.N. peacekeepers in a "non-militarized Palestinian state." That same year, in a piece for the Atlantic Council, you wrote, "No country today has the power to impose its will and values on other nations." These statements seem to hearken back to 2003, when you stated that the United States "must be careful to avert the perception that we are charting a unilateralist course in our foreign policy." Do you believe the United States needs a "permission slip" from the U.N. or another international body before it can engage in military operations—how would you address this concern?

Mr. HAGEL. I do not believe we need a permission slip from the United Nations before we can engage in military operations. The United States will always remain committed to protecting its national security interests whenever necessary. I believe the United States is strongest when we act alongside our partners, with whom we share common interests. I also believe the United States should, and will, act unilaterally when we must, as we did with the Osama bin Laden raid. In every case, we will act in accordance with the standards that govern the use of force, which requires a basis in domestic law and compliance with international law.

#### PLOUGHSHARES FUND

357. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, you currently sit on the board of the Ploughshares Fund. Among the groups that Ploughshares has supported is the National Iranian American Council (NIAC), headed by Trita Parsi. Are you aware that the Ploughshares Fund has given more than \$600,000 to NIAC?

Mr. HAGEL. I completely support one of the primary objectives of the Ploughshares Fund: preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

I was not aware that Ploughshares provided financial support to the NIAC. The Ploughshares Fund is committed to full transparency, publishes all of their funding decisions and complies with all applicable laws and best-practices for a 501(c)3 organization.

My understanding is that the case you referenced focused on a libel lawsuit brought by the NIAC and its president, Trita Parsi, against writer Seid Hassan Daiouleslam. Records of the case do not include the phrase "deep and incontrovertible ties" to high-level agents of the Iranian regime. In fact, Judge John Bates did not analyze or provide judgment on any NIAC ties to the Iranian Government. In his judgment, Judge Bates explicitly wrote that, "Nothing in this opinion should be construed as a finding that defendant's articles [about NIAC ties to the Iranian Government] were true. Defendant did not move for summary judgment on that ground, and it has not been addressed here."

358. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, are you aware that NIAC has ties to the Iranian Government?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #357.

359. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, are you aware of the September 13, 2012, decision rendered by Judge John Bates in the U.S. District Court in Washington, which ex-

posed NIAC's "deep and incontrovertible ties" to high-level agents of the Iranian regime?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #357.

#### CUBA

360. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, in 2002 you referred to Fidel Castro as a "toothless old dinosaur" and praised former President Jimmy Carter's recommended policy of relaxed sanctions and diplomatic engagement as "exactly right". In 2008, you were a signatory to a letter to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice urging the U.S. relax sanctions and engage Cuba due to Castro's "imminent departure". As of February 1, 2013, the Castros have not departed Cuba or shown any indication that additional concessions from the United States would modify their repressive regime. An American contractor, Alan Gross, languishes in a Cuban prison. Do you still believe Mr. Carter's recommended policy towards Cuba is "exactly right"?

Mr. HAGEL. I support President Obama's Cuba policy which is focused on supporting the Cuban people's desire to freely determine their future, reducing their dependence on the Cuban state, and pursuing the widely shared goal of a Cuba that respects the universal human rights of all its citizens. The President's actions to facilitate family travel, people to people travel, the flow of remittances into private hands, and information to, from, and within Cuba have contributed to this objective. I share the President's view that the Cuban Government must change its outdated political model to reflect the commitments undertaken by other governments in the Hemisphere to promote and defend representative democracy. Policy matters and other diplomatic issues involving Cuba are led by the State Department.

361. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, would relaxing sanctions and engaging with the Castros be the hallmarks of your policy towards Cuba, should you be confirmed?

Mr. HAGEL. See answer to Question #360.

#### NORTH KOREA

362. Senator CRUZ. Mr. Hagel, in a 2003 interview with PBS, you declared that isolating North Korea was the last thing the United States should do. Despite a decade of attempted engagement and negotiations, North Korea remains overtly hostile to the United States and is actively pursuing weapons targeted at us and our allies. Given North Korea's dismal record on negotiating in good faith, how specifically would the additional outreach you advocated in 2003 have improved our position in relationship to North Korea today?

