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Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON U.S. NORTHERN
COMMAND AND U.S. SOUTHERN COMMAND IN REVIEW OF THE
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR 2016 AND
THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Thursday, March 12, 2015

Washington, D.C.

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HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
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IN REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR
FISCAL YEAR 2016 AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Thursday, March 12, 2015

U.S. Senate
Committee on Armed Services
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:32 a.m. in Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John McCain, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Committee Members Present: Senators McCain [presiding], Inhofe, Wicker, Ayotte, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Lee, Reed, Nelson, McCaskill, Manchin, Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, and King.

1 OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN McCAIN, U.S. SENATOR
2 FROM ARIZONA

3 Chairman McCain: Good morning. The committee meets
4 today to receive testimony on the posture of U.S. Northern
5 Command and U.S. Southern Command to inform its review of
6 the Defense Authorization Request for Fiscal Year 2016.

7 I would like to extend our appreciation to the
8 witnesses for their many years of distinguished service, and
9 to the soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and their
10 families, who serve our Nation with distinction.

11 General Kelly, this is likely your final appearance
12 before the committee in your current position. And I know
13 how upset you are about that. But, it must be said that the
14 Nation owes you the highest debt of gratitude for your more
15 than 40 years of dedicated service, at which time you have
16 given the most to our Nation that can ever be asked of a
17 military officer and a citizen. I know that I speak for my
18 colleagues when I say that your candor has been as
19 refreshing as it has been valuable to the work we do on the
20 committee. And I implore my colleagues to pay close
21 attention to your testimony today and to heed your warnings
22 to us. It is my sincere hope that your service to the
23 Nation will continue for many years to come.

24 Over the last month, the committee has heard from some
25 of the Nation's most respected leaders on the current global

1 security environment, and their testimony has been crystal
2 clear: Our Nation faces the most complex and challenging
3 array of threats it has in over a half a century. This
4 situation in our own hemisphere is no exception.

5 Compounding the enormous security challenges facing our
6 Nation is the looming threat of sequestration, which is
7 having a devastating impact on the readiness and
8 capabilities of our men and women in uniform. Retired
9 General Jim Mattis rightly told this committee last month,
10 quote, "No foe in the field can wreak such havoc on our
11 security that mindless sequestration is achieving today."

12 I expect our witnesses to candidly update the committee
13 on what sequestration will mean for their ability to
14 accomplish their missions and protect the force. More
15 starkly, we'd like to know, at what point does sequestration
16 push us beyond accepting risk and towards mission failure?

17 Admiral Gortney, this is your first time testifying
18 before the committee as the Commander of U.S. Northern
19 Command and North American Aerospace Defense Command. After
20 nearly 4 months in command, I look to your assessment of the
21 challenges within your area of responsibility, as well as
22 your strategy to confront them. I am particularly
23 interested in your views on the current state of U.S.-
24 Mexican security cooperation and ways in which our two
25 nations can strengthen this vital partnership. Though the

1 President of Mexico's efforts against transnational
2 organized crime have resulted in some notable successes,
3 including the removal of several senior cartel leaders from
4 the battlefield, the security situation remains highly
5 volatile and continues to directly impact the security of
6 our southern border as well as more than 1,200 American
7 cities where these ruthless criminal networks now operate.

8 Additionally, with North Korea moving closer to an
9 operational road-mobile ICBM and Iran publicly stating it
10 intends to launch, as early as this year, a space-launched
11 vehicle capable of ICBM ranges, it's all the more important
12 that the United States expand and modernize its homeland
13 ballistic missile defense system. I support the increase of
14 ground-based interceptors from 30 to 44 by 2017, but we need
15 to be assured that the planned improvements to the ground-
16 based midcourse defense system will stay ahead of the
17 ballistic missile threats to our homeland that are
18 anticipated by the intelligence community.

19 General Kelly, the situation within your area of
20 responsibility represents as complex and challenging a set
21 of problems as I have ever seen in the hemisphere. While
22 there are important success stories like Colombia, the
23 situation in many other parts of the region remain highly
24 unstable. We are all particularly concerned about Central
25 America, which is mired by feeble governance and weak

1 security institutions, high rates of corruption, and is home
2 to several of the most violent countries in the world.
3 Increasingly capable transnational criminal organizations
4 exploit these shortcomings and command multibillion-dollar
5 global networks that traffic in weapons, drugs, bulk cash,
6 human beings, and anything that will earn a profit.
7 Increasingly, their activities directly threaten our
8 national security. Working with our regional partners to
9 arrest the troubling rise in instability must be a priority.

10 I agree with you, General Kelly, that our approach to
11 Central America requires a sustained multiyear commitment
12 similar to what we pursued under Plan Colombia. I hope you
13 will describe in greater detail what a Plan Central America
14 should look like and what role Southern Command would play
15 in such an effort.

16 Additionally, I remain troubled by the lack of
17 appropriate and persistent U.S. support and engagement in
18 the Western Hemisphere, and how sequestration would further
19 erode our already limited presence and programs in the
20 region. We cannot afford to go on treating our own
21 neighborhood as our lowest geographic priority which only
22 receives the level of resources and focus that it deserves
23 when it erupts into crisis. This is a recipe for failure.
24 And I know you feel the same way.

25 In closing, I want to ask you, General Kelly, to pass

1 on the deepest thanks and gratitude of the members of this
2 committee to the military men and women conducting detention
3 operations at Guantanamo Bay. Putting aside politics and
4 the broader debate about the future of this detention
5 facility, the Americans serving there today deserve our
6 utmost appreciation. Theirs is an extraordinarily trying
7 and difficult mission. And, through it all, they continue
8 to serve honorably and with the utmost professionalism. So,
9 General, please extend our thanks to them.

10 Thank the -- you, again, for -- our witnesses for
11 appearing before us today.

12 Senator Reed.

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM RHODE
2 ISLAND

3 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

4 And let me join you in welcoming our witnesses and
5 thank General Kelly for his extraordinary service and his
6 advice and counsel over many years.

7 And welcome, Admiral Gortney. This is your first
8 appearance in your role as the NORTHCOM Commander.

9 And let me also ask you to thank the men and women
10 under your command, and their families, because the --
11 families service, not just individual servicemen and -women.
12 And no one has served more, as the Senator has pointed out,
13 than the Kelly family. So, thank you, General Kelly.

14 Admiral Gortney, as you know, one of the three pillars
15 of our defense strategy, as laid out in last year's
16 Quadrennial Defense Review, is to protect the homeland, to
17 deter and defeat attacks on the United States, and to
18 support civil authorities in mitigating the effects of
19 potential attacks and natural disasters. Similarly,
20 President Obama's National Security Strategy, released last
21 month, emphasizes the defense of our homeland as a primary
22 responsibility. This, simply stated, is your very important
23 mission.

24 To that end, while Admiral Haney, the Commander of
25 STRATCOM, is responsible for synchronizing global missile

1 defense planning and operational support, you are
2 responsible for the operation of our homeland ballistic
3 missile defense system. And we look forward to hearing
4 about the improvements that are planned for the ground-based
5 missile defense system, the progress being made to test,
6 correct, and field additional interceptors, the enhancement
7 of sensors and discrimination capabilities, and the status
8 of the redesigned kill vehicle.

9 In addition, NORTHCOM works closely with other Federal
10 agencies, the Governors, and the National Guard to
11 collaborate on responding to national and manmade disasters,
12 and partners with Canada and Mexico to promote security
13 across our borders. I look forward to hearing, also, about
14 your current efforts on how these would be impacted by the
15 return of sequestration.

16 In Southern Command, one of the primary threats is
17 posed by illegal narcotics trafficking and organized
18 criminal networks. These organizations create devastating
19 instability in nations throughout our hemisphere, including
20 the corruption of civilian and security institutions and
21 brutal violence inflicted upon the people of the region.
22 Whether it is illegal drugs for sale or individuals escaping
23 violence in their hometowns, the consequences of crime do
24 not stop at the border. And what often starts as SOUTHCOM's
25 problem soon becomes NORTHCOM's problem. An obvious answer,

1 then, is to address the problem at its root. But,
2 complicating SOUTHCOM's ability to respond is the fact that
3 sequestration has reduced the military services' support of
4 your requirements and reduced the funding in a defensewide
5 counterdrug account. In your submitted opening statement,
6 General Kelly, you characterized the impact of these
7 reductions as, quote, "managing to keep the pilot light of
8 U.S. military engagement on in the region, but just barely."
9 This is a stark warning, and one that is certainly amplified
10 when considering the cuts on the civilian side of our
11 government, as well.

12 General Kelly, given the physical constraints that are
13 likely to face you, I am interested in your insights into
14 how SOUTHCOM can successfully engage in the region. For
15 example, SOUTHCOM is also training and equipping security
16 forces of friendly nations, training and equipping
17 peacekeepers for deployment to peacekeeping operations
18 across the globe, and enabling, advising, and supporting
19 Colombian military and law enforcement operations. These
20 activities often provide benefits far beyond the investment.
21 How can we leverage these low-cost, high-yield activities?
22 Are there other innovative ideas we should be implementing?

23 General Kelly, Admiral Gortney, you are both
24 exceptional officers whom I am glad are leading these
25 commands, and I look forward to your testimony.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Chairman McCain: Welcome.

3 Who -- Admiral Gortney, do you want to be first? Or
4 General Kelly?

5 Admiral Gortney: We are long-time shipmates.

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1 STATEMENT OF ADMIRAL WILLIAM E. GORTNEY, USN,
2 COMMANDER, U.S. NORTHERN COMMAND AND COMMANDER, NORTH
3 AMERICAN AEROSPACE DEFENSE COMMAND

4 Admiral Gortney: Well, Chairman McCain, Ranking Member
5 Reed, members of the committee, thank you so much for having
6 my shipmate and myself here to talk to you today. It means
7 a great deal.

8 In preparing for today, I thought I would open -- I
9 first thought I would open with my -- a summation of my
10 prepared remarks that I had forwarded for the record. But,
11 after spending, over the past 2 weeks, time with you --
12 thank you for giving me your valuable time -- I think the
13 time would be better spent if we talk about the threats that
14 -- as I see them, in the defense of the homeland, and how it
15 affects us. So, I am going to set my prepared remarks
16 aside, and I want to talk to those threats.

17 And when we look at threats, we look at threats from
18 the most likely to the most dangerous. And so, I want to
19 talk about from the most likely to the most dangerous
20 threats to the homeland. And I think the most likely threat
21 is that transnational criminal network that is using the
22 seams between General Kelly's and my COCOMs and PACOMs, our
23 interagency partners and us, seams between us and our
24 partner nations, and the seams within those countries
25 themselves. In those seams, people are moving drugs, money.

1 As the Chairman said, they are just moving product for
2 profit. And, through those seams -- we need to close those
3 seams, because in those seams, if someone wants to move
4 something that is going to do great damage to our Nation,
5 that is where they will come.

6 The second is homegrown violent extremists. And it's
7 not -- it's a very effective, I'm sorry to say, but
8 sophisticated social media campaign to stir up distrust from
9 American citizens to do harm to American citizens.

10 The third is cyber. The cyber, I am responsible for
11 defending my known networks and to help the lead Federal
12 agency in the aftermath of a cyberattack. But, it's far
13 more significant in that -- is that it would effect --
14 directly effect a cyberattack against a critical
15 infrastructure that I rely on to defend the Nation and we
16 rely on for our Nation to operate. I see that as a
17 significant threat.

18 The next is the North Korean threat, who has the intent
19 and, we assess, the capability to shoot a ballistic missile
20 at our homeland, and, of course, whether Iran will continue
21 on its path.

22 And finally, and the most dangerous, China to Russia.

23 However, as significant as those threats are, as I look
24 at mostly likely and most dangerous, I see the mostly likely
25 and most dangerous threat to my ability to protect the

1 homeland, and that is sequestration. And it's because of
2 how sequestration affects the forces that John and myself
3 and our shipmates that are the other geographic combatant
4 commanders, how it affects the services as they implement
5 the sequestration effect, how it hollows out the force. The
6 services can only go -- have to -- to generate the revenue
7 to meet the sequestration, they must go into the readiness
8 accounts, and as -- which leads to a hollow force. And, as
9 Admiral Greenert said to you a couple of days ago, it delays
10 capability that prevents us from outpacing the threats that
11 is our technological and our advantage in the future
12 battlefield.

13 As NORTHCOM and General Kelly, in SOUTHCOM, we rely on
14 the services in order for us to do our mission. Our
15 forward-deployed commanders, we -- they rely on that
16 capability. And the specific impacts to each one of the
17 missions, I'd like to answer in the questions.

18 And I look forward to your questions.

19 [The prepared statement of General Gortney follows:]

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1 Chairman McCain: General Kelly.
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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL JOHN F. KELLY, USMC, COMMANDER,
2 U.S. SOUTHERN COMMAND

3 General Kelly: Chairman McCain, Ranking Member Reed,
4 distinguished members of the committee, thanks for the
5 opportunity to speak here today about SOUTHCOM's soldiers,
6 sailors, airmen, marines, coastguardsmen, and, just as
7 importantly, the civilian workforce.

8 It's great to be here with my good friend Admiral
9 Gortney. And I can assure you, as he just did, that there
10 is really no gap, no seam, no space between our two
11 organizations. We work very closely together, and we
12 collaborate very, very closely together.

