

Stenographic Transcript  
Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATION OF GENERAL MARK A.  
MILLEY, USA, TO BE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY

Tuesday, July 21, 2015

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY  
1155 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.  
SUITE 200  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036  
(202) 289-2260

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATION OF  
GENERAL MARK A. MILLEY, USA,  
TO BE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY

Tuesday, July 21, 2015

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:31 a.m. in Room SH-216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. John McCain, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Committee Members Present: Senators McCain, Inhofe, Wicker, Ayotte, Fischer, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Lee, Reed, McCaskill, Manchin, Gillibrand, Donnelly, Hirono, and King.

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

3           Chairman McCain: Good morning.

4           The Senate Armed Services Committee meets this morning  
5 to consider the nomination of General Mark Milley to be the  
6 Chief of Staff of the United States Army.

7           We welcome you, General Milley, as well as members of  
8 the Milley family. As is our tradition, at the beginning of  
9 your testimony, we invite you to introduce the members of  
10 your family who are joining you. We know the sacrifices  
11 your family has made, and we are grateful to them for their  
12 continued support of our Nation.

13          General Milley: Thank you, Chairman McCain, and thank  
14 you, Ranking Member Reed, and distinguished members of the  
15 Senate Armed Services Committee for the privilege and  
16 opportunity to appear before you today.

17          And I also appreciate the confidence of the President  
18 of the United States.

19          Chairman McCain: General, I was going to --

20          General Milley: Oh, I am sorry, sir.

21          Chairman McCain: -- ask if you would like to introduce  
22 your family. First, Senator Reed and I have to emote for a  
23 while.

24          General Milley: In that case, I shall introduce my  
25 family.

1 [Laughter.]

2 General Milley: And my wife is here, Hollyanne, off to  
3 my left over here sitting next to General Richardson, and my  
4 son and daughter are not here. They are both working. My  
5 son Peter is down in Texas working in the oil industry, and  
6 my daughter is also working in the oil industry and she is  
7 based out of Chicago. And I am very, very fortunate to have  
8 Hollyanne by my side for the last 30 consecutive years of  
9 service.

10 Chairman McCain: Well, thank you, General, and thank  
11 you.

12 You come before this committee as part of a major  
13 transition of American military leadership. If confirmed as  
14 Army Chief of Staff, you will serve alongside a new Chairman  
15 and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and new  
16 service chiefs for the Navy and Marine Corps.

17 As part of this team, you will lead an Army of  
18 volunteer soldiers that has proven itself time and again  
19 over a decade of war in Afghanistan and Iraq. The Army has  
20 endured 70 percent of the casualties in those wars, and as  
21 we all know, the untold sacrifices of our soldiers and their  
22 families did not end with their mission.

23 As our Nation confronts the most diverse and complex  
24 array of global crises since the end of World War II, the  
25 next Chief of Staff of the Army will be responsible for

1 ensuring the total Army, active, guard, and reserve, remains  
2 the most decisive land force in the world. But unless  
3 Washington wakes up to the damage being done to our military  
4 right now by drastic reductions in defense spending, the  
5 Army will be forced to carry out its mission with fewer  
6 dollars, fewer soldiers, and aging equipment.

7 Over the past few years, the Army's end strength has  
8 been reduced from a peak of 570,000 active duty personnel to  
9 490,000 troops this year. And just last week, the Army  
10 announced it would cut an additional 40,000 troops over the  
11 next 2 years, reducing its end strength down to 450,000. If  
12 defense spending cuts continue, there is even talk that the  
13 Army could shrink to 420,000 troops. What is worse, only  
14 one-third of the Army's brigade combat teams are ready for  
15 deployment and decisive operations. In short, the Army is  
16 facing a downward spiral of military capacity and readiness  
17 that increases the risk that, in a crisis, we will have too  
18 few soldiers who could enter a fight without proper training  
19 or equipment.

20 We are not cutting the Army because the world has  
21 become safer or threats to our security have been reduced.  
22 In fact, the opposite is true. As you have stated, General  
23 Milley, this is a budget-driven force level reduction, and  
24 it rested on a series of assumptions, that we were getting  
25 out of Iraq and Afghanistan and stepping back from the

1 Middle East more broadly, that Europe was secure, and U.S.  
2 forces could depart the continent, and that there was no  
3 need for significant deployments to Africa. Instead, we  
4 have seen the rise of ISIL, Russia's invasion of Ukraine,  
5 the outbreak of Ebola, and the growing tensions in the Asia-  
6 Pacific region.

7 I think you would agree, General, that when our  
8 assumptions about the world change, we must either adapt our  
9 conclusions to the new realities or scale back our ambitions  
10 to meet our reduced means. Instead, the administration and  
11 many in the Congress are trying to have it both ways:  
12 asking our soldiers to take on a growing set of missions  
13 with fewer and fewer resources. This is not just about  
14 reversing the effects of sequestration. It is about  
15 replacing the arbitrary spending cuts on defense that were  
16 imposed under the Budget Control Act of 2011. That is the  
17 only way we will get back to a truly strategy-driven defense  
18 budget.