Mr. HAGEL. Since my interview with PBS in early 2003, diplomatic efforts through the Six-Party Talks led to the September 2005 Joint Statement, under which the Six Parties reaffirmed the goal of verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and North Korea committed to abandoning all nuclear weapons and existing nuclear programs. In February 2007, the Six-Party process resulted in North Korea's agreement to shut down its Yongbyon nuclear facility in exchange for heavy fuel oil and talks aimed at normalization of relations with the United States and Japan. President Obama extended his hand to North Korea at the start of his administration in 2009. Although these engagement efforts have not significantly diminished North Korea's belligerence or pursuit of nuclear weapons, they have united the international community, including China, against North Korea's irresponsible behavior.

If confirmed, I would continue to support diplomatic engagement and ensure that our military provides the deterrence and defense necessary to create a stable regional environment where diplomacy can succeed. If confirmed, I will also ensure that we have the capabilities necessary in the Asia-Pacific theater to deter and, if necessary, defeat, North Korean aggression.

[The nomination reference of the Hon. Charles T. Hagel follows:]

#### NOMINATION REFERENCE AND REPORT

AS IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,  
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,  
*January 22, 2013.*

*Ordered,* That the following nomination be referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

Charles Timothy Hagel, of Nebraska, to be Secretary of Defense, vice Leon E. Panetta.

[The biographical sketch of Hon. Charles T. Hagel, which was transmitted to the committee at the time the nomination was referred, follows:]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SENATOR CHARLES T. HAGEL

*Education:*

- Honorary Doctorate Degrees:
  - Georgetown University, College of William and Mary, Marymount University, Creighton University, Bellevue University, Doane College, Midland Lutheran College, and North Central College
- University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha, NE
  - Bachelor of Arts Degree in General Studies, 1971
- Brown Institute for Radio and Television, Minneapolis, MN
  - Degree in Radio and Television Broadcasting, 1966
- Kearney State College, Kearney, NE
  - January 1965–December 1965
- Wayne State College, Wayne, NE
  - September 1964–December 1964

*Employment record:*

- Vietnam War Commemoration Advisory Committee, Arlington, VA
  - Chairman, July 2012–present
- President's Intelligence Advisory Board
  - Co-Chairman, 2009–present
- Atlantic Council, Washington, DC
  - Chairman and Board of Directors
  - February 2009–present
- Defense Policy Board
  - Member, July 2009–present
- President's China 100,000 Strong Initiative
  - Co-Chairman, 2010–2012
- Department of Energy Blue Ribbon Commission on America's Nuclear Future
  - Commissioner, 2009–2011
- Georgetown University
  - Distinguished Professor of National Governance, School of Foreign Service
  - February 2009–present
- Deutsche Bank America, New York, NY
  - Advisory Board Member
  - May 2009–present
- Corsair Capital, New York, NY
  - Advisory Board Member
  - February 2009–present
- McCarthy Capital, Omaha, NE
  - Senior Advisor
  - February 2009–present
- Wolfensohn & Company, New York, NY
  - Director
  - March 2009–December 2010
- Pfizer Boards, New York, NY
  - Advisory Board Member
  - February 2009–December 2010
- Zurich Insurance Group, Zurich in North America, Washington, DC
  - Board of Directors
  - February 2009–present
- M.I.C. Industries, Reston, VA
  - Special Advisor to the Chairman
  - March 2009–present

- National Interest Security Company, Fairfax, VA
  - Board Member
  - March 2009–November 2010
- Elite Training & Security, Fairfax, VA
  - Board Member
  - March 2009–November 2010
- Kasemen, LLC, Fairfax, VA
  - Board Member
  - March 2009–November 2010
- BP Petroleum, Washington, DC
  - Advisor
  - June 2009–March 2010
- Chevron Corporation, San Ramon, CA
  - Board of Directors
  - April 2010–present
- Gallup, Washington, DC
  - Senior Advisor
  - July 2011–present
- Washington Speakers Bureau, Alexandria, VA
  - Speaker
  - February 2009–present
- U.S. Senate
  - 1997–2009, Two Terms, State of Nebraska
  - Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee
  - Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
  - Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Economic Policy, Export and Trade Promotion
  - Chairman, Senate Banking Subcommittee on International Trade and Finance
  - Senate Banking Subcommittee on Securities and Investment
  - Chairman, Congressional-Executive Commission on China
  - Chairman, Senate Climate Change Observer Group