13 I believe SOUTHCOM is the only government organization
14 that is 100-percent dedicated to looking at the issues of
15 Latin America and the Caribbean. My folks don't just pay
16 attention to what's going on in this region of the world.
17 They understand it intimately. They care about it, and they
18 support it. They have helped countries in Latin America
19 improve human rights, worked hand-in-hand with the region to
20 professionalize security and defense forces and rebuild
21 institutions, and they've supported our partners as they win
22 back their streets and countries from drug trafficking and
23 criminal networks, much of which is directly attributable to
24 the drug demand in the United States. I'm proud to lead
25 this outstanding group of people, and I'm proud of the work

1 we're doing in Latin America.

2 As the committee knows, I think, SOUTHCOM's most
3 important mission is to protect the southern approaches to
4 the United States. We do not and cannot do this mission
5 alone. We work side by side with law enforcement
6 professionals in the Department of Homeland Security, the
7 Coast Guard, DEA, FBI, and the Department of Treasury.
8 Together, we all defend the U.S. homeland against
9 transnational criminal networks, illicit trafficking, and
10 the potential movement of terrorists or WMD into the
11 homeland.

12 Mr. Chairman, I'd like to take a moment to commend one
13 of our most valued partners in the U.S. Government, and that
14 is the Central Intelligence Agency. I've had the honor of
15 serving with the CIA all over the world for my entire
16 career, and this includes Iraq and Latin America. Like our
17 men and women in uniform, I believe the men and women of the
18 CIA are the best of their generation. When our country
19 needs them most, the CIA always answers the call. They do
20 what the President asks them to do, as we all do, and they
21 do it with a selflessness and a bravery that is very, very
22 seldom recognized. They step forward without question,
23 without hesitation, with the knowledge they will receive
24 zero recognition for the important work that they do. They
25 willingly put their lives on the line every day. They serve

1 in some of the world's darkest and most dangerous places,
2 executing the most complex, high-risk missions imaginable.
3 And, most often, they do it armed only with their wits.

4 Along with our Armed Forces, law enforcement,
5 intelligence agencies, the CIA is part of an extraordinary
6 team doing essential work to keep our Nation safe. And I
7 believe most of our citizens sleep safe at night because of
8 what the entire team does, and that team starts overseas
9 with what the CIA does.

10 I'd also like to say a few words about our partners in
11 Latin America, one relationship in particular. Mr.
12 Chairman, members, as you know, the United States has a very
13 special relationship with a handful of countries around the
14 world. These relationships are with countries that we rely
15 on as regional stabilizers. These countries are our
16 strongest friends and most steadfast allies. They look at
17 -- in the same -- they look at life and live their lives in
18 the same way that we do.

19 Colombia clearly plays that role in Latin America.
20 But, they are more than just our -- among our most trusted
21 partners, they are the model for winning the fight against
22 violent insurgencies in criminal networks. Colombia has
23 shown us that the key to defeating terrorists in criminal
24 groups is by upholding and defending the very values that
25 these groups threaten: freedom, democracy, and the

1 protection of human rights. Colombia has shown us that
2 security and economic prosperity really do go hand in hand.
3 And at a -- and at great expense in Colombia blood --
4 Colombian blood and Colombian national treasure, they've
5 shown us what the term "national will" really means.

6 In my 30 years in uniform -- over 30 years in uniform,
7 I have never seen a better success story than what I see
8 every day in Colombia. It's one place I believe we got it
9 right, where our support, coupled with a committed partner,
10 brought a country back from the brink, where our engagement
11 in Latin America made a real and lasting difference that's
12 plain to see. Colombia is now stable, thriving, and taking
13 on greater responsibilities to improve international
14 security, not just in Latin America and the Caribbean, but
15 they are looking overseas, as well. In an uncertain and
16 turbulent world, we're lucky to have partners like Colombia.

17 I'd like to thank the committee for its continued
18 support to the Colombian people as they work to achieve a
19 just and lasting peace, which is just about in sight.

20 Members of the committee, I look forward to your
21 questions.

22 Thank you.

23 [The prepared statement of General Kelly follows:]
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1 Chairman McCain: Thank you, General.

2 We're now looking at a proposal for a budget that
3 leaves the sequestration numbers in the numbers as they have
4 been following since we passed the Budget Control Act. If
5 that remains the case, General Kelly, what is your view of
6 what sequestration will do to your ability to carry out your
7 mission and the impact in increased risk to the lives of
8 American men and women serving in uniform?

9 General Kelly: Thanks for that question, Senator.

10 I would tell you, in Latin American Southern Command,
11 it is -- it will be a -- just simply put, a catastrophe. It
12 will essentially put me out of business. I have very, very
13 little work with now. We do most of our work partnering
14 small -- small groups of soldiers, sailors, airmen, and
15 marines, even law enforcement that go down, spend short
16 periods of time advising, assisting many of these groups,
17 whether it's maintenance, human rights, these kind of
18 things.

19 I've queried my components -- the Army, Navy, Air
20 Force, Marines. Their cuts would range from anywhere
21 between 75 percent of -- in the case of the Marines, maybe
22 about 25 percent. But, the point is, I will no longer be able
23 to partner at -- almost at all with the nations that we work
24 with every day. From a drug-flow point of view, I got -- we
25 got, collectively -- the DOD and all of the agencies that do

1 this -- we got 158 metric tons of cocaine last year, without
2 violence, before it ever even made it to Central America. I
3 do that with very, very few ships. I know that if
4 sequestrations happen, I will be down to maybe one Coast
5 Guard, maybe two Coast Guard cutters. That means, of the
6 158 tons I would expect to get this year, I probably, if I'm
7 lucky, will get 20 tons; and all the rest of it just comes
8 into the United States along this incredibly efficient
9 network. So --

10 Chairman McCain: And the risk --

11 General Kelly: -- a catastrophe, Senator.

12 Chairman McCain: And the risk to the lives of the men
13 and women serving?

14 General Kelly: In my part of the world, it'll be, to
15 say the least, a heightened risk in -- again, I'm in a part
16 of the world, as you know, sir, that is relatively peaceful,
17 that there is no real state-on-state problems. But, in
18 other parts of the world, like CENTCOM and EUCOM,
19 potentially, these are -- you know, we could be talking --
20 in my opinion, as just one guy talking, we could be talking
21 not high risk anymore, or severe risk, to our plans, but
22 really we could be talking defeat if sequestration happens.

23 Chairman McCain: Admiral Gortney --

24 Admiral Gortney: Well, I'll --

25 Chairman McCain: -- same question.

1 Admiral Gortney: -- I'll pile onto what General Kelly
2 was saying. In a similar role in countering the
3 transnational criminal networks and our ability to do mil-
4 to-mil training with our partners, particularly in Mexico
5 and in the Bahamas, it's going to have a huge impact. We
6 execute those missions through service-retained forces. As
7 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines and coastguardsmen
8 are training for their own future deployment, they come down
9 and do that mil-to-mil activity for us, work for us, but
10 it's training they receive. And we've received, from our
11 components, that that training is going to have to be
12 curtailed significantly. So, that will have a huge impact
13 on us on that.

14 The other impact would be in missile defense. Because
15 the services can only generate the revenue by going into
16 readiness or delaying delivery of a capability, the Missile
17 Defense Agency will -- does not have a readiness account
18 that they can go to, so they're going to have to go to their
19 new starts, they will have to put the long-range
20 discrimination radar, the improvements to the advanced kill
21 vehicle and a multi-object kill vehicle -- they'll have to
22 put those on hold and will delay the ability for them to
23 field those capability which allows us to outpace the
24 growing proliferation of ballistic missiles.

25 And so, those are the two primary impacts to me, sir.

1 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

2 General Kelly, in your written statement, you said,
3 quote, "In addition to thousands of Central Americans
4 fleeing poverty and violence, foreign nationals from
5 countries like Somalia, Bangladesh, Lebanon, and Pakistan
6 are using the region's human smuggling networks to enter the
7 United States. While many are merely seeking economic
8 opportunity or fleeing war, a small subset could potentially
9 be seeking to do us harm. Last year, ISIS adherents posted
10 discussions on social media, calling for the infiltration of
11 the U.S. southern border." Can you tell us how serious you
12 think that threat is?

13 General Kelly: I think, Senator, that the kind of
14 people that you're referring to will -- of course, their
15 intent is to do us the greatest amount of harm possible.
16 This network that Bill and I deal with every day, not to
17 mention the law enforcement folks, is so efficient that if a
18 terrorist, or almost anyone, wants to get into our country,
19 they just pay the fare. No one checks their passports, no
20 one -- you know, they don't go through metal detectors. No
21 one cares why they're coming. They just ride this network.
22 And if someone wanted to come in here with nuclear material
23 -- I was just down at Emory University, at the ebola
24 facility there, talking about how ebola spreads and
25 potentially could be used as a weapon. It's an -- it's a

1 scary proposition when --

2 Chairman McCain: Well --

3 General Kelly: -- I think of this network.

4 Chairman McCain: So, how serious, in your view, is it
5 that, over time, there may be an effort by terrorists to
6 cross our southern border?

7 General Kelly: Extremely serious.

8 Chairman McCain: I thank you, General Kelly. And I
9 thank you for your honorable service.

10 And thank you, Admiral.

11 Senator Reed: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 And I think the Chairman's questions and your answers
13 has really illustrated the critical and corrosive effect of
14 sequestration on everything you do -- literally everything
15 you do. But, I think there's a point that also has to be
16 emphasized, because you don't do things alone, you do it
17 with other agencies, some of them civilian agencies.

18 General Kelly, you just said you were down at Emory, at
19 CDC, talking about the potential of a ebola-type epidemic
20 being transported into the United States. The border is the
21 jurisdiction, primarily, of Department of Homeland Security.
22 I could go on and on and on. So, the question is -- because
23 there's been some discussion of, "Well, we need relief for
24 Department of Defense." And both Senator McCain and I have
25 urged that. But, without relief across the board, without

1 funding for DHS, Department of Justice, FBI, CDC, can you do
2 your mission, Admiral Gortney?

3 Admiral Gortney: Sir, thank you for asking that
4 question.

5 As we look at how we perform the range of missions that
6 we've been assigned, our homeland partnerships, our
7 interagency partnerships with the interagency -- Homeland
8 Security, with the law enforcement efforts -- that's
9 actually our center of gravity -- the National Guard, our
10 Governors, et cetera. But, to your point on -- those
11 interagency relationships are absolutely critical. Those
12 interdependencies, many of which I am supporting to them,
13 but I am still tasked to do that -- should they be affected,
14 it's going to have a significant effect against how I'm able
15 to do my missions to support them and then, again, to defend
16 the homeland.

17 Senator Reed: General Kelly, your response?

18 General Kelly: I'd associate myself with that. If --
19 this is a team effort. And if anyone -- if any of us get
20 hit with a sequestration-type impact, you know, again, the
21 defense of the homeland is, to me, absolute, and it would be
22 seriously degraded.

23 Senator Reed: You know, there are other aspects that
24 -- not just reactive, but proactive. I'm told that, for
25 example, the Millennium Challenge, which is a quasi-Federal

1 agency, gets some funding from us, has been significant, in
2 terms of road-building and economic development in your area
3 of operations. And I would assume that's just -- sometimes
4 just as important as the reactive, defensive measure. Is
5 that accurate?

6 General Kelly: It is. Yes, sir. I mean, we could get
7 into a long discussion about what we're trying to do in the
8 Central American region to stabilize the region so that we
9 don't have another occurrence of, you know, 100,000 migrants
10 coming up all at once. And the Millennium Challenge
11 Corporation is -- things like that or the Inter-American
12 Developmental Bank -- those are organizations that we should
13 invest in, because they do it right, in terms of economic
14 development, in working with countries in identifying
15 projects that will -- everything from stabilize their
16 national institutions to economic development to social
17 development, protects human rights, things like that. I
18 really believe that investment in those kind of
19 organizations is the way to go, as opposed to, you know, we
20 try to do our own standalone-type investment, because they
21 don't seem to work very well.

22 Senator Reed: Thank you.

23 Admiral Gortney, you are the operational, effectively,
24 commander for missile defense. Missile Defense Agency does
25 all the sophisticated development. You have pointed out how

1 they would be harmed. But, from your sense as to -- as you
2 described, the trigger-pull or -- what should be the
3 priorities, in terms of invest in national missile defense?

4 Admiral Gortney: Well, my priorities are completely
5 aligned with Admiral Syring's from the Missile Defense
6 Agency. And the priorities actually are concurrent
7 priorities. All three have to be taken into account.

8 The first is, we need to continue to improve our
9 sensors. The sensors are the ability for us to discriminate
10 and track as early as possible to be able to defeat the
11 threat.

12 The second is, we need to enhance the lethality of our
13 kill vehicles. The -- it's a very expensive proposition to
14 shoot a rocket with a rocket. And so, we want every one of
15 our kill vehicles to be as effective and as lethal as
16 possible, and as well as the means to develop other ways
17 that we can get more kill vehicles into space.

18 And the last is, as in any weapon system, you need to
19 invest in the sustainment piece of it so that all of -- it's
20 a system of systems, and all of the system of systems are at
21 their peak physical condition, and that includes the ability
22 for us to test and exercise them. And they all have to be
23 done concurrently.

24 Senator Reed: And so, these priorities are higher, I
25 can assume, than expanding the basing of missiles around the

1 country?

2 Admiral Gortney: Yes. Admiral Syring and I are in
3 agreement that, before we put additional money, we want to
4 make sure we assure the three that we just talked about.
5 That's the most important piece.

6 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Admiral.

7 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 You're recognized, I think.