19 And yet, while I believe there is no strategic  
20 rationale for the Army's end strength to fall below its pre-  
21 9/11 level of 490,000 troops, in recent years, the Army's  
22 headquarters and administrative staff have grown at the same  
23 time it has cut brigade combat teams. That too is wrong,  
24 and it only hurts the Army's credibility. This committee is  
25 embarking on a multiyear effort to make major reductions in

1 headquarters and administration across the Department of  
2 Defense. If confirmed, General, I want you to be a  
3 relentless partner in this effort.

4 Another priority for the next Army Chief of Staff is  
5 modernizing the force. The Army faces an enormous challenge  
6 in replacing, repairing, and reconditioning its equipment  
7 after 14 years of sustained combat. At the same time, the  
8 Army must continue to modernize to meet future threats.  
9 Programs like the Joint Light Tactical Vehicle and Armored  
10 Multi-Purpose Vehicle aim to enhance tactical mobility,  
11 command and control, medical evacuation, and other critical  
12 combat functions while significantly improving the  
13 protection and safety of our soldiers.

14 Accomplishing these goals will require additional  
15 resources, to be sure. But perhaps more importantly, it  
16 requires the Army to learn the lessons of its failed  
17 acquisition programs, a record that has been particularly  
18 dismal. From Comanche to Crusader, Future Combat System to  
19 the Ground Combat Vehicle, billions of dollars have been  
20 wasted on programs that never became operational. These and  
21 other failures also reflect the inefficiency and dysfunction  
22 that have crippled our defense acquisition system more  
23 broadly: unwarranted optimism and cost and schedule  
24 estimates, funding instability, requirements creep, immature  
25 technology, excessive risk-taking, and concurrency between

1 testing and production.

2           There are diverse views on acquisition reform, but one  
3 thing is for sure: the status quo is unacceptable. To  
4 provide our soldiers the equipment they need to defend the  
5 Nation, we simply cannot continue to have blurred lines of  
6 accountability and evasions of responsibility inside the  
7 defense acquisition system. That is why in this year's  
8 National Defense Authorization Act, this committee adopted  
9 reforms to increase the role of the military services in the  
10 acquisition process and to create new mechanisms to ensure  
11 accountability for results. Among these reforms is an  
12 enhanced role for the service chiefs. The Army must ensure  
13 that its acquisition programs stay on schedule, within cost,  
14 and perform to expectations. And if that does not happen,  
15 General, we will be calling you.

16           General, thank you again for appearing before this  
17 committee today, and we look forward to your testimony.

18           Senator Reed?

19

20

21

22

23

24

25



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

3           Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And  
4 I want to join you in welcoming General Milley this morning.  
5 I would like to thank him for his many years of service to  
6 out Nation and to the Army and for his willingness to  
7 continue to serve. General Milley is joined this morning by  
8 his wife Hollyanne. Thank you, ma'am, for your service to  
9 the Nation and to the Army. And I also wanted to  
10 acknowledge Mary and Peter and wish them well.

11           General Milley, if confirmed, you will oversee the Army  
12 during a time when the United States faces a multitude of  
13 challenges abroad. While the conflict areas around the  
14 world continue to increase, the amount of resources devoted  
15 to the Army continue to decrease. Earlier this month, it  
16 was announced that over the next 2 years, the Army would  
17 convert two infantry brigade combat teams to battalion task  
18 forces. These changes were necessary in order for the Army  
19 to continue to reduce its end strength, with a final goal of  
20 450,000 soldiers by the end of fiscal year 2017. In  
21 addition to these reductions, the Army also intends to cut  
22 approximately 17,000 civilian personnel, although it is my  
23 understanding that the Army has not identified which  
24 installations will be impacted by these reductions.

25           If sequestration funding levels remain in place, the

1 situation becomes much more ominous for the Army. Without  
2 any relief from the budget caps, the Army will need to  
3 reduce its end strength further to a level of 420,000  
4 soldiers in the coming years. General, I hope you will  
5 share with us your views today on how to manage these  
6 reductions, if in fact they are called for, and what, if  
7 any, impact these reductions would have on the readiness of  
8 the Army.

9 In addition to managing end strength reductions, the  
10 Army is grappling with how to modernize the force and  
11 increase readiness levels. In recent years, the Army has  
12 had to make tough choices on its major modernization  
13 programs. As the Army Equipment Modernization Strategy,  
14 released in March 2015, acknowledges, "The Army cannot  
15 afford to equip and sustain the Total Army with the most  
16 modern equipment; therefore, we must acknowledge fiscal  
17 realities and we will selectively modernize equipment and  
18 formations."