*Honors and awards:*

- Global Leadership Award from the International Student House, 2012
- World Affairs Council of Washington DC International Public Service Award in Recognition of Outstanding Global Leadership
- 2nd Degree Order of Dostyk Award from the President & Government of Kazakhstan
- Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund's Charles "Mac" Mathias Award
- Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany
- Commander's Cross With Star of the Order of Merit of The Republic of Poland
- Brown College Distinguished Alumni Award, 2010
- Clifford P. Case Professor of Public Affairs at Rutgers University, 2010
- Ralph J. Bunch Award for Diplomatic Excellence from the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, 2010
- Citigroup Foundation Lecturer at the University of Michigan's Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, 2009
- Third Annual Eugene J. McCarthy Lecturer at St. John University Minnesota, 2009
- Junior Statesman of the Year Foundation Award, 2009
- Committee on Education Funding Special Recognition Award, 2009
- Aspen Institute Strategy Group Leadership Award, 2008
- First annual Cordell Hull Award
- Horatio Alger Award from the Horatio Alger Association
- Vietnam Veterans of America Legislator of the Year Award
- Center for the Study of the Presidency's Distinguished Service Medal
- American Farm Bureau Federation's Golden Plow Award
- Distinguished Alumni Award from the University of Nebraska at Omaha
- Secretary of Defense's Medal for Outstanding Civic Achievement
- First World USO Leadership Award
- University of Nebraska-Kearney George W. Norris Distinguished Lecturer Award

- Congressional Award from the Paralyzed Veterans of America, 2008
- United Nations Association of the United States of America's Congressional Leadership Award
- Millard E. Tydings Award for Courage and Leadership in American Politics from the University of Maryland, 2008
- National Urban League Congressional Leadership Award, 2008
- Distinguished Service Award for International Statesmanship from the International Relations Council of Kansas City, 2007
- Luminosity Award from the Bonnie J. Addario Breath Away from the Cure Foundation, 2006
- National Farmers Union Golden Triangle Award, 2006
- University of Nebraska at Omaha's Alumni Award for Excellence in Public Service, 2006
- Don Wagner Leadership Award, 2006
- Omaha World-Herald's 2005 "Midlander of the Year" Award
- Marlin Fitzwater Excellence in Public Communication Award, 2005
- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Public Service Award
- American Association of School Administrators Champion of Children Award 2005
- Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award, 2004
- The Atlantic Council's 2004 Award for Distinguished International Leadership
- Fragile X Research Foundation's Research Beacon Award
- Boy Scouts of America's Good Scout Award
- National Parent Teacher Association's Outstanding Child Advocacy Award and the Committee for Education Funding Special Recognition Award
- University Club's William Howard Taft Public Service Award
- European Institute's Transatlantic Leadership Award
- National School Board Association's Special Recognition Award
- Small Business Administration's Nebraska Veterans Advocate of the Year Award
- USA Engage Congressional Leadership Award
- Housing Policy Council Leadership Award
- Neuro-Optometric Rehabilitation Award, 2008
- U.S. Chamber of Commerce "Spirit of Enterprise" Awards, 2007 and 2008
- Washington Coal Club Annual Achievement Award, 2006
- 82nd Airborne Division Association's Recognition for the "National Airborne Day" Senate Resolution
- Membership in the Consumers for World Trade Hall of Fame
- Friend of the Farm Bureau Award

*U.S. Military honors and awards:*

- Two Purple Hearts with Oak Leaf Cluster
- Army Commendation Medal
- Army Good Conduct Medal
- National Defense Service Medal
- Vietnam Service Medal with Four Bronze Campaign Stars (Vietnam Counteroffensive Phase III 67–68, Tet Counteroffensive 68, Vietnam Counteroffensive IV 68, Vietnam Counteroffensive Phase V 68)
- Ten Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medals
- Two Valorous Unit Awards
- Two Combat Infantry Badges
- Qualification Badge, Rifle, Sharpshooter

---

[The Committee on Armed Services requires all individuals nominated from civilian life by the President to positions requiring the advice and consent of the Senate to complete a form that details the biographical, financial, and other information of the nominee. The form executed by Hon. Charles T. Hagel in connection with his nomination follows:]

UNITED STATES SENATE  
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Room SR-228

Washington, DC 20510-6050

(202) 224-3871

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES FORM

BIOGRAPHICAL AND FINANCIAL INFORMATION REQUESTED OF  
NOMINEES

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NOMINEE: Complete all requested information. If more space is needed use an additional sheet and cite the part of the form and the question number (i.e. A-9, B-4) to which the continuation of your answer applies.