9 Senator Inhofe: May I proceed?

10 Chairman McCain: Senator Inhofe.

11 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 I think both of you were watching, a couple of weeks
13 ago, when we had Secretary Carter here. And you're familiar
14 with his testimony, wherein he -- one of his statements was,
15 "Readiness remains at troubling levels across the force,"
16 that, even with the FY budget, the Army, Navy, and Marine
17 Corps won't reach their readiness goals until 2020; and the
18 Air Force, 2023. And then General Dempsey stated that we --
19 what we need to remain at the lower ragged edge of
20 manageable risk in our ability to execute the defense
21 strategy. Now, do both of you agree with these statements?

22 General Kelly: Yes.

23 Admiral Gortney: Yes.

24 Senator Inhofe: The defense planning requirements are
25 that you guys are the one that -- are in charge homeland

1 security. And that's supposed to be our number-one
2 requirement, number-one guidance. Is that correct?

3 Admiral Gortney: Homeland defense, sir.

4 Senator Inhofe: Homeland defense, yeah.

5 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir.

6 Senator Inhofe: Well, the requirements are found in the
7 homeland defense, that's correct.

8 What concerns me is that, for the past 14 years, I
9 think that everyone's aware, and you're certainly aware,
10 that both of your areas of responsibility have been
11 prioritized behind the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Is
12 that correct?

13 General Kelly: Yes, sir.

14 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir.

15 Senator Inhofe: Well, that's a big deal. I don't
16 think many people out there in the real world, or in
17 America, understand that -- sure, we understand that our top
18 priority should be homeland defense. Everyone understands
19 that. But, what the budget -- forgetting about
20 sequestration, bringing us up to where we are today as
21 taking away your ability, or that priority for homeland
22 defense -- you know, I think it's something that we have to
23 be talking about up here. Are -- do you think -- I'd ask
24 both of you, in your opinions, are we accepting too much
25 risk as it relates to our number-one priority, homeland

1 defense?

2 Admiral Gortney: I'll take that, sir.

3 You know, our -- the way we execute, the way and the
4 means that we execute homeland defense is an away game.
5 It's better to fight the fight at the further reaches
6 through the forward-deployed geographic commanders, such as
7 General Kelly, here. And the challenge that we're having,
8 even though we've been in 14 years of war, as we come out of
9 these wars, you're usually entering a better security
10 situation than when you went into war. That's why we went
11 to war. But, as Dr. Kissinger testified to you a few weeks
12 ago, clearly that's not what we had, and it's -- we just
13 didn't predict it, even 3 short years ago. And the forward-
14 deployed combatant commanders, each and every single one of
15 them, are dealing with a crisis in their AOR on their
16 doorsteps today. And they're seeking, and they need -- in
17 order for them to defend the Nation in the far game, they
18 need the forward-deployed forces and the forward-based
19 forces to deal with those crises, get them into an off-ramp,
20 and not let them escalate any more than they already are.
21 And that's where the risk is. They own that risk, and
22 that's the -- their ability to execute that mission is very
23 tattered because of our -- how thin we are, because we have
24 to distribute them globally. And as the service chief said,
25 our ability to surge them release -- surge them greater

1 capability from the homeland so the game's -- the fight is
2 still overseas, is reduced. And how that also impacts is
3 those servicemembers that are executing that mission --

4 Senator Inhofe: All right. Admiral --

5 Admiral Gortney: -- their risk and the acceptable
6 losses have gone up significantly.

7 Senator Inhofe: Admiral -- and I appreciate the
8 answer. It's a very good answer. It's a long way of saying
9 "yes." And so, we --

10 Do you agree with that, General Kelly?

11 General Kelly: I do, yes, sir.

12 Senator Inhofe: Okay.

13 General Kelly, the area that I'm really familiar with
14 -- I spent 20 years of my life in the -- building and
15 developing down in south Texas. I'm familiar, not with the
16 rest of the border, but the Texas border, I am. And you
17 talk about -- you said -- and I wrote it down, here -- your
18 people understand it intimately. Included in what they
19 understand intimately, does that include the border -- the
20 Texas-Mexico border?

21 General Kelly: No, sir, not in my case. My boundary
22 ends with the south Mexican --

23 Senator Inhofe: I see.

24 General Kelly: -- border.

25 Senator Inhofe: Okay.

1 Admiral Gortney: So, Bill's your guy.

2 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Oh, well -- yeah, all right.

3 Are they very familiar with that? The reason I say
4 that -- there's danger on the border down there. In fact,
5 it's misunderstood, because it's mostly between two cartels
6 or two drug groups firing. One of the few places in that
7 border where people can go over from the United States was a
8 little community called Progreso. And, even the other day,
9 that ended up a battleground. Is everyone on top of that
10 and familiar with that and aware of the risk that that gives
11 some of our people?

12 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir. Everybody's aware of the
13 risk. Do we have 100-percent visibility into everything of
14 that? No, sir, we don't. We work that very, very hard with
15 our interagency partners -- Homeland Security and our
16 interagency partners inside --

17 Senator Inhofe: Yeah.

18 Admiral Gortney: -- inside Mexico. And our
19 responsibility is to expand the capacity through training
20 with the army, the navy, and their marine corps, Sedena and
21 Semar. And we're --

22 Senator Inhofe: Okay. I've got a problem with my
23 timing, here, and I did want to get into some statements
24 that have been made.

25 General Kelly, you talked about, in -- on GTMO, ever --

1 the history of that, when we got it, the good deal it is
2 even today, and what all is there other than the
3 incarceration of terrorists that are down there. So, I'm
4 going to ask you this question for the record and -- because
5 I am very interested in some of the other things that are
6 going on down there.

7 [The information referred to follows:]

8 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Chairman McCain: Senator Donnelly.

3 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 And I want to thank both of you for being here.

5 General Kelly, I know this is your last time that you
6 will be here as SOUTHCOM Commander. And my father-in-law
7 was a Guadalcanal marine. And I think if he was still
8 around, he would say, "If you want to know what a marine is,
9 look at General Kelly." So, we're very grateful for your
10 service.

11 And, Admiral Gortney, my dad was in the Navy. He
12 chipped a lot of paint. He didn't see a lot of admirals,
13 but we -- he'd be very grateful for your service.

14 To General Kelly, when you look -- one of the things
15 we're dealing with in my home State of Indiana is, there's
16 been a huge influx of heroin into our State. And I was
17 wondering if you could tell us a little bit about the
18 challenges you face in trying to interdict that, in trying
19 to stop it. And what is, maybe, the best thing we could do
20 to help you in that effort?

21 General Kelly: Senator, the first thing everyone
22 should -- needs to understand is, really 100 percent of the
23 heroin that's consumed in the United States -- and we, in
24 fact, are right in the middle of a heroin epidemic, a drug
25 epidemic. A lot of people in this town will say no to that,

1 but we are in the middle of a serious epidemic in --
2 particularly in -- when it comes to the heroin. So, 100
3 percent of it is produced here in the United -- or, here in
4 the -- in Latin America. About half of it is produced in
5 Mexico, and the rest of it is produced further south, in
6 various parts of the isthmus -- Central American isthmus in
7 South America. It's a relatively small amount -- 40-50
8 tons, we think -- of heroin that feeds the heroin epidemic
9 in the United States.

10 What's the first step in stopping it? Stopping the
11 drug demand in the United States. That's the first step.
12 And I don't think we take that very seriously, as we do,
13 say, tobacco use and seatbelt use and things like that. So,
14 we don't do much to reduce the demand in the United States.
15 If we did that, there would be less of a market for it,
16 obviously. But, because of this network -- and I say it a
17 lot -- this network has got to be broken. And the way the
18 network stays in place is drug demand in -- primarily drug
19 demand in the United States, and then the unbelievable
20 profits that come out of that drug demand. Cocaine alone,
21 \$85 billion a year in profits from cocaine sales alone in
22 the United States. And, of course, that's an unlimited
23 amount of money to either bribe officials, in our own
24 country as well as in Latin America, or to kill people or
25 have people killed. And until we really get around the drug

1 demand issue, there's not an awful lot we're going to be
2 able to do to that network.

3 Senator Donnelly: Is there anything you can do on the
4 ground, in terms of interdiction? Any other things that we
5 can help you with? Obviously, resources, but -- what is the
6 key to their success in getting that into our country?

7 General Kelly: It's just years and years and years of
8 a very, very elaborate -- development of this very
9 elaborate, very efficient network.

10 Some of the things we do do -- and I'll go back to
11 Colombia for a second. I mean, Colombia is absolutely
12 heroic in their attempts to eradicate coca and poppy before
13 it's ever harvested. They knocked down about 1400 jungle
14 laboratories last year that make cocaine and make heroin.
15 And they, themselves -- cocaine, alone -- 150 tons before it
16 ever left -- of cocaine -- before it ever left Colombia on
17 its way north. So, Colombia is deep into the fight. In
18 fact, they, frankly, do more to fight drugs in our country
19 than I think the United States does, sometimes.

20 Further north, in these countries that we're trying to
21 help in Central America, where an awful lot of the poppies
22 are, in fact, grown, we're just starting to see these
23 countries -- their security forces able to stand up on their
24 own. And then, Mexico, about 40 -- about 50 percent of the
25 heroin consumed in the United States is -- the poppies are

1 grown and the heroin is produced in Mexico. And that's
2 really Bill's bailiwick.

3 Senator Donnelly: In terms of interdiction, you had
4 mentioned about the Coast Guard cutters and other resources
5 that you have -- I may be mistaken with the exact number,
6 but I thought last year you told us you were able to -- or
7 had the physical capability to stop about 25 percent of the
8 traffic that came through. Is that -- is --

9 General Kelly: We're stopping --

10 Senator Donnelly: -- is that --

11 General Kelly: -- we think, about 20 percent.

12 Senator Donnelly: Okay.

13 General Kelly: With very few cutters. More cutters,
14 more ships mean we get more. Less means less.

15 Senator Donnelly: So, it's simply a direct -- your
16 ability to stop is simply a direct correlation to the
17 resources that you have in that area.

18 General Kelly: That's correct, sir.

19 Senator Donnelly: Okay.

20 What -- could you give us a little bit of a primer for
21 a few seconds on Venezuela and what's going on there right
22 now?

23 General Kelly: It's a sad thing to watch. Two years
24 ago, when I took this job, the discussion was, How long
25 would it be before it collapses or implodes? I mean, I

1 think we're kind of there. Inflation rates of over 80
2 percent, there's almost nothing on the shelves that common
3 people can buy. Their -- the government there is, to say
4 the least, restricting the free press more and more every
5 day. They're arresting opposition leaders. Of course,
6 they're blaming us for everything from coup planning to this
7 recent move by our President to put sanctions -- or, not
8 sanctions, but to put restrictions in place. They see that
9 as an attempt to topple the government. They don't need any
10 help toppling their government. I mean, it's just a really,
11 really sad state of affairs to watch.

12 Senator Donnelly: Thank you.

13 Thank you both very, very much.

14 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan.

16 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 And I also want to thank both of the members of the
18 panel for their distinguished service to our country.

19 Admiral Gortney, I was -- it was great seeing you in
20 Alaska recently. I wanted to dig into a little bit more on
21 the Arctic strategy that's highlighted in your testimony.
22 And I actually really appreciate how much emphasis you've
23 been giving that in your new position and in your testimony.

24 You know, one of the things that I think has come up in
25 a lot of the hearings here, whether it was General Dempsey

1 or the -- Secretary Carter's growing importance, but also
2 kind of the fluidity of what's going on in the Arctic,
3 particularly with regard to the Russian moves that I know
4 you've been keeping an eye on. As a matter of fact, your
5 testimony mentions the aggressiveness that we haven't seen
6 since the cold war, in terms of the bomber runs. As you
7 know, they -- they're building new airfields in the Arctic,
8 they're -- have a new Arctic Command. General Dempsey
9 testified last week, three -- four new Arctic combat
10 brigades being deployed by the Russians in the Arctic, a
11 huge icebreaker fleet with as many as 11 more new
12 icebreakers. So, they're clearly seeing it as a strategic
13 area. For the world, resource development, new sea lanes
14 that are developing there.

15 And my concern is that we're well behind the Russians,
16 in terms of this, not only as an opportunity, but also as a
17 growing area of military competition that they're clearly
18 making it out to be. I'll give you a few examples on that.
19 You know, the Army is looking -- our Army is looking at
20 reducing, in the light of what the Russians are doing --
21 reducing two combat brigades based in Alaska. That's a big
22 concern.

23 I just have a couple of questions. And they're all
24 kind of related, so I'll just pose them to you. Do we have
25 an Arctic O-plan right now? And how would the Army troops

1 in the Arctic, in Alaska, fit into that? And does it make
2 sense to significantly reduce our military presence in the
3 Arctic before we even put out an O-plan and in the face of
4 what clearly is a Russian dramatic increase in the
5 militarization of the Arctic? You know, General Odierno
6 mentioned, yesterday in testimony before the Appropriations
7 Committee, that he was waiting on NORTHCOM's Arctic strategy
8 to kind of get a sense of what they're going to do with
9 troop levels. So, you talk about seams. I -- as you and I
10 have discussed, Alaska is really at the seams of NORTHCOM,
11 PACOM, EUCOM. And sometimes that's helpful. Other times I
12 think we can have our strategy fall through the seams. Can
13 you just comment on that, please?