19 At the same time, the Army continues to cope with  
20 reduced readiness levels. General Odierno, the current  
21 Chief of Staff of the Army, testified before the Senate  
22 Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense in March of this year  
23 that readiness levels are at historically low levels.  
24 Specifically he stated that "today, only 33 percent of our  
25 brigades are ready, when our sustained readiness rate should

1 be closer to 70 percent.”

2 General Milley, I look forward to hearing your thoughts  
3 on how the Army can make targeted investments in  
4 modernization while also restoring readiness levels.

5 The National Guard, has always been an integral  
6 component to our Nation’s defense. In fact, today they are  
7 probably more integral than at any time in our history.  
8 They serve as the first line of defense when there is a  
9 natural disaster at home, and they perform a vital homeland  
10 security mission. And without question, the role of the  
11 National Guard and reserve component played in both  
12 Afghanistan and Iraq was critical to our success on the  
13 ground.

14 However, as the Army draws down and resources become  
15 more limited, there has been tension between the active and  
16 reserve components, the most notable example being the Army  
17 restructuring initiative. To ensure that the Army does not  
18 make any irrevocable force structure changes, last year, the  
19 Congress created the National Commission on the Future of  
20 the Army to undertake a comprehensive review of the size and  
21 force structure of the Army. The commission has been  
22 working diligently meeting with stakeholders, performing  
23 site visits, and conducting hearings in order to provide  
24 their report to Congress by February 1, 2016.

25 General Milley, if confirmed, you will be working with

1 General Grass, Chief of the Army National Guard Bureau, and  
2 I look forward to hearing from you on how you envision the  
3 relationship between the active Army and the National Guard  
4 and reserve components and what, if anything, can be done to  
5 strengthen that relationship.

6 Finally, I have repeatedly stated that sequestration is  
7 a senseless approach to addressing our Nation's fiscal  
8 challenges and it undermines our national security and our  
9 military readiness. Defense budgets should be based on a  
10 long-term military strategy, not sequestration-level budget  
11 caps. And the chairman has made this point eloquently and  
12 consistently. And I hope you will share your thoughts on  
13 this topic with the committee today.

14 Again, General, thank you for your service.

15 Chairman McCain: General, there are standard questions  
16 that are asked of all military nominees, and I would like to  
17 proceed with those before your opening statement.

18 The questions are as follows.

19 In order to exercise its legislative and oversight  
20 responsibilities, it is important that this committee and  
21 other appropriate committees of the Congress are able to  
22 receive testimony, briefings, and other communications of  
23 information. Have you adhered to applicable laws and  
24 regulations governing conflicts of interest?

25 General Milley: I have, Chairman.

1 Chairman McCain: Do you agree, when asked, to give  
2 your personal views, even if those views differ from the  
3 administration in power?

4 General Milley: I do, Chairman.

5 Chairman McCain: Have you assumed any duties or  
6 undertaken any actions which would appear to presume the  
7 outcome of the confirmation process?

8 General Milley: I have not, Chairman.

9 Chairman McCain: Will you ensure your staff complies  
10 with deadlines established for requested communications,  
11 including questions for the record in hearings?

12 General Milley: I will, Chairman.

13 Chairman McCain: Will you cooperate in providing  
14 witnesses and briefers in response to congressional  
15 requests?

16 General Milley: Yes, Chairman.

17 Chairman McCain: Will those witnesses be protected  
18 from reprisal for their testimony or briefings?

19 General Milley: Yes, they will, Chairman.

20 Chairman McCain: Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear  
21 and testify, upon request, before this committee?

22 General Milley: I do, Chairman.

23 Chairman McCain: Do you agree to provide documents,  
24 including copies of electronic forms of communications, in a  
25 timely manner when requested by a duly constituted committee

1 or consult with the committee regarding the basis for any  
2 good faith delay or denial in providing such documents?

3 General Milley: I do, Chairman.

4 Chairman McCain: Thank you. Welcome and please  
5 proceed.

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL MARK A. MILLEY, USA, TO BE CHIEF  
2 OF STAFF OF THE ARMY

3           General Milley: Thanks, Chairman McCain and Ranking  
4 Member Reed and distinguished members of the Senate Armed  
5 Services Committee for the privilege and opportunity to  
6 appear before you today. And I appreciate the confidence  
7 the President of the United States and the Secretary of  
8 Defense have shown by nominating me to be the next Chief of  
9 Staff of the United States Army.

10           And thank you all for your continued and unwavering  
11 support and commitment to the soldiers and civilians and  
12 families of what is your Army. And as your Army is the  
13 strength of our Nation, our soldiers are the strength of our  
14 Army, and all of their families are the strength of our  
15 soldiers.