PART A—BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NOMINEE: Biographical information furnished in this part of the form will be made available in committee offices for public inspection prior to the hearings and will also be published in any hearing record as well as made available to the public.

1. **Name:** (Include any former names used.)  
Charles Timothy Hagel (Chuck).
2. **Position to which nominated:**  
Secretary of Defense.
3. **Date of nomination:**  
January 22, 2013.
4. **Address:** (List current place of residence and office addresses.)  
[Nominee responded and the information is contained in the committee's executive files.]
5. **Date and place of birth:**  
October 4, 1946; North Platte, NE.
6. **Marital Status:** (Include maiden name of wife or husband's name.)  
Married to Lillian Ziller Hagel (Maiden name: Ziller).
7. **Names and ages of children:**  
Allyn Elizabeth Hagel (Daughter—22 years old).  
Charles Ziller Hagel (Son—20 years old).
8. **Education:** List secondary and higher education institutions, dates attended, degree received, and date degree granted.
  - University of Nebraska at Omaha; 1969-1971 - Bachelor's General Studies
  - Brown Institute for Radio and Television, Minneapolis, MN; 1966 - Degree in Radio and TV Broadcasting
  - Kearney State College, Nebraska; Jan. 1965-Dec. 1965
  - Wayne State College, Nebraska; Sept. 1964-Dec. 1964
  - St. Bonaventure High School, Columbus, NE; 1961-1964 - Graduate
9. **Employment record:** List all jobs held since college or in the last 10 years, whichever is less, including the title or description of job, name of employer, location of work, and dates of employment.  
See Addendum (Part A - Question 9)
10. **Government experience:** List any advisory, consultative, honorary or other part-time service or positions with Federal, State, or local governments, other than those listed above.
  - Co-Chairman - President's Intelligence Advisory Board
  - Member - Secretary of Defense's Policy Board
  - Co-Chairman - President's China 100,000 Strong Initiative
  - Commissioner - Department of Energy Blue Ribbon Commission on America's Nuclear Future
  - Chairman - Vietnam War Commemoration Advisory Committee
11. **Business relationships:** List all positions currently held as an officer, director, trustee, partner, proprietor, agent, representative, or consultant of any corporation, company, firm, partnership, or other business enterprise, educational, or other institution.



See Addendum (Part A - Question 11).

12. **Memberships:** List all memberships and offices currently held in professional, fraternal, scholarly, civic, business, charitable, and other organizations.

See Addendum (Part A - Question 12).

13. **Political affiliations and activities:**

(a) List all offices with a political party which you have held or any public office for which you have been a candidate.

U.S. Senate (1996) Nebraska - Elected.

U.S. Senate (2002) Nebraska - Re-elected.

(b) List all memberships and offices held in and services rendered to all political parties or election committees during the last 5 years.

None.

(c) Itemize all political contributions to any individual, campaign organization, political party, political action committee, or similar entity of \$100 or more for the past 5 years.

2007 - Derek Schmidt for Attorney General (Kansas) \$1,000.

2011 - Richard Lugar for Senate (Indiana) \$1,000.

2012 - Glenn Freeman for Congress (Nebraska) \$500.

14. **Honors and awards:** List all scholarships, fellowships, honorary society memberships, military medals and any other special recognitions for outstanding service or achievements.

See Addendum (Part A - Question 14).

15. **Published writings:** List the titles, publishers, and dates of books, articles, reports, or other published materials which you have written.

See Addendum (Part A - Question 15).

16. **Speeches:** Provide the committee with two copies of any formal speeches you have delivered during the last 5 years which you have copies of and are on topics relevant to the position for which you have been nominated.

The nominee responded and the information is contained in the committee's executive files.

17. **Commitment regarding nomination, confirmation, and service:**

(a) Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulations governing conflicts of interest?

Yes.

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

No.

(c) If confirmed, will you ensure your staff complies with deadlines established for requested communications, including questions for the record in hearings?

Yes.

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

Yes.

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

Yes.

(f) Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear and testify upon request before this committee?

Yes.

(g) 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?

Yes.