14 Admiral Gortney: Yes. I'm assigned to be the
15 "advocate of the Arctic," which is not a doctrinal term,
16 it's not -- I can't direct anybody to do anything, but we
17 are working on answering that question: What are the
18 requirements that we're going to need to be able to inform
19 our own operational plans, as you mentioned, on the future
20 of the Arctic, and then what we feel are recommendations for
21 all of DOD, not just the services, for what necessary
22 investments that get up there?

23 Senator Sullivan: Great. Because, you know, another
24 thing that kind of looks like it's falling through the
25 seams, at least within DOD and outside of the DOD, is

1 icebreakers. When the CNO was here last week, talked about
2 the importance of those. Everybody agrees they're
3 important, and yet the Navy's not in charge of those; it's
4 the Coast Guard. So, there doesn't seem to be a coordinated
5 focus on that, as well.

6 Admiral Gortney: Which goes to the impact of our
7 interagency relationships and the impacts of sequestration.
8 The Coast Guard is responsible for the icebreakers. We
9 don't -- as CNO said, we don't have any ships up there, but
10 we -- but -- that are -- that float on top of the ocean, but
11 we have submarines up there quite frequently. So -- but, we
12 need to figure out, What are the capabilities that we need?
13 Because it's a very harsh place. I mean, I graded -- I
14 loved visiting your State, but it's a hard place to live and
15 operate. And we have a difficulty -- we have the inability
16 right now to reliably navigate, communicate, and then
17 sustain ourselves as we're up there. So, that's what we're
18 trying to answer, what we will endeavor to answer as the
19 advocate. And that report will be due out this spring, sir.

20 Senator Sullivan: Great. Thank you.

21 And I do think the hardness actually makes for great
22 training, whether it's the Marines or the Army or the Navy,
23 Air Force, out there.

24 I'd like to turn to missile defense. You know, I think
25 your testimony highlights the growing threat, the ICBM

1 threat, whether it's from North Korea, whether it's from
2 Iran -- you know, even potentially with, you know, weapons
3 of mass destruction in the future. Can you just comment on
4 the role that Fort Greely plays in that, and how important
5 it is to continue the focus, I think, which is a bipartisan
6 focus here, on increased missile defense?

7 Admiral Gortney: Absolutely.

8 You know, the strategic location of Alaska cannot be
9 overstated. Location, location, location. It's easier to
10 deploy forces from, say, our F-22s that are based there
11 around the world. They get wherever we need to put them
12 quicker than, say, we launched them out of Langley. So, the
13 strategic importance of Alaska can't be overstated. And, as
14 a result of that, that's where the Missile Defense Agency
15 decided to put the vast majority of our interceptors, up at
16 Fort Greely, which we were just up there visiting about a
17 month ago.

18 We're on track. The first, which -- the first missile
19 field -- there's three missile fields, as you're aware --
20 the first was a test and evaluation. They're refurbishing
21 that. And by the end of '17, we'll have all 40 missiles up
22 there, which brings our numbers to 44. There's nothing
23 preventing us from getting there to maximize the investment
24 that we've made for the effectiveness of our missile defense
25 program.

1 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

2 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Chairman McCain: Senator Blumenthal.

4 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

5 I want to join our Chairman in thanking both of you for
6 your distinguished service, but particularly, General Kelly,
7 thank you for your candid and thoughtful and insightful
8 remarks, but also for your and your family's service to our
9 Nation, which, as the Chairman said so eloquently, should
10 elicit our gratitude. And certainly members of the
11 committee feel it.

12 You mentioned the porousness of our borders and the
13 efficiency of the network that can transport drugs and
14 people into this country. As you may know, the Senate is
15 now debating, with uncertain prospects, a bill that would
16 provide greater assistance to the victims of human
17 trafficking. And as a strong supporter and leading
18 cosponsor of that measure, I'm very interested in what can
19 be done by both of your commands in stopping the flow of
20 women and children who are exploited for sex and slave
21 labor. This kind of trafficking is modern slavery, in
22 effect. And you've spoken very powerfully on the importance
23 of human rights and the rule of law as it's been vindicated
24 in Colombia. I wonder what can be done, in your view, in
25 Central America, where the flow of both drugs and human

1 trafficking has gone. In the wake of success in Colombia,
2 perhaps you can give us your general comment on the
3 trafficking issue.

4 General Kelly: Thanks for the question, Senator. It's
5 a really important one. And my answer is not a military one
6 for sure; it's to give the people from that part of the
7 world a reason to stay home. All of the polling and all the
8 indicators are, they prefer to stay where their families
9 are, where their culture is, where they're comfortable.
10 But, without better human rights -- and that is getting
11 better in these countries -- without some access to economic
12 well-being -- and I think that is the key -- without
13 lowering of the violence, basically due to -- to a large
14 degree, to our drug consumption -- and the countries are, in
15 fact, getting their arms around that. It's controversial,
16 in some respects, how they're doing it. But, the violence
17 is going down. And the human rights -- accusations of
18 violations are not going up. And that's hugely important in
19 the way they're doing business there. Again, we've
20 sometimes, in our interagency, criticized the way people get
21 at problems locally. The fact is, they're getting at the
22 problems.

23 But, really, the answer is, they won't leave if they
24 can get a job and live a decent life. We know that.

25 Senator Blumenthal: And, as you said, the solution

1 isn't going to be exclusively military, although law
2 enforcement is a part of it. And I think Senator Reed, in
3 his remarks, made the point that sequestration in affecting
4 the non-Department of Defense aid and functions in those
5 areas is important in fighting the flow of human
6 trafficking, as well. Is that correct?

7 General Kelly: Yes, sir, it is.

8 Senator Blumenthal: Admiral, I wonder if you, in your
9 command, have any insights into stopping the flow of
10 trafficking.

11 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir. We work very closely in
12 the mil-to-mil relationship with both Sedena and Semar,
13 because they've been asked by their government to go after
14 the -- some of the internal challenges that they have. And
15 so, we have been very, very effective. And in the last 24-
16 36 months, a significant change and an increase in
17 receptiveness and desire to partner with us and work with us
18 and help them train to be more effective. And I just
19 received and we've just started on a path to really assist
20 their efforts on their southern border, because, as they
21 said, "If we fix our southern border, it'll help with so
22 many challenges inside of our country." And that's why the
23 impact of sequestration will cut back that ability -- our
24 ability, the amount of mil-to-mil training capacity that
25 we'll be able to give them so that they can assist and make

1 their country better.

2 Senator Blumenthal: In effect, the result of
3 sequestration is a kind of ripple effect that affects not
4 only our military readiness, but also the impacts we can
5 have on cultural and governance change for the better in
6 these countries, that eventually effects us, because
7 trafficking of drugs and slave labor across our borders
8 affects our quality of life, as well.

9 Admiral Gortney: Absolutely. It's a -- as General
10 Kelly said, this is a team sport. It requires unity of
11 effort, whole of government, things we speak to infrequently
12 but are just such a huge part of our -- of how we deal with
13 our partners to our southern border.

14 Senator Blumenthal: My time is expired. I want to
15 thank you both for your testimony here today. Thank you.
16 And thank you for your service.

17 Chairman McCain: Senator Lee.

18 Senator Lee: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 And thank you very much, Admiral Gortney and General
20 Kelly. We really appreciate your service to our country.

21 I'm mindful of the ongoing search and rescue efforts in
22 connection with the soldiers and marines who were involved
23 in the helicopter crash off the coast of Florida in the last
24 2 days. Our prayers go out to them and to their family
25 members.

1 General Kelly, you stated, last year, that the threats
2 associated with the drug trade and with the flow of
3 undocumented immigrants across our southern border presented
4 an existential threat to the national security of the United
5 States. I was wondering if I could just get -- both of you
6 -- get each of you to tell the committee, in your opinion,
7 what the greatest threats are to our national security in
8 connection with this -- that is, the greatest threats that
9 exist as a result of an unsecure southern border, and how
10 significant these threats are if we're not able to achieve a
11 greater degree of control over who and what might be
12 crossing our southern border.

13 General Kelly: Well, sir, I would start with -- I
14 mean, there's many different threats against our country.
15 And oftentimes we focus, certainly I'm -- lectured
16 repeatedly on -- the threats that I concern myself most with
17 are not, kind of, military threats, they're maybe law
18 enforcement threats, they're immigration threats. But, you
19 know, I am a problem-solver, and I am tasked to try to
20 protect the southern approaches to the United States. I
21 don't just focus on military threats, because, frankly, from
22 my part of the world, there's very few military threats.
23 But, you know, on a -- there's 40,000 Americans that die
24 every year from the drugs that move up through my part of
25 the world into Bill's and then into our homeland. 40,000

1 people a year. You know, since 9/11, there's -- half a
2 million people have died from narcoterrorism, as we call it
3 in -- down where I live. Narcoterrorism. 500,000 Americans
4 have died. Very few have died from, you know, traditional
5 terrorism, if you will, since 9/11. It costs our country
6 \$200 billion a year to deal with the people that are into
7 drugs but are not, you know, dying. So, I see that as a
8 huge, huge, huge threat.

9 And I'm -- I won't just limit myself to worrying about
10 traditional military threats, because, as Bill says, it's a
11 team sport, and most of the -- all of the law enforcement --
12 the CIA, the DIA -- everyone's doing their part, but, at the
13 end of the day, I'm not going to concern myself with, "Look,
14 General Kelly, it's not a military threat, so don't worry
15 about it." That's why -- I mean, 95 percent of my
16 activities in the course of the -- of my time -- all of my
17 time -- 95 percent, I focus on nonmilitary things --
18 economics, human rights, developing relationships with
19 presidents and ministers of defense to -- and police chiefs
20 in all of these countries, particularly the Central American
21 countries, so I can move them in the direction of solving
22 their problems, which will ultimately solve our problems.

23 Senator Lee: Great.

24 Admiral?

25 Admiral Gortney: To add on exactly what John said, you

1 know, these businesses that are moving product have
2 outstripped the capacity of the nations to our southern --
3 from our southern border -- their capacity to be able to
4 handle these challenges. And that's why it requires the
5 team effort from all of our elements of government to assist
6 them to build their capacities, whether it's in a mil-to-mil
7 capacity, which is what my responsibility is, whether it's a
8 law enforcement, whether it's capacity-building in
9 governance, in the judicial system. That's what has to
10 occur. It just can't be focused exclusively on the
11 military. It takes everything to deal with the challenges
12 that these countries are being faced with.

13 Senator Lee: Thank you.

14 General Kelly, can you discuss the level in the recent
15 trends and activity of Islamic terrorist organizations
16 within the SOUTHCOM area of responsibility?

17 General Kelly: I'm comfortable to say, Senator, that
18 the Islamic extremist, you know, organizations are not very
19 well entrenched in my part of the world. I don't see any
20 direct terrorist threat right now. And I'm -- you know, the
21 people that'll look the hardest at this are CIA and FBI.
22 So, I'm comfortable. But, there is a fair amount of
23 activity by both Iran and recruiting, or at least attempts
24 to recruit, by other Islamic extremist organizations.
25 They're -- we expect -- or we calculate right now somewhere

1 less than 100, but close to 100, young people that have left
2 the Caribbean region, in particular, who now have gone to
3 Syria to fight for the Islamic extremist organizations.
4 And, of course, these small countries that don't have
5 anything approaching our FBI or any of the law enforcement,
6 they're extremely concerned about them coming back, as we
7 are to our own country. And western Europe has the same
8 concerns. The difference is, these small countries that I
9 -- that I'm describing have no real ability to deal with
10 them. And, of course, if they come back, or when they come
11 back, they can -- they conduct operations in their own
12 country or they can simply get on the network, ride up into
13 our country, and do whatever someone tells them to do.

14 Senator Lee: Because they're right at our backdoor.

15 Thank you.

16 Thank you both.

17 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Chairman McCain: Just to be clear about your answers
19 to Senator Lee, is the southern border secure, or not
20 secure?

21 Admiral Gortney: The southern border can be more
22 secure, as can the Mexican border be more secure.

23 Chairman McCain: That's the only question I had.

24 General?

25 General Kelly: Sir, I think, with the amount of drugs

1 and people that move across our southwest border, it doesn't
2 seem all that secure to me.

3 Chairman McCain: Senator King.

4 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Admiral Gortney, I want to thank you. In fact, I want
6 to thank you both for your emphasis on the importance of the
7 effect of sequestration on your commands and on your ability
8 to carry out your responsibilities.

9 As I talk to people at home, often I run into people to
10 say, "Well, sequestration is not such a big deal. It's only
11 2 percent of the Federal budget." What people don't realize
12 is, two-thirds of the Federal budget isn't subject to
13 sequestration. So, what it really amounts to, in your case,
14 is about a 10-percent cut, which is very significant. Two
15 percent of one-third, you end up with about a 10-percent
16 cut. And that's what you're facing.

17 The other thing that I think we have to realize around
18 here -- everybody's worried about sequestration. In talking
19 to my colleagues, the solutions are not easy, and we have to
20 keep in front of us the danger of sequestration. When we're
21 talking about the solutions, finding other alternatives to
22 replace it are -- there's no low-hanging fruit, here. It's
23 going to be difficult. But, I'm very happy to have your
24 testimony, this morning, which underlines for this committee
25 and for the country how serious a threat this is to our

1 national security.

2 Admiral Gortney, if -- with regard to your
3 responsibilities in the Arctic, is -- would it be in the
4 national interest for this country to accede to the Law of
5 the Sea Treaty?

6 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir. The Department of Defense,
7 the Chief of Naval Operations, and myself are all in
8 agreement that we should accede. It would -- especially as
9 we take on the role as a lead for the Arctic Council, it
10 would give us a better strength, a better position of
11 strength as we negotiate through there.