16           And likewise, my family has been my strength throughout  
17 my life. Both my mother and father served our Nation in  
18 World War II as part of the greatest generation, with my  
19 mother attending the medical needs of soldiers, sailors,  
20 airmen, and marines from the Pacific at a military hospital  
21 near Seattle, Washington, while my father served with the  
22 4th Marine Division in the Central Pacific, making the  
23 assault landings on Kwajelein, Saipan, Tinian, and the  
24 bloody battle of Iwo Jima as a young 19- and 20-year-old.

25           Sadly, my mother passed over 20 years ago and my father

1 passed just last April, a week shy of his 91st birthday.  
2 But I am absolutely sure that they are both very proud from  
3 above of their soldier son and will always be a source of  
4 leadership and guidance for me in the years ahead.

5 I am also unbelievably lucky to have by my side, as I  
6 previously introduced, for the last 30 consecutive years of  
7 my service the most dedicated and strongest woman in the  
8 world, my wife Hollyanne. She, like my parents, is a  
9 constant source of inspiration and love. For many years,  
10 during seven contingency deployments on various operations  
11 and thousands of days of training, Hollyanne has essentially  
12 been like so many Army spouses, a single parent, who has  
13 raised two wonderful children who are now young adults, our  
14 daughter, Mary Margaret, and our son Peter, who  
15 unfortunately could not be with us today. But it is for  
16 them and for all of our children and the future generations  
17 that I and all of us in uniform continue to serve and are  
18 willing to go into harm's way to give our todays for their  
19 tomorrows.

20 And I would like to just take a moment to recognize  
21 Hollyanne as a representative of all the Army families, of  
22 all the Army spouses, and for their incredible resilience,  
23 service and sacrifice.

24 I would also like to congratulate my predecessor,  
25 General Ray Odierno, and his wife Linda, who have given over



1 39 consecutive years of distinguished service to our great  
2 Nation. I want to personally thank them both for their  
3 tremendous leadership as our Chief of Staff and leading  
4 spouse. Our Nation has been well served by this self-less  
5 soldier and his entire family.

6 Chairman, Senators, service in the United States Army  
7 is a privilege. It is a distinct privilege. It is not a  
8 right. It is a privilege and it is earned the old-fashioned  
9 way, through hard work and meeting exacting standards of  
10 discipline and excellence.

11 And your Army's contract with the American people is a  
12 combat-ready force built around our Nation's most valuable  
13 asset, our sons and daughters who become soldiers of  
14 character and the best trained and best equipped Army in the  
15 world. And our fundamental task is like no other. It is to  
16 win and to win in the unforgiving crucible of ground combat.  
17 There are many other tasks and roles and missions that your  
18 Army can do as part of our joint force, and we perform those  
19 every day in support of our Nation's interest. We assure  
20 allies. We deter adversaries. We shape outcomes and build  
21 partner capacity and provide foundational capabilities to  
22 enable other joint forces in a variety of ways. We have  
23 provided needed help to victims of disaster.

24 But our reason for being, our very reason for being at  
25 the very core of what it means to have an Army, it is to win

1 and to win decisively in ground combat against the enemies  
2 of our country so that American citizens can enjoy life,  
3 liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And every year,  
4 120,000 of America's sons and daughters raise their right  
5 hand to take an oath of allegiance to serve our Nation in  
6 the uniform of your United States Army. And in return, we  
7 make the commitment to develop them as soldiers, as leaders,  
8 and importantly as citizens. These soldiers are the core of  
9 our all-volunteer Army, made up of three components, the  
10 active, the National Guard, and the Reserve. We are a total  
11 Army. We are in fact one Army. We are America's Army. And  
12 all of us from private to general come from the people, and  
13 we are dedicated to give our life and our limb to serve the  
14 people. And we do it with great pride and a cause that  
15 transcends ourselves.

16 I have huge confidence in our Army today. I have  
17 served in it in both peace and war. And right now, we have  
18 the most skilled and combat-experienced Army in the Nation's  
19 history. But in this time of increasing instability, of  
20 increasing uncertainty throughout the globe, we must  
21 squarely face and solve significant challenges as, Chairman,  
22 you mentioned, in manpower, readiness and modernization.

23 If confirmed as the Chief of Staff of the United States  
24 Army, I look forward to working with this committee to get  
25 the Army the resources it needs. And I also pledge to be a

1 careful steward on behalf of the American taxpayer whom we  
2 recognize we all serve as well.

3 And finally, if confirmed as Chief of Staff, I want to  
4 ensure that the Army meets the expectations of the American  
5 people. The American people have expected your Army to  
6 fight and win our Nation's wars at any time, any place, and  
7 your soldiers are ready to do that today, as we have done  
8 for 240 consecutive years.

9 Today we have a great Army and we stand on the  
10 shoulders of those who came before us. It would be a  
11 tremendous honor to lead our