---

## ADDENDUMS

## Addendum (Part A – Question 9)

Name/Address	Position/Nature of Affiliation	Type of Business	Dates (From-To)	Compensated (Yes/No)
Georgetown University (Washington, DC)	Professor	Educational Institution	02/2009 to Present	Yes
Deutsche Bank (New York, NY)	Advisory Board Member	Public Financial Services Co.	05/2009 to Present	Yes
Corsair Capital (New York, NY)	Advisory Board Member	Private Financial Services Co.	02/2009 to Present	Yes
McCarthy Capital (Omaha, NE)	Senior Advisor	Private Financial Services Co.	02/2009 to Present	Yes
Wolfensohn & Company (New York, NY)	Director	Private Financial Services Co.	03/2009 to 12/2010	Yes
Pfizer Boards (New York, NY)	Advisory Board Member	Private Pharm. Co.	02/2009 to 12/2010	Yes
Zurich Insurance Group, Zurich in North America (Washington, DC)	Director	Public Insurance Co.	02/2009 to Present	Yes
M.I.C. Industries (Reston, VA)	Special Advisor to the Chairman	Private Industrial Co.	03/2009 to Present	Yes
National Interest Security Company (Fairfax, VA)	Board Member	Private Company	03/2009 to 11/2010	Yes
Elite Training & Security (Fairfax, VA)	Board Member	Private Company	03/2009 to 11/2010	Yes
Kaseman, LLC (Fairfax, VA)	Board Member	Private Company	03/2009 to 11/2010	Yes
BP Petroleum	Advisor	Private	06/2009 to	Yes

## Addendum (Part A – Question 9)

Name/Address	Position/Name of Affiliation	Type of Business	Dates (to/from)	Compensated (Yes/No)
(Washington, DC)		Company	03/2010	
Chevron Corporation (San Ramon, CA)	Board of Directors	Corporation	04/2010 to Present	Yes
Gallup (Washington, DC)	Senior Advisor	Consulting and Polling Firm	07/2011 to Present	Yes
Washington Speakers Bureau (Alexandria, VA)	Speaker	Speakers Bureau	02/2009 to Present	Yes
United States Senate (Washington, DC)	U.S. Senator	Government	1997 to 2009	Yes

## Addendum (Part A – Question 11)

Name/Address	Position/Nature of Affiliation	Type of Business	Date (To/From)	Compensated (Yes/No)
Georgetown University (Washington, DC)	Distinguished Professor	Educational Institution	02/2009 to Present	Yes
Deutsche Bank (New York, NY)	Advisory Board Member	Public Financial Services Co.	05/2009 to Present	Yes
Corsair Capital (New York, NY)	Advisory Board Member	Private Financial Services Co.	02/2009 to Present	Yes
McCarthy Capital (Omaha, NE)	Senior Advisor	Private Financial Services Co.	02/2009 to Present	Yes
Zurich Insurance Group, Zurich in North America (Washington, DC)	Director	Public Insurance Co.	02/2009 to Present	Yes
M.I.C. Industries (Reston, VA)	Special Advisor to the Chairman	Private Industrial Co.	03/2009 to Present	Yes
Chevron Corporation (San Ramon, CA)	Board of Directors	Corporation	04/2010 to Present	Yes
Gallup (Washington, DC)	Senior Advisor	Consulting and Polling Firm	07/2011 to Present	Yes
Washington Speakers Bureau (Alexandria, VA)	Speaker	Speakers Bureau	02/2009 to Present	Yes

## Addendum (Part A – Question 12)

Name/Address	Position/Nature of Affiliation	Type of Business	Dates (to/from)	Compensated (Yes/No)
Atlantic Council (Washington, DC)	Chairman, Board of Directors	Think Tank	02/2009 to Present	No
Vietnam War Commemoration Advisory Cmte. (Arlington, VA)	Chairman	Department of Defense Advisory Committee	07/2012 to Present	No
Public Broadcasting Service (Crystal City, VA)	Board of Directors	Public Corporation	10/2009 to Present	No
Systemic Risk Council (PEW Charitable Trust & CFA Institute) (Washington, DC)	Council Member	Public Service Organization	06/2012 to Present	No
Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha (Omaha, NE)	Distinguished Professor (honorary position)	Educational Institution	03/2009 to Present	No
Washington Speakers Bureau (Alexandria, VA)	Speaker	Speakers Bureau	02/2009 to Present	Yes
America Abroad Media (Washington, DC)	Advisory Board Member	Non-profit International Media Organization	01/2003 to Present	No
American Security Project (Washington, DC)	Board of Directors	Non-profit Public Policy Organization	2008 to Present	No
Bread for the World (Washington, DC)	Board of Directors	Non-profit Public Advocacy Organization	01/2011 to Present	No
Bonnie J. Addario Lung Cancer Foundation	Honorary Board Member	Think Tank	2009 to Present	No