12 Senator King: And, as I understand it, it's actually
13 compromised -- our failure to be a member of that treaty is
14 actually compromising our ability, for example, to stake
15 claims to where the Continental Shelf is and those kinds of
16 things.

17 Admiral Gortney: That's one of the reasons why we feel
18 it's a -- it would be a good idea to accede.

19 Senator King: General Kelly, you agree with that?

20 General Kelly: I don't have a lot of experience, in my
21 part of the world, with the treaty and the issues related to
22 the treaty, but certainly, in my broader opinion, I agree
23 with Bill exactly, yes, sir.

24 Senator King: Thank you.

25 General Kelly, you talked -- it was kind of amazing --

1 Well, first, let me say, I really appreciate your
2 comments about the CIA, because I've -- I -- as I travel,
3 and as a member of the Intelligence Committee, I generally
4 meet with CIA personnel around the world, and I have found
5 them to be uniformly patriotic, intelligent, passionate
6 about their work on behalf of this country. And, as you
7 mentioned, they live in a dangerous world. There are places
8 in the world where, if they -- they can -- you know, it's a
9 danger to go outside and have lunch downtown. And I think
10 it's very important to recognize these people that don't get
11 recognition generally, and I really appreciate the statement
12 that you've made.

13 You talked about Colombia as a model partner. And I
14 had to think, you know, 15-20 years ago, we wouldn't have
15 been saying that. And in -- we're dealing with so many
16 unstable regimes around the world. How do we replicate what
17 happened in Colombia? What are the steps that they took in
18 order to take their country back, if you will, from the
19 chaos that they were in 20 years ago?

20 General Kelly: Well, sir, they -- when you're looking
21 over the abyss -- and it's a long way down -- you have kind
22 of a -- you know, a come-to-God point, I think, and you make
23 -- you have to make some decisions. And they made those
24 decisions. And really Plan Colombia, such as it was --
25 very, very successful -- really started on this side of the

1 hill, I think, and -- but, certainly it started in the
2 Congress.

3 And there's a real misconception about what -- in some
4 places, about what Plan Colombia was. We gave -- our money
5 was 4 cents on the dollar, as to what the Colombians
6 contributed. So, we didn't bankroll it. A lot of think --
7 I have people tell me that, "We shouldn't put boots on the
8 ground like we did in Colombia." We didn't put boots on the
9 ground. They did all their own fighting, they did their own
10 dying. And, while they were committed -- or, making these
11 commitments, they made social changes. Their elites were
12 taxed and had to make a commitment to Plan Colombia. It is
13 a remarkable reorientation of their society that they had to
14 conduct.

15 And, frankly, the good-news story there is that what
16 we're doing in Central America now -- because they face
17 similar problems; they're in the abyss, they're about to be
18 failed states -- so, the Colombians -- I just was down in
19 Colombia, I met with the President and the Minister of
20 Defense, and we talked about this at length -- but, I've
21 brought the Colombians up to have seminars, to Miami, and
22 invited all of the senior-most officials of the three
23 countries that I'm particularly concerned with -- Guatemala,
24 el Salvador, and Honduras. And a daylong seminar is to --
25 "This is where my country, Colombia, was, 20 years ago.

1 This is how close we were to being a failed narco state.
2 These are the decisions we had to make. And, oh, by the
3 way, they're exactly the decisions you have to make. You
4 have to redo your tax codes. You have to get your own
5 wealthy people investing -- instead of investing in Miami,
6 in high-end South Beach real estate, to invest in your own
7 country," these kind of things. We've done that twice now,
8 focusing, the second time, on economics. And I'm going to
9 do another one in -- with all three presidents and their
10 teams coming up in Miami to do a higher-level economic
11 development conference. As I say, 95 percent of my efforts
12 are not military. It's economic development.

13 Senator King: And, as you testified earlier, that's
14 the key to stopping the flow of illegal immigrants into this
15 country, is to make their countries more attractive places
16 to live. And, in fact, that's happened with Mexico, hasn't
17 it? Don't we -- isn't it a net-zero immigration from Mexico
18 at this point?

19 General Kelly: As I understand, it is net-zero, and it
20 is because of the economy in Mexico.

21 Senator King: Thank you, General.

22 Thank you.

23 Chairman McCain: Senator Ernst.

24 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

25 Thank you, Admiral, General.

1 It was a pleasure to meet with you the other day,
2 General. I thank you for your time and attention, and thank
3 both of you for your testimony today.

4 Of course, I've shared with many folks that I am a very
5 proud member of the Iowa Army National Guard. And our
6 members have been very involved in a number of SOUTHCOM's
7 missions, whether it's counterdrug, security missions -- I
8 had an MP detachment that served in Honduras as part of
9 their security mission -- but, we also have National Guard
10 members from all over the United States that serve in
11 Guantanamo Bay at the Detainee Center. And unfortunately, a
12 lot of folks will want to politicize Guantanamo Bay, or, as
13 we all it, "Gitmo." But, I'm very proud of the service that
14 is given there, and I believe it is a very important
15 mission. I believe that this is vital to our national
16 interests, to keep these terrorists at Guantanamo Bay.

17 So, General Kelly, if you would, if you could describe
18 the treatment that our citizen soldiers, or those that work
19 at the Detainment Center, receive from the inmates. And if
20 you could also describe, just in your own words or your
21 personal thoughts based on your experiences, whether you
22 think that these terrorists that are housed there -- do you
23 think that they would return to the fight if they were
24 released?

25 General Kelly: Well, maybe -- thanks for the question,

1 Senator. I think the -- I'll take the first part -- the
2 second part first and just simply say there's -- and again,
3 I don't track these kind of things. I'm not responsible to
4 track these kind of things. But, I think the -- the best
5 estimate on about how many of them return to the fight is
6 about 30 -- 30 percent. So, it's a fair number. We know
7 for sure something in the neighborhood of about 18 percent
8 have. With the kind of intelligence people, CIA and others,
9 their estimate is about 30 percent. So, they do return to
10 the fight. Less so recently, but, of course, the more
11 recent detainees that have been released, they've got plenty
12 -- you know, they've got plenty of time to get back in the
13 fight if they want to. But, for right now, in the most
14 recent detainee transfers or releases, we don't see any of
15 them going back. But, again, they've just been released.

16 As far as the treatment goes -- first, as the Chairman
17 said at the beginning, the troops down there that guard --
18 that do the detention, that carry out the mission -- I mean,
19 we do exactly what the President of the United States tasked
20 us to do, and it goes from the President to SECDEF to me to
21 GTMO. And you'll see it when you go down there on Friday.
22 The detainees are treated very, very, very well. Their
23 medical care is excellent. Their -- they're treated
24 humanely, with dignity, all of that.

25 Now, if they cross the line, they're disciplined --

1 they're treated firmly, with minimum use of force. And
2 there's a percentage of them down there that we have to --
3 that are pretty abusive to my guys and gals down there. I
4 won't go into what "splashing" is, but it's pretty vile
5 stuff. They'll tell you all about it. Physical assaults.

6 But, at the end of the day, you know, we're the good
7 guys, they're not. We carry out the mission that the
8 President gives us. And all of the human rights groups that
9 go down there give us very, very high marks on how that's
10 done. And again, we can decide -- talk to policy, which I'm
11 not into; but, at the end of the day, it's a very, very
12 important mission to this country, and it's done superbly
13 well by the men and women that are down there.

14 Senator Ernst: Thank you very much, General.

15 We also did discuss the State Partnership Program the
16 other day during our discussion. And I do feel that this is
17 a very important program for many of our National Guards.
18 Currently, we are involved in a State Partnership Program
19 with Kosovo. I know other States are involved with a number
20 of countries. If you would please, in your own words, just
21 describe how important you believe this program to be.

22 General Kelly: Yeah. The Partnership Program is very,
23 very high impact and very, very low cost. And what I have
24 seen over my years in working with other countries, whether
25 in the part of the world I'm in now or in the Central

1 Command area, you know, in -- among the Arab countries, it's
2 our example that they -- that catches their attention. The
3 fact that men and women are -- come down from Iowa or
4 wherever and work together.

5 You know, the role -- or the status of women in many of
6 these countries is very low. Yet, they see American units
7 come by, come down, and men and women working together; in
8 many, many cases, women actually in command of the unit, the
9 small unit that comes down. That's startling to them.

10 And I think, over time, that is what changes these
11 countries for the better, how -- just working alongside
12 American servicemen and -women, and really, just as
13 importantly, Homeland Security men and women that are
14 sprinkled around the world -- FBI, DEA, at -- our good
15 example is what changes these countries over time. Where we
16 touch, they notice, they take notice, and then they change.
17 We have very, very positive effect on these societies.

18 Senator Ernst: I appreciate that so much.

19 And I do want to take the time to thank all of the
20 staff members that join us here today for the testimony.
21 Lots of great servicemembers come out of the IOS. So, thank
22 you, Sergeant Major, very much.

23 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

24 Chairman McCain: Senator Kaine.

25 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 And thanks, to you both.

2 I want to offer a thank you and then two questions.
3 So, on the thank you side, you each helped prepared Senator
4 Cornyn and I for our recent visit to Mexico, Honduras, and
5 Colombia. And it was a very successful visit. We saw
6 evidence of what you had said, Admiral Gortney, the
7 increasing mil-to-mil cooperation between the United States
8 and Mexico that's very laudable. We went to Honduras,
9 General Kelly, at your request, to meet with President
10 Hernandez. Our Ambassador, when we landed, first took us to
11 a neighborhood that he said, "I'm now going to take you to
12 the most dangerous neighborhood in the most dangerous city
13 in the most dangerous country in the world," the Chermelecon
14 neighborhood in San Pedro Sula. But, we saw USAID projects
15 in that very dangerous neighborhood that are helping folks,
16 visited your -- some of your folks at JTF-Bravo at Soto
17 Cano, and then had a chance to talk to the President about
18 the proposed budgetary investment in the region. And then,
19 finally, in Colombia, we went out to Tolemaida and saw the
20 U.S. and Colombian military, together, talk about the
21 progress that they've made in helping turn the failed state
22 into a reliable ally of the United States. And it was
23 remarkable.

24 I saw all the challenges that you've testified to and
25 that my colleagues have asked you about, and I think you've

1 done a good job at responding to those. But -- and I came
2 back mindful of challenges, but I also came back thinking of
3 some upside opportunities if we get it right. If we get it
4 right. And I want to ask you about that.

5 Senator McCain, in his opening comments, kind of talked
6 about, "We don't necessarily pay that much attention to the
7 region, as we do other places, and more sustained effort
8 could be helpful." What I came away from our trip thinking
9 is, of the deep cultural connections that we have in this 36
10 nations in the Americas, from Canada to Patagonia, where all
11 this mixture of an indigenous culture that has welcomed
12 European, African, and Asian immigration -- in that mix is a
13 common feature, north to south. We all call ourselves
14 Americans -- North, Central, or South. We are all
15 Americans. There is a growing middle class in these
16 nations, and growing economic prospects, and growing trade.
17 The most significant number of free trade agreements that
18 the United States has is with nations in the Americas.

19 There is the prospect for no war in the Americas, maybe
20 for the first time in history, and certainly in a very
21 different way than any other continent. The peace
22 negotiation between the Colombian government and the FARC,
23 if it reaches a successful point in the sort of final
24 chapter, could make us two continents, with millions of
25 challenges, but two continents without a war, when you can't

1 say the same thing about Europe, you can't say the same
2 thing about Africa, you can't say the same thing about Asia.

3 And so, I really see some opportunities for an
4 Americas, a billion people strong, with cultural ties, with
5 trade ties, with better and better military ties, even in
6 the midst of all these challenges, which are real. And I
7 just wanted to ask you, Do you have that same sense of --
8 there are really upside opportunities in both of your areas
9 of responsibility if we pay persistent attention, rather
10 than episodic attention, sort of across all of government?

11 General Kelly: Couldn't agree more, Senator. The one
12 thing -- my takeaway in the part of the world I work in,
13 with the exception -- with very few exceptions -- you know,
14 the people that didn't get the memo about, you know, human
15 rights and things like that -- Venezuela is an example --
16 the vast majority of the continent, all the way down to
17 Patagonia, as you say, they want to be best friends with the
18 United States, they want to partner with us economically,
19 socially. I mean, it's -- they very, very -- and they're
20 disappointed that we pay so little attention to them.

21 Now, there are some competitors. You know, the Chinese
22 are very heavily involved, in terms of economics and things
23 like that. The Russians in -- much less. But, they're, you
24 know, competitors, in a way. But, the frustration that the
25 countries have is, they would rather deal with us on a -- on

1 the very issues they deal with China and Russia on, but we
2 sometimes just show a lack of interest. But, they want to
3 partner with us, and they love the fact that the United
4 States no longer comes down carrying a big stick, but,
5 rather, equal partners. And an awful lot of that good
6 feeling comes as a direct result, I think, of the men and
7 women out of the command that I command, and how much time
8 and effort they put in, in partnering across the region.

9 Senator Kaine: Admiral Gortney?

10 Admiral Gortney: I'll echo what John said. You know,
11 our partners know that we are a really great nation, and
12 we're with them for the long haul. We may have some ups and
13 downs, like most relationships, but we'll be there, we're
14 stable, and we'll be there with them for the long haul. So,
15 a little bit of investment of a -- a little bit more
16 investment of our time and energy from all the elements of
17 our government will go a long way, because they need our
18 help. Some -- they have some immense challenges out there.

19 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Thank you.

21 Chairman McCain: Senator Fischer.

22 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 And thank you, gentlemen, for your service and for
24 being here today.

25 Admiral, in your prepared testimony, you discuss the

1 growing threat that's posed by cruise missiles, to the
2 United States; and you say that Russia is progressing
3 towards its goal of deploying long-range conventionally-
4 armed cruise missiles, and, if that trend continues, that,
5 over time, NORAD is going to face increased risks in its
6 ability to defend North America. Does the budget support
7 your plans for the cruise-missile defense that we need for
8 this country?

9 Admiral Gortney: Provided we're given the account that
10 the Department has asked for, I think we'll be on a good
11 path. When it comes to the particular cruise-missile
12 threat, you know, we're experimenting with JLENS, up at
13 Aberdeen. That shows great promise. It's not without
14 challenges any test program is going to have, but -- there's
15 a lot of air traffic up there. And to be able to integrate
16 that into the rest of our architecture, to include our Aegis
17 ships that will be off of our coast, so that we can deal
18 with the leakers -- you know, I've been in the cruise-
19 missile threat since I was a lieutenant JG, and I've shot
20 over 1300 of them, so I know how effective they are, and I
21 know how hard they are to defeat. And it really requires us
22 to have a layered approach that we -- it's more effective --
23 it's only effective if we get the archer and not just deal
24 with the arrows, and have the ability to reach deep to get
25 the cruise-missile shooter so that we're only dealing with a

1 few of the leakers out here.

2 The long-range aviation -- Russian long-range aviation,
3 it's a pretty significant increase in numbers. And what
4 concerns me more are two things. It's the -- where they're
5 flying, even through the English -- down the English Channel
6 -- it's where they're flying that has not been what they
7 have done in the past, even back with the Soviet Union. And
8 the development of the cruise missiles that they have, that
9 have a very long range, that -- from the Russian -- from
10 eastern Russia, they can range critical infrastructure in
11 Alaska and in Canada that we rely on for our homeland
12 defense mission. So, we have to look at this in a more
13 expansive manner. But, if we have the investments that
14 we've asked for, we'll be able to outpace that technology.

15 Senator Fischer: And so, also in this year's budget,
16 when we look at those investments in the next-generation
17 defense technology, which I support -- I think it's needed,
18 and I support it strongly -- I am concerned, though, that
19 those capabilities are not going to be deployed anytime
20 soon. I believe it will be in the next decade, at the
21 earliest. Do you have concerns with that, as well? Are you
22 satisfied with that timeline, or are you just, I guess,
23 accepting of that timeline?

24 Admiral Gortney: Well, there's -- as a military
25 officer, we'll take capability earlier than later any day.

1 And -- but, for the necessary investments, as the technology
2 is advancing, I'm satisfied with where we are.

3 Senator Fischer: Okay, good to hear.

4 With your cyberspace mission, you state that it would
5 be rather simplistic to assume that a large-scale
6 cyberattack on the Nation's infrastructure would somehow not
7 impact both us and our partners' ability to successfully
8 perform the DSCA mission, the support that we give to our
9 civil authorities. And it makes strategic sense to consider
10 the steps that could be taken to mitigate or prevent those
11 types of attacks. Can you elaborate a little bit on that
12 statement that you made?

13 Admiral Gortney: Yes, ma'am. My assigned
14 responsibility is to defend my own networks and to help the
15 lead Federal agency in the defense support for civil
16 authorities. But, effectively, it can be a mission kill.
17 We are very reliant on critical infrastructure -- held by
18 the private and public -- but critical infrastructure in
19 order for us to defend the nation. A cyberattack in Ottawa
20 would take out the northeast quadrant of our air-defense
21 sector. It would be, effectively, a mission kill. So, not
22 only would it affect me to be able to do my mission, more --
23 quite frankly, more importantly, we, as a Nation, rely on
24 this same infrastructure for us to operate, whether it's
25 banking, rail, aviation, power, movement of water. All of

1 these things have critical infrastructure that we must have,
2 and they need to be hardened against an adversary.

3 Senator Fischer: Can you give us, specifically, some
4 of the steps that you would recommend we take so that we can
5 look towards that prevention when it comes to our cyber?

6 Admiral Gortney: Well, ma'am, this is out of my
7 league, as the technical aspects, I'm going to defer to my
8 good friend, Mike Rogers, at DSCA. He's -- he really
9 understands it. I don't know a switch from a router.

10 But, the real issue comes down -- is from you all. It
11 requires law and policy that are very difficult for us to
12 come across as a nation. Some -- it's privacy -- some
13 privacy concerns, some things that you might even say cross
14 the Bill of Rights, many of the same issues that we had
15 before 9/11. And, as a result of 9/11, we passed new laws
16 and got new policy that gave us the ability to better
17 protect our Nation. And I would hope that it wouldn't take
18 a cyber 9/11 or a cyber Pearl Harbor for us to finally
19 realize we need to do that sort of thing. And you all have
20 done -- you have taken great strides, and we're grateful for
21 that. And we need to continue that momentum.

22 Senator Fischer: And do you think that it is
23 imperative that the government be able to share some
24 information with private businesses, and private businesses
25 also share that information with each other, so that we can

1 look more towards defense, deterrence, and, if necessary,
2 offensive use of our capabilities?

3 Admiral Gortney: Yes, ma'am. And I'm really focused
4 on the defense. You don't transmit until you're ready to
5 receive. And we need to shore up that defense.

6 Senator Fischer: Thank you, sir.

7 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

8 Chairman McCain: Senator Gillibrand.

9 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 And thank you both for your testimony here today, and
11 your service.

12 I want to continue Senator Fischer's questions about
13 cybersecurity. Cyberattacks against the homeland are
14 growing as a threat to U.S. infrastructure, business, and
15 defense. A critical mission of NORTHCOM is to coordinate
16 the response to attacks on the homeland with the Department
17 of Homeland Security. Admiral Rogers told our colleagues on
18 the House side that the Obama administration isn't where it
19 needs to be yet in planning the coordination between the
20 military and civilian agencies' response to a major
21 cyberattack. How would you assess the coordination between
22 NORTHCOM and DHS?

23 Admiral Gortney: We're supporting the DHS in that
24 regard, predominantly in the aftermath of the event, in my
25 defense support for civil authorities. The difficulty that

1 they have are exactly what we were just discussing. It goes
2 to the laws that we need as a Nation so that then DHS has
3 the authorities they need to be able to better defend our
4 Nation in that regard.

5 Senator Gillibrand: From your perspective, how is the
6 overall coordination between Federal, State, and local
7 governments, and how, beyond what you've suggested, do you
8 think we could improve?

9 Admiral Gortney: Federal, local, and -- we just --
10 just a couple of weeks ago, we met with the Council of
11 Governors within DOD. And I'm a member of that particular
12 board in my capacity as Northern Command. And we have a
13 long way to go to sharing information. We're doing a pretty
14 good job sharing gov-to-gov, from local/State to Homeland
15 Security. The challenges, we're working our way through.
16 Homeland Security is working their way through, sharing
17 private-to-Homeland Security. But, there are even some
18 reasons why private can't talk to State and local. And so,
19 it's expanding those authorities that are required to better
20 communicate, to better defend.

21 Senator Gillibrand: I'd now like to turn to your
22 Arctic mission. Obviously, NORTHCOM plays an integral role
23 in the Arctic. How important are international cooperative
24 agreements and partnerships such as Tri-Command Framework
25 for Arctic Cooperation for U.S. NORTHCOM's success in the

1 Arctic?

2 Admiral Gortney: Absolutely critical. You know, it's
3 a very, very difficult place to navigate, communicate, and
4 sustain ourselves. And so, those partnerships that we can
5 share capability and capacity, as we do with Canada through
6 the NORAD role, cannot be overstated.

7 Senator Gillibrand: New York's 109th Airlift Wing is
8 home to the only LC-130 Skibirds in the U.S. Air Force.
9 Their unique ability to provide airlift on snow and ice has
10 made them valuable resource to the National Science
11 Foundation, supporting science missions in Greenland and
12 Antarctica. Last year, the unit showed the full range of
13 their capabilities by successfully supporting exercises with
14 the Canadian military in the Arctic. Based on the current
15 types of threats you see in the Arctic, how important is
16 this type of airlift capability to the future success of the
17 NORTHCOM?

18 Admiral Gortney: Absolutely critical. Once again, it
19 goes to, How are we going to navigate, communicate, sustain
20 ourselves, and the C-130s with skids, our helicopters with
21 skids from our other Guard outfits to help us out there,
22 absolutely critical.

23 Senator Gillibrand: I've read a lot of recent articles
24 about sort of -- some sort of rush to use the Arctic for
25 natural resources, for other leverage. Do you think we need

1 more of this particular capability or other capabilities in
2 the future as our Arctic presence increases?

3 Admiral Gortney: I do. And that's why, as I'm working
4 on our -- "Arctic Way Ahead" is the atticad for the Arctic
5 that will be addressing those issues, and I'll have that out
6 in the spring.

7 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

8 My last question, for General Kelly, is: Specifically,
9 what is your assessment with regard to Iran's role in the
10 SOUTHCOM area of operation?

11 General Kelly: Senator, the Iranians have, over the
12 last decade or so, been increasing the number of embassies,
13 as an example, in the region. I think they've tripled the
14 number of embassies. They've opened what they call
15 "cultural centers" to -- you know, trying to -- try to
16 garner support, in terms of their country, and certainly to
17 try to circumvent the sanctions, I think. But, the point
18 is, they've opened up these cultural centers. And, you
19 know, frankly, I don't see a lot of similarity between the
20 Latin culture and the Iranian culture, for sure. I'm a
21 little bit suspicious of these -- of this activity, just
22 because there is such a vast different -- difference between
23 the two countries -- or the two regions, two cultures. So,
24 we keep an -- we keep a watchful eye on them.

25 You know, there's a fair amount of concern about, you

1 know, local Jewish communities in Latin America, of which
2 there are many, actually. You know, I'm sure the Senator
3 knows about the issue in the '90s, the 85 deaths that were
4 -- that took place in the Jewish Community Center there in
5 Buenos Aires. So, we keep a close eye on that. They're
6 generally a country that, whatever they're up to, it's --
7 generally, they're up to no good, and we have to watch them
8 closely.

9 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Chairman McCain: Senator Cotton.

12 Senator Cotton: Thank you, gentlemen, for your service
13 and for your time here today.

14 I have two say, General Kelly, I agree with your
15 statement that there doesn't seem to be all that many
16 similarities between Latin American culture and Persian
17 culture. I would also like to point out that Iran has been
18 implicated in the murders of many Jews in South Africa and
19 Argentina. The investigator, which mysteriously turned up
20 dead a few weeks ago.

21 And, Admiral Gortney, I'd just like to highlight in
22 your testimony on page 6, that you say Iran recently
23 launched another satellite into orbit and, quote, "Despite
24 international condemnation and sanctions, Iran has failed to
25 cooperate fully with the International Atomic Energy Agency

1 to resolve all outstanding concerns regarding its nuclear
2 program, particularly those concerning its possible military
3 dimensions," end quote. So, before we even reach any
4 further deal with Iran, Iran is already not living up to its
5 obligations under multiple U.N. Security Council
6 Resolutions.

7 But, now I'd like to turn to Russia. General Kelly, on
8 page 8 of your written testimony, you say, quote, "Under
9 President Putin, we have seen a clear return to cold war
10 tactics," end quote. Could you please elaborate on what you
11 mean, specifically in your AOR?

12 General Kelly: Well, yes, Senator.

13 For a number of years, we saw almost no real activity
14 of any kind from the Russians. And just in the last couple
15 of years, there's been some long-range bomber missions, they
16 deployed a small task force of warships to the Caribbean,
17 made various stops in, you know, countries like Cuba,
18 Venezuela, and Nicaragua.

19 They're, you know, from my perspective, really a
20 nuisance, but they seem to be ratcheting up their kind of
21 in-your-face "We can go anywhere we want, and we have
22 friends around the globe." We know that they're in
23 discussions, not to open bases, but to have, you know,
24 agreements to where they can either bring ships to refuel
25 and -- or aircraft to land and refuel. So --

1 But, as I say, they're more of a nuisance, but they're
2 really up to, I think, just kind of making their point that
3 they can go anywhere they want and challenge us in various
4 ways.

5 There's also a pretty steady stream of electronic
6 warfare collection vessels that, you know, ply the waters of
7 the Caribbean in the Atlantic -- our Atlantic coast. And
8 periodically, you know, they'll stop and get fuel, as I say,
9 or pull liberty in some of the countries that they're
10 friendliest with.

11 Senator Cotton: Admiral Gortney, could -- would you
12 share your perspective on growing Russian influence and
13 activity in your AOR?

14 Admiral Gortney: Absolutely, sir.

15 You know, qualitatively, the Russians are -- have
16 developed a better military than the quantitative military
17 of the Soviet Union. And they're -- and they've also
18 developed a new doctrine, and we're seeing that military and
19 that doctrine playing out in the Ukraine.

20 In the homelands, we're seeing them use that better
21 military with long-range aviation and the deployment of
22 their submarines and of the collection vessels that John was
23 taken about.

24 So, what bothers me is the intent. What is their
25 intent? They're clearly messaging us. That's -- we do

1 that, as well. But, what is the intent as they employ that
2 doctrine through the spectrum of conflict? That's what
3 concerns me.