## Addendum (Part A – Question 12)

Name/Address	Position/Nature of Affiliation	Type of Business	Dates (To/From)	Compensated (Yes/No)
(San Carlos, CA)				
Center for the Study of the Presidency (Washington, DC)	Board of Trustees	Non-profit Educational Organization	05/2009 to Present	No
Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial Commission (Washington, DC)	International Committee Member	Memorial Commission	06/2009 to Present	No
George C. Marshall Research Foundation (Lexington, VA)	Council of Advisors	Foundation	07/2009 to Present	No
Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University (Washington, DC)	Board of Directors	University Institute	12/2009 to Present	No
Global Strategy Forum (London, UK)	Advisory Board Member	International Think Tank	02/2012 to Present	No
Global Zero (Washington, DC)	Board Member (honorary position)	Think Tank	12/2008 to Present	No
Brookings Institute/ Hamilton Project (Washington, DC)	Advisory Council Member	Think Tank (Brookings)	04/2010 to Present	No
Initiative for Global Development (Seattle, WA)	Leadership Council	Non-profit Public Policy Organization	02/2009 to Present	No
Lung Cancer Alliance (Washington, DC)	Honorary Board Member	Think Tank	01/2010 to Present	No

## Addendum (Part A – Question 12)

Name/Address	Position/Nature of Affiliation	Type of Business	Dates (to/from)	Compensated (Yes/No)
International Center Study of Radicalisation (London, UK)	Patron (honorary position)	Think Tank	01/2010 to Present	No
National Bureau of Asian Research, Next Generation Leadership Advisory Board (Seattle, WA)	Advisory Board Member	Non-profit Policy Research Organization	19997 to Present	No
Ploughshares Fund (San Fran., CA)	Board of Directors	Non-profit foundation	03/2009 to Present	No
U.S. Global Leadership Coalition (Washington, DC)	National Security Advisory Council	Non-profit Advocacy Organization	02/2009 to Present	No
U.S. Institute of Peace Middle East Group (Washington, DC)	Senior Member (honorary position)	Think Tank	05/2009 to 2010	No
U.S. Middle East Project (Washington, DC)	Senior Advisor, International Board Member	Think Tank	02/2009 to Present	No
Washington Center for Internships and Academic Seminars (Washington, DC)	Board of Directors	Non-profit Educational Organization	04/2011 to Present	No
Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund Corporate Council (Washington, DC)	Honorary Co-Chair	Memorial Fund	02/1998 to Present	No
Council on Foreign Relations (New York, NY)	Member	Think Tank	1999 to Present	No
American Legion	Life Member		1968 to	No

## Addendum (Part A – Question 12)

Name/Address	Position/Name of Affiliation	Type of Business	Dates (to/from)	Compensated (Yes/No)
			Present	
VFW	Life Member		1968 to Present	No
Vietnam Veterans	Life Member		1968 to Present	No
Paralyzed Veterans of America	Life Member		1968 to Present	No
Purple Heart Assn. America	Life Member		1968 to Present	No



## Addendum (Part A – Question 14)

Among awards and recognitions I have received are:

- 2012 Global Leadership Award from the International Student House
- World Affairs Council of Washington DC International Public Service Award in recognition of Outstanding Global Leadership
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Degree Order of *Dostyk* Award from the President & Government of Kazakhstan
- Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund's Charles "Mac" Mathias Award
- Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany
- The Commander's Cross with Star of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Poland
- 2010 Brown College Distinguished Alumni Award
- 2010 Clifford P. Case Professor of Public Affairs at Rutgers University
- 2010 Ralph J. Bunch Award for Diplomatic Excellence from the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training
- 2009 Citigroup Foundation Lecturer at the University of Michigan's Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy
- 2009 Third Annual Eugene J. McCarthy Lecturer at St. John University Minnesota
- 2009 Junior Statesman of the Year Foundation Award
- 2009 Committee on Education Funding Special Recognition Award
- 2008 Aspen Institute Strategy Group Leadership Award
- First annual Cordell Hull Award
- Horatio Alger Award from the Horatio Alger Association
- Vietnam Veterans of America Legislator of the Year Award
- Center for the Study of the Presidency's Distinguished Service Medal
- American Farm Bureau Federation's Golden Plow Award
- Distinguished Alumni Award from the University of Nebraska at Omaha
- Secretary of Defense's Medal for Outstanding Civic Achievement
- First World USO Leadership Award