4 Senator Cotton: And now this is a question for both of
5 you. If the United States proceeds with the sequestration
6 cuts to our defense budget, would you expect to see Russian
7 influence and activity in the western hemisphere continue to
8 grow or decrease?

9 Admiral Gortney: I think any opponent will seize an
10 opportunity when they see it. And I think that that's
11 exactly what would happen.

12 General Kelly: I agree, sir. And the sequestration
13 thing, again, is -- the -- what our partners around the
14 world are looking at is this kind of almost withdrawal of
15 our leadership role, depending on what part of the world and
16 who you're talking to. But, to take away the ability to
17 partner with nations, to do deployments, to -- would really,
18 really, I think, send a shock wave through many of the
19 countries that we're -- that are -- that most -- that we're
20 most aligned with and allied with. I know, in my part of
21 the world, they're already very, very concerned at the
22 limited amount of engagement that already takes place.

23 Senator Cotton: So, let me get this straight. Twenty-
24 five years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, 50 years
25 after the Cuban missile crisis, 200 years after the Monroe

1 Doctrine, your opinion is that, if this Congress proceeds
2 with the sequestration cuts to our defense, we will see
3 continued and growing Russian adventurism in the western
4 hemisphere. Admiral Gortney, yes or no?

5 Admiral Gortney: I would agree with that.

6 Senator Cotton: General Kelly?

7 General Kelly: Yes, sir.

8 Senator Cotton: Thank you.

9 Chairman McCain: Senator Shaheen.

10 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 And thank you both for you being here and for your
12 service to the country. I apologize for missing the -- your
13 remarks. Unfortunately, there are too many things going on
14 at one time, which I know you appreciate.

15 General Kelly, last year during the crisis on the
16 southern border with unaccompanied minors, you gave a
17 briefing to a number of Senators. And one of the things you
18 talked about is the impact of cutbacks on your ability to
19 address drug interdiction and interdiction of illegals
20 coming across the border. Can you talk a little bit about
21 that here and what the impact of these budget cuts have had
22 on your ability to address those issues?

23 General Kelly: Yes, Senator.

24 As far as the interdiction of drugs go -- and we've
25 talked about it a little bit here in the hearing, previously

1 -- it's all -- in my world, it's all about having an ability
2 to see them, detection and monitoring. That's really my
3 mission. And then I work closely with law enforcement,
4 particularly Coast Guard, to do the final interdiction
5 phase.

6 The interdiction phase really takes ships or cutters
7 that you can fly a -- or some vessel that you can fly a
8 helicopter from. Last year, we interdicted 158 --
9 collectively, we interdicted 158 metric tons of cocaine,
10 with no violence. Once it gets ashore -- and that's the key
11 -- once it gets ashore in Central America and moves up
12 through Mexico, we're taking almost nothing off the market,
13 and the violence is unbelievable. More ships, more cutters
14 means more cocaine.

15 You're never going to get to the point of going -- you
16 know, stopping it all. That includes heroin and
17 methamphetamine. Again, all that comes up through the
18 network that runs through my zone and into Bill's. You're
19 never going to stop it all. But, the key -- what you're
20 trying to do is drive down availability and drive up price,
21 and then people -- less people won't start toying around
22 with drugs and get -- you know, get hooked on drugs and all
23 that kind of thing.

24 And you weren't here, but, you know, 40,000 Americans a
25 year die from drugs. It costs our country \$200 billion a

1 year, and then all the human misery that goes with that.
2 So, that's kind of the -- more vessels that I can fly
3 helicopters from.

4 Another option, and something I'm doing more and more
5 of, is -- that is working with the department of militaries,
6 particularly in Central America -- moving their militaries
7 away from the internal parts of their country to the --
8 recommending that they move to the borders, and then work
9 together with border -- with their neighbors, north/south,
10 to include Mexico, in -- to try to -- you know, this year,
11 in fact, the Hondurans, for the first time, I think, in
12 history, interdicted multiple tons of cocaine, a lot of it
13 because of how we recommended they go about their business.

14 So, the partners have ponied up to this in a big way,
15 because they see it as -- much of it is because their
16 countries are in the conditions they're in because of the
17 drug trafficking.

18 Senator Shaheen: And how is -- how important is it to
19 those countries in Central America to have -- to be able to
20 see us as a strong partner in those efforts? And what will
21 be the impact of further cuts on our ability to do that?

22 General Kelly: Well, the -- they see us, as I
23 mentioned just a few minutes ago -- they want to be
24 partnering with us, they want to trade with us, they want to
25 interact with us, they want our help, our investment -- a

1 better way to put it. And if we walk away -- frankly, if we
2 walk away -- if we reduce any more of what I'm doing in
3 Latin America, it'll be -- it'll go to zero. I mean, we're
4 doing so little now, and we could do so much more with just
5 a little bit more.

6 Senator Shaheen: Well, we certainly appreciate that in
7 New Hampshire and northern New England, where we've seen a
8 real epidemic of heroin and drug abuse and deaths from
9 heroin overdoses. So, we very much appreciate that.

10 Can I also ask -- and again, you may have covered this
11 -- but, are you seeing terrorists from other parts of the
12 world exploiting the smuggling routes that are used by
13 organized crime?

14 General Kelly: That's actually a great question,
15 Senator. We are beginning to see a real convergence of the
16 two. We know, as an -- the biggest problem these
17 traffickers have is not getting drugs and things into the
18 United States. The biggest problem they have is laundering
19 the \$85 billion of illicitly-gained funds. And we know, to
20 one degree or another, that there are Lebanese Hezbollah
21 associates that are helping launder some of that money. And
22 we don't know exactly how much they're taking as a fee, but
23 we know it's an awful lot -- tens of millions of dollars,
24 for sure.

25 Senator Shaheen: And do we know what banks they're

1 using to launder? Is it Lebanese banks?

2 General Kelly: There are connections with the Lebanese
3 banks back in Lebanon. And beyond that, I'm over my head.
4 We'd -- you'd have to get Treasury in here to talk about it.
5 But, they're very aggressive. Our Treasury Department, very
6 aggressive, and increasingly so, going after this issue.
7 Yes, ma'am.

8 Senator Shaheen: My time is up, but thank you both.

9 Chairman McCain: Senator Ayotte.

10 Senator Ayotte: I want to thank the Chairman.

11 I want to thank both of you for your leadership and
12 what you do for our country.

13 I wanted to ask you, General Kelly -- I note, in your
14 prepared statement, the superb work done by our guards and
15 medical force at Guantanamo. And I wanted to follow up and
16 ask you about an article I had read in the New York Times
17 about a court order that was not allowing female -- certain
18 female guards to do all the same functions as men at
19 Guantanamo, which obviously -- to me, strikes me as somewhat
20 unusual, because I don't think we would find that in other
21 prison-type settings. So, could you tell me a little bit
22 about that and what's happening? And if there's a specific
23 group of detainees that has generated this court order, who
24 are they and why are they there?

25 General Kelly: Yes, Senator. This issue on the women

1 -- and you're exactly right, I have court orders against
2 using women, because they are women, with certain detainees
3 -- the high-value detainees. But, this is really just a
4 series of -- they manipulate us. They're experts at
5 manipulating us, them and their proponents. This is just a
6 series. You know, 2 years ago, it was Koran desecration,
7 which we don't do, and they had motions in the courts, and
8 we got past that. Then it was how we search them, that we
9 were searching their genitals, which we don't search that
10 way. And right -- you know, the temperature in the cells,
11 the noise in the cells. And this is just one of a series.

12 I mean, frankly, we're dealing with women now. We have
13 two orders from two different judges, in the Commission
14 side, to not use women, because they were women, because the
15 high-value detainees felt it was against their religion,
16 which anyone that knows anything about the Muslim religion
17 knows that it's not against their religion. But, the point
18 is, they're -- you know, we had women restricted from doing
19 the jobs they're trained to do --

20 Senator Ayotte: And who -- you know, give us a sense
21 of who some of these high-level detainees who have brought
22 this action to prevent women guards, who, by the way, we're
23 very proud of --

24 General Kelly: Yeah.

25 Senator Ayotte: -- are doing great work at --

1 General Kelly: Well, certainly the --

2 Senator Ayotte: -- Guantanamo?

3 General Kelly: -- the 9/11 five.

4 Senator Ayotte: So, the 9/11 five --

5 General Kelly: Right.

6 Senator Ayotte: -- want to tell us that our women --

7 that women who serve our country can't guard them?

8 General Kelly: That's exactly right. And then the

9 Cole bomber.

10 Senator Ayotte: And the Cole bomber.

11 General Kelly: The Cole bomber. And the expectation

12 is, once we get through this -- we have two judges, two

13 court orders. One has been lifted, the other one is still

14 under consideration. And, as soon as this is over, it'll

15 be, "We don't want to be touched by Jews," or "We don't want

16 to be touched by, you know, black soldiers," or "We don't

17 want to be touched by Roman Catholics." It's just a series.

18 It's beyond me why we even consider some of these requests,

19 but I'm not a lawyer, I'm not smart enough to figure this

20 out.

21 Senator Ayotte: Well, it's beyond me, too, because I

22 think they'll find that, in the United States of America, we

23 believe very firmly in equality for women. And so, to me

24 this is just absurd that we're even entertaining these

25 challenges.

1 But, I want to commend the women guards at Guantanamo.
2 And I know that you're every bit as good. And, you know,
3 when the 9/11 attackers don't want women guarding them, it's
4 absurd, and I don't think we should be accommodating that.

5 So, please say thank you, for me, and that we support
6 them fully.

7 General Kelly: Sure will.

8 Senator Ayotte: I also wanted to follow up on the
9 recent transfers from Guantanamo to Uruguay and just ask you
10 -- I understand there were a number of transfers made there
11 in December. And can you tell me whether you have any
12 concerns about the resettlement of these detainees in
13 Uruguay? And I did see public reports that one of them
14 actually left Uruguay already and went to Argentina. And
15 can you help me understand how we're keeping tabs on these
16 folks?

17 General Kelly: I can tell you that -- first, I'm not
18 in any way involved with the decision to transfer them.
19 That's all done by an interagency group. And I'm not privy
20 at all to the agreements that may or may not be made with
21 countries that receive these guys. Sometimes -- the
22 Algerians, as an example, the Saudis, very specifically,
23 when they take control of these guys, they put them in a
24 setting that is very, very restrictive. It's my
25 understanding, probably from reading the same open press

1 reports, that the -- in particular, the Uruguayan President,
2 who said, once they arrived, that they are free men, and
3 that there are very few restrictions on them.

4 At a -- there's another concern I have, that I cannot
5 talk in an open setting like this, about some of their
6 activities; the Uruguayans, in particular. But, you know,
7 generally speaking, if you believe the newspaper reports,
8 some of them want to come back to Guantanamo, because
9 they're not living the lifestyle they thought they would
10 lead in Uruguay. It was kind of an interesting twist.

11 But, again, I'm concerned somewhat about their
12 activities, but it's really not part of my responsibility to
13 track them at all.

14 Senator Ayotte: Well, I would like to follow up,
15 certainly offline, about some of the concerns that you may
16 have about Uruguay so that we can understand that.

17 And I just want to thank both of you for your
18 tremendous service to the country.

19 Chairman McCain: Senator King has a additional
20 comment.

21 Senator King: Just -- no, just a quick question for
22 General Kelly.

23 You've talked several times about the sophistication of
24 this network that's moving, principally, drugs in and out of
25 the country. Do you have any specificity on where they

1 penetrate the border? Is it in a particular area? Is it by
2 land, sea? What's the -- how do they make it through? I
3 guess, Admiral, your jurisdiction, but either of you. I'm
4 interested in more specificity about where they come
5 through.

6 General Kelly: I'll push it to the Admiral, but the
7 answer is "everywhere you can imagine."

8 Chairman McCain: Isn't -- could I interrupt? Isn't
9 the answer also, it's like squeezing a balloon? And right
10 now the Arizona-Mexico border is one of the major
11 transshipment points. One reason is because we have
12 mountains that -- they come right up and actually station
13 guides on the mountains to lead them forward.

14 I didn't mean to interrupt, but right now the Tucson
15 sector of the Arizona-Mexico border is one of the most
16 heavily trafficked, I'm sorry to say. But, it -- but,
17 please respond, both of you.

18 Admiral Gortney: Chairman, that's exactly right. Part
19 of the challenge of -- John and his predecessor's success in
20 the maritime pushed it up through the peninsula. And so, as
21 we -- wherever we squeeze, we've got to squeeze equally on
22 the balloon. The efforts in the maritime right now is
23 pushing it up outside through the Bahamas into the east of
24 the Bahamas. So, wherever we apply pressure, we will be
25 effective for a period of time, and they're going to find

1 the weakness. It's like water. And so, it's understanding
2 and have the intelligence as to where to apply the pressure
3 and where will they go next, which is the real challenge.
4 It sounds --

5 Chairman McCain: But, isn't it true that right now the
6 Arizona- --

7 Admiral Gortney: You have a --

8 Chairman McCain: -- -Mexico border is --

9 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir.

10 Chairman McCain: -- one of the major trafficking
11 points? Is that correct?

12 Admiral Gortney: That is correct, sir.

13 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

14 Senator King: But, again, I'm just trying to
15 understand this. As you seal up one place, you're going to
16 find other -- some of the routes seem to be by water?

17 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir.

18 General Kelly: The example I would give you -- one of
19 -- 2 and a half years ago, when I first took this job, we
20 had the vast majority of cocaine moving up Central America,
21 Mexico, into the United States, 2 or 3 percent moving up the
22 islands into, say, Dominican Republic and over to Puerto
23 Rico. Now we see about -- we've had a lot of success on the
24 isthmus. We've put a kind of a shield in place, so we've
25 deflected a lot of the cocaine. Now it's moving -- maybe

1 14-15 percent is moving up in a way that had not been used
2 since the 1980s.

3 In my JIATF-South -- Joint Interagency Task Force-
4 South, down in Key West -- we've just stood up a container
5 cell, because we know they're starting to move things now
6 increasingly by container. And we just got, I think -- just
7 the other day, 156 kilos in a container. As we've done
8 things with --

9 Senator King: The container, which came over -- came
10 by sea.

11 General Kelly: By sea, yes, sir.

12 Heroin, we know, because it's very, very high value,
13 travels primarily by air. That is, a passenger with a
14 couple or 3 kilos in -- you know, in his bag. We see the
15 aviation flights that used to come out of Venezuela --
16 exclusively out of Venezuela, in -- going into Honduras,
17 because of things we've done with the Hondurans, in the
18 Honduran -- recommendations we made to the Hondurans and the
19 Guatemalans -- we're now seeing the jets -- or the aircraft,
20 they've transitioned from, say, propeller aircraft to jets.
21 And now they're going deeper, to Mexico. So, it --

22 Senator King: It would be --

23 General Kelly: They change very quickly.

24 Senator King: It would be helpful to us, in terms of
25 allocating resources to protect against this, to have some

1 analysis -- and perhaps you could get together with the DEA,
2 the FBI, CIA, other -- Homeland Security -- about where the
3 -- not necessarily where, but the types of routes -- sea,
4 air, land -- just so we know where we should be putting our
5 resources.

6 General Kelly: We certainly have that, Senator. I
7 mean, I could sit here for 3 hours and tell you.

8 But, the bottom line is, my organization can see,
9 electronically as well as through intel, working with DEA
10 and FBI and all -- we can detect and monitor this stuff to a
11 very, very high rate of accuracy. What I can't do -- what
12 the interagency can't do very effectively, because we don't
13 have ships and cutters, is interdict it.

14 Senator King: And that's a question of resources,
15 getting back to the sequester.

16 I -- for the record, if you would supply a one-pager on
17 where you see the paths, that would --

18 General Kelly: Yes, sir.

19 Senator King: -- be helpful.

20 General Kelly: Yes, sir.

21 [The information referred to follows:]

22 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

23

24

25

1 Chairman McCain: Could I also mention, while we're in
2 this conversation, that, because of the legalization of
3 marijuana in Colorado and other places, that we are seeing a
4 reduction in marijuana shipments and an increase in
5 methamphetamines, heroin, and other so-called "hard" drugs.
6 Do you want to comment on that phenomenon?

7 Admiral Gortney: Yes, sir. It's one of the common
8 questions that come up in my partnership with the Bahamas
9 and Mexico, is -- is the legalization of marijuana. It
10 concerns them, it concerns us, it especially --

11 Chairman McCain: Yeah, but hasn't it affected the
12 kinds of drugs that are being sent up? Less marijuana.

13 Admiral Gortney: The drug traffic has evolved. Is --
14 I'm not aware if it's a direct result, yet, of a -- less of
15 a demand for marijuana that is legally grown and sold here
16 in the States. I can't help but think that, in the future,
17 that is exactly what's going to happen.

18 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

19 General?

20 General Kelly: Yes, sir. The heroin issue is
21 remarkable, and the methamphetamine, as you point out. You
22 know, methamphetamine used to be produced in the United
23 States, but, because of different laws that the Congress
24 changed, it's harder and harder for the local labs to get
25 the precursors to make the methamphetamine. So, now I think

1 it's something in the neighborhood of 87 -- 90 percent of
2 all the methamphetamine now consumed in the United States is
3 produced in Mexico and then smuggled in.

4 As far as the heroin goes, illegal pharmaceuticals --
5 you know, oxycontin, that kind of thing -- have -- is very,
6 very expensive. I'm told that if you went out here and
7 bought a single oxycontin pill on -- illegally on Capitol
8 Hill, it would cost you about \$60 and get you a certain
9 place. That same amount of heroin is about \$6. So, we see
10 -- as the Federal Government has really gotten its arms
11 around illegal pharmaceuticals and the availability of
12 illegal pharmaceuticals would come down, now the heroin has
13 just exploded. And it's not just in -- as I've -- I think I
14 testified last year, it's not -- it's just not in inner-city
15 communities now, it's everywhere. I mean, it's in New
16 Hampshire, it's in, you know, Capitol Hill, it's in Beacon
17 Hill, it's on the Harvard campus, you know, and it's really
18 very, very, very disturbing.

19 Chairman McCain: Senator Ayotte had an additional
20 question.

21 Senator Ayotte: Thank you, Chairman.

22 Let me just say that, you know, this issue of heroin,
23 it's devastating in a State like mine. We've seen almost a
24 60-percent increase in drug deaths because of, you know, the
25 inexpensive nature of heroin, and the addictive nature of

1 it. So, thank you for everything you're doing on that. And
2 I think that's an area where we should work together in this
3 committee to get more resources for you to -- the more we
4 can drive up the price of heroin, obviously, and interdict
5 more of it, the more we can try to combat this along other
6 ways, too. So, thank you.

7 I had a followup question, though, about Guantanamo.
8 And, you know, there's been a lot of talk about Guantanamo
9 being used as a -- by our enemies as a recruitment tool.
10 And has anyone ever looked at the issue of -- if we move
11 these terrorists, we move some of these high-level
12 detainees, to a facility in the United States, does anyone
13 know whether -- have we looked at the idea of whether that
14 facility would also be used as an example of a recruitment
15 tool? Seems to me that our enemies -- almost anything that
16 becomes symbolic of the United States of America and our
17 fight against them can be used as a radicalization and
18 recruitment tool. Have you looked at this issue or have any
19 thoughts on that?

20 General Kelly: I have a lot of thoughts on it,
21 Senator.

22 Senator Ayotte: Well, what are your thoughts?

23 General Kelly: I don't believe -- well, my belief is,
24 the people that -- these Islamic terrorists are focused on
25 doing us so much harm, not because of GTMO or wherever we

1 house these guys; it's really about us, as a people, as a
2 country.

3 Senator Ayotte: And what we stand for.

4 General Kelly: And what we stand for, the way we live
5 our lives, the way we worship any god we want to worship,
6 the way we educate in -- our little girls. That's why they
7 hate us. I don't -- they don't need GTMO to hate us. And
8 if you -- and if we move them to Charleston, then they'd --
9 then it would be -- Charleston would be -- they -- it's
10 because of who we are and who they are as to why they hate
11 us so much.

12 Senator Ayotte: Thank you, General.

13 Chairman McCain: Senator Tillis.

14 Senator Tillis: Thank you.

15 Thank you both for your extraordinary leadership and
16 service.

17 I want to go back to expand on something that Senator
18 Donnelly asked. And this has to do -- General Kelly, you
19 and I met earlier this week, and we were talking about the
20 level of situational awareness you have. You know where a
21 lot of these bad people are, you may even know their phone
22 number. You know where they're moving and when they're
23 moving. So, there's got to be a high degree of frustration
24 that you could do so much more if you had the resources
25 available. Can you kind of replay what we talked about, in

1 terms of just how much you know about what's going on down
2 there that you can't really stop because you have priorities
3 that you have to leverage your assets?

4 General Kelly: Yes, Senator.

5 The fusion of intelligence, most of it coming from DEA,
6 FBI -- and they have agents in many of these countries,
7 living full-time, and they work with the law enforcement --
8 the local law enforcement. So, the human intelligence is
9 collected by them, and it is just remarkable, the clarity
10 that -- and then, the technical intelligence that the
11 military provides, whether it's NSA, satellites -- we've got
12 radars that triangulate and watch the entire Caribbean. So,
13 we fuse all of that together in a place called JIATF-South,
14 in Key West. And the picture we have is really remarkable.
15 I mean, as I was mentioning in your office, oftentimes we'll
16 know within a couple of hours when one of the go-fasts, the
17 speedboats, is going to leave Cartagena Harbor, the fact
18 that they have a ton and a half of cocaine onboard, that
19 there's two guys, one of whom is -- you know, first name is
20 Jose, maybe have his phone number. The frustrating thing
21 is, we have insufficient airborne ISR to then really get the
22 detail on him as he's moving. And then, the end game is a
23 law enforcement helicopter, usually Coast Guard.

24 So, we see it. It's amazing picture, a very, very
25 clear picture. It's that we don't have the assets.

1 Now, what we've been doing more and more, since we
2 don't have the assets and we're getting less and less assets
3 -- although I will say the Coast Guard Commandant has made a
4 real commitment to double the number of Coast Guard cutters.
5 But, that'll go from three to six. And he also -- the Coast
6 Guard also has an awful lot of other missions to accomplish
7 -- migration up in the Florida straits and all -- you know,
8 a lot of other things. But, the point is, we're working
9 more and more with the partners. The Panamanians are very
10 good partners in this, and they take X-number of tons. The
11 Nicaraguans, believe it or not, are cooperative in this.
12 And then, certainly the Hondurans or Guatemalans.

13 The one thing we don't get when -- if we -- "we," the
14 U.S. -- apprehend these guys, we bring them into the Federal
15 court system, and they very quickly plea bargain, and we get
16 an awful lot of intelligence that then goes back into the
17 cycle. When our partners get these guys, we kind of lose
18 that ability to interrogate them and then offer them a deal
19 they can't refuse.

20 But, the point is, since I don't have the assets --
21 I've got two Navy ships right now. That'll go to zero,
22 forever, in -- by the summer. And that's not even with
23 sequestration. As I say, the Coast Guard Commandant's
24 doubled his commitment, but that's, you know, five or six
25 ships.

1 So, the answer now is the partners, and try to get them
2 to play. And I have to give credit, as well -- we, about 6
3 months a year, will have a -- at least one Canadian frigate,
4 and they turn themselves over to us. And so, we use them in
5 the same way that we would use a Coast Guard cutter or Navy
6 ship. The British occasionally have a ship down. The Dutch
7 are very cooperative. But, they don't have many ships in
8 the region very often. The French, out of Martinique. When
9 they're working together with us, they plug into our system,
10 and we work them hard.

11 Senator Tillis: Thank you.

12 Another question for the both of you. Secretary
13 Schultz was here a few weeks ago, and he was talking about
14 the border security. And he said, when you're talking about
15 the southern border, you need to ask the question, "Which
16 southern border?" That would be the -- relating to the
17 Mexican southern border. We know it's unsafe, and we know
18 that 80 percent of the people coming across our border are
19 not from Mexico. So, there seems to be something to be said
20 for looking at both borders and trying to figure out how to
21 prioritize.

22 And I want y'all to speak on the subject. But, in a
23 general way, if we were giving you a dollar and you were
24 setting the border security strategy, you had a dollar to
25 spend, how much would that be spent on our southern border

1 versus the Mexican southern border?

2 I know it's an unfair question. You can get back with
3 me if you need to. But --

4 Admiral Gortney: Well, I'm --

5 Senator Tillis: -- I think it's important to talk
6 about --

7 Admiral Gortney: If --

8 Senator Tillis: -- how the two are --

9 Admiral Gortney: If it's --

10 Senator Tillis: -- intrinsically liked.

11 Admiral Gortney: If it's my dollar, I'm going to put
12 it on the Mexican southern border, partnering with Sedena
13 and Semar, helping strengthen their southern border, because
14 Homeland Security is in charge of our border between Mexico
15 and the United States. So, I think my dollar would be
16 better spent partnering with Mexico so we can shore up --
17 help assist them shore up their southern border so it's less
18 of a challenge up on our border.

19 General Kelly: And if I had -- if had the same dollar,
20 I'd work my northern boundary, which is Guatemala, Honduras,
21 and El Salvador.

22 Senator Tillis: And, Mr. Chair, just -- if I may just
23 -- as a closing comment, I think that the comment, Admiral,
24 in your opening comments on page 6 with respect to Iran and
25 their trustworthiness -- should be emphasized by anybody who

1 hasn't read the statements.

2 And the last question I have is, in your discussions
3 with leaders in Latin America, how do they feel about the
4 current administration's policy towards Cuba?

5 General Kelly: Actually, in general, they think it's a
6 good idea. They know, as they point out to me, that Cuba's
7 problems are not due to American embargo or whatever. I
8 mean, it's -- everyone else on the planet trades with Cuba
9 except us. But, their advice is, you know, "This is a good
10 thing to do, because now it gets everyone -- all the
11 naysayers off your back, you know, all of the people that
12 would criticize United States." But, at the end of the day,
13 they understand that -- you know, that the Cubans are --
14 have the worst human rights record in the western
15 hemisphere, it's a completely repressive regime, and their
16 economic problems are due to their incompetence, not due to
17 the embargo. And so, they -- but, they think it's a good
18 idea, because it gets -- friend to friend, it gets people
19 off our back, in terms of their -- they no longer can
20 criticize us about "the terrible things we've done to Cuba."

21 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

22 Chairman McCain: Well, I thank you both. And it's
23 been very helpful.

24 And again, General Kelly, we wish you every success in
25 the future, and thank you for your service.

1 Admiral Gortney, it's great to have you here, and I am
2 sure you're looking forward to next year.

3 This hearing is adjourned.

4 [Whereupon, at 11:32 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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