## Addendum (Part A – Question 14)

- University of Nebraska-Kearney George W. Norris Distinguished Lecturer Award
- 2008 Congressional Award from the Paralyzed Veterans of America
- United Nations Association of the United States of America's Congressional Leadership Award
- 2008 Millard E. Tydings Award for Courage and Leadership in American Politics from the University of Maryland
- National Urban League 2008 Congressional Leadership Award
- 2007 Distinguished Service Award for International Statesmanship from the International Relations Council of Kansas City
- 2006 Luminosity Award from the Bonnie J. Addario Breath Away from the Cure Foundation
- 2006 National Farmers Union Golden Triangle Award
- University of Nebraska at Omaha's 2006 Alumni Award for Excellence in Public Service
- 2006 Don Wagner Leadership Award
- Omaha World-Herald's 2005 "Midlander of the Year" Award
- 2005 Marlin Fitzwater Excellence in Public Communication Award
- 2005 Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Public Service Award
- 2005 American Association of School Administrators Champion of Children Award
- 2004 Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award
- Atlantic Council's 2004 Award for Distinguished International Leadership
- Fragile X Research Foundation's Research Beacon Award
- Boy Scouts of America's Good Scout Award
- National Parent Teacher Association's Outstanding Child Advocacy Award and the Committee for Education Funding Special Recognition Award
- University Club's William Howard Taft Public Service Award
- European Institute's Transatlantic Leadership Award
- National School Board Association's Special Recognition Award

Addendum (Part A – Question 14)

- Small Business Administration's Nebraska Veterans Advocate of the Year Award
- USA Engage Congressional Leadership Award
- Housing Policy Council Leadership Award
- 2008 Neuro-Optometric Rehabilitation Award
- 2008 and 2007 U.S. Chamber of Commerce "Spirit of Enterprise" Award
- 2006 Washington Coal Club Annual Achievement Award
- 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division Association's Recognition for the "National Airborne Day" Senate Resolution
- Membership in the Consumers for World Trade Hall of Fame
- Friend of the Farm Bureau Award

I hold Honorary Doctorate Degrees from:

- Georgetown University
- The College of William & Mary
- Marymount University
- Creighton University
- Bellevue University
- Doane College
- Midland Lutheran College
- North Central College

I have been awarded the following awards and decorations:

- (2) Purple Hearts with oak leaf cluster
- (1) Army Commendation Medal
- (1) Army Good Conduct Medal
- (1) National Defense Service Medal

Addendum (Part A – Question 14)

- (2) Vietnam Service Medal with four bronze campaign stars (Vietnam Counteroffensive Phase III 67-68, Tet Counteroffensive 68, Vietnam Counteroffensive IV 68, Vietnam Counteroffensive Phase V 68)
- (10) Republic of Vietnam Campaign Medal
- (2) Valorous Unit Award
- (2) Combat Infantry Badge
- (1) Qualification Badge, Rifle, Sharpshooter

## Addendum (Part A—Question 15)

- "What's in a war? The Iran discussion the U.S. must have What's in a war" *The Washington Post*, September 30, 2012
- "Restore funding for languages" *Pacific Daily News*, July 20, 2011
- "Noble Calling, Rich Rewards" *U.S. News & World Report*, November 1, 2010
- "Informed, Engaged Voters Lead to Quality Public Leadership" *USNEWS.com*, October 26, 2010
- "No more delays for new START" *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, September 12, 2010
- "No more delays for New START" *The Washington Post*, September 10, 2010
- "Chuck Hagel: The world has changed, so must our approach to it" *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, September 3, 2009
- "The Limits of Force; Iraq and Afghanistan Aren't Ours to Win or Lose" *The Washington Post*, September 3, 2009
- "Why Going it Alone No Longer Works" *The Washington Post*, September 3, 2009
- "We need a better map of the world" *The Miami Herald*, June 16, 2008
- "U.S. needs new world intelligence map" *Great Falls Tribune*, June 15, 2008
- "U.S. Intelligence still falling short" *The Augusta Chronicle*, June 13, 2008
- "Nebraska is lot more than Big Red football" *Omaha World-Herald*, November 19, 2007
- "A Post-Iraq G.I. Bill" *The New York Times*, November 9, 2007
- "Renewing our infrastructure essential to safety, economy" *Lincoln Journal Star*, August 16, 2007
- "A few of the facts about Iraq" *Lincoln Journal Star*, May 9, 2007
- "In Iraq, few options exist" *Plain Dealer*, April 24, 2007
- "In Iraq, a terrible familiarity brews" *Lincoln Journal Star*, April 22, 2007
- "In Iraq, All Terribly Familiar" *The Washington Post*, April 22, 2007
- "A first step in Iraq" *USA Today*, January 24, 2007
- "'I'm in, And I'm in to win'; Sen. Clinton takes first step in bid to capture the Democratic Party's nomination for White House in '08" *The Times Union*, January 21, 2007

## Addendum (Part A—Question 15)

- "Leaving Iraq, honorably" *Las Cruces Sun-News*, November 29, 2006
- "Exiting Iraq, with honor" *Akron Beacon Journal*, November 28, 2006
- "Leaving honorably" *The State*, November 28, 2006
- "Leaving Iraq, Honorably" *The Washington Post*, November 26, 2006
- "The Border Dividing Arizona" *The New York Times*, October 15, 2006
- "A common-sense compromise on immigration" *The Record*, May 15, 2006
- "This time, let's deal with all the tough immigration decisions" *San Jose Mercury News*, May 14, 2006
- "Oil from arctic refuge a necessary part of energy strategy" *Lincoln Journal Star*, March 20, 2005
- "For those serving in wartime, measures to meet their needs" *Lincoln Journal Star*, January 30, 2005
- "Hold firmly the reins of Mideast peace" *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, December 13, 2004
- "Elections present new chances for hope in the Middle East" *Lincoln Journal Star*, December 12, 2004
- "Intelligence Reform and False Urgency" *The Washington Post*, August 3, 2004
- "Ronald Reagan: American spirit" *Lincoln Journal Star*, June 10, 2004
- "Fighting in Fallujah; Skirmish in Senate over Vietnam War; Bioterror Attacks: The Government Secret Plan to Keep You Safe; Urgent Efforts to Boost Security at Summer Olympics" *CNN*, April 28, 2004
- "We owe debt to Buffalo Soldiers" *Lincoln Journal Star*, February 28, 2004
- "Winning the Peace" *The Washington Post*, April 6, 2003
- "U.S. faces possibilities and perils in Iraq" *Desert News*, December 29, 2002
- "Challenge comes after Saddam" *Lincoln Journal Star*, December 23, 2002
- "WAR WITH IRAQ: Post-Saddam era will prove to be the most challenging" *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 22, 2002
- "Iraq: The Decade After" *The Washington Post*, December 20, 2002
- "Six-Point Proposal for US Middle-East Policy" *Pentagon Brief*, October 2002

## Addendum (Part A—Question 15)

- “We Shouldn’t Make Arafat the Issue” *The Washington Post*, July 19, 2002
- “Yucca Mountain waste project must go forward” *Lincoln Journal Star*, July 9, 2002
- “Can Bush and Putin Control Russia’s Arsenal?” *The New York Times*, November 13, 2001
- “The Challenge of Change” *The Task Ahead: Memos for the winner of the 2012 Presidential Election- A Publication of the Atlantic Council*, May 15, 2012
- “The Challenge of Change” *New Atlantist Blog*, May 15, 2012
- “The US Risks World Leader Role” *New Atlantist Blog*, September 13, 2011
- “Paying for the Consequences of 9/11 Over-reach” *New Atlantist Blog*, September 11, 2011
- “Defining a New World Order” *New Atlantist Blog*, February 22, 2011
- “The Limits of Force: The US in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” *New Atlantist Blog*, December 11, 2009
- America: Our Next Chapter: Tough Questions. Straight Answers; published by Harper Luxe, April 22, 2008

---

[The nominee responded to the questions in Parts B–F of the committee questionnaire. The text of the questionnaire is set forth in the Appendix to this volume. The nominee’s answers to Parts B–F are contained in the committee’s executive files.]

---

## SIGNATURE AND DATE

I hereby state that I have read and signed the foregoing Statement on Biographical and Financial Information and that the information provided therein is, to the best of my knowledge, current, accurate, and complete.

CHARLES T. HAGEL.

This 26th day of January, 2013.

[The nomination of the Hon. Charles T. Hagel was reported to the Senate by Chairman Levin on February 12, 2013, with the recommendation that the nomination be confirmed. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate on February 26, 2013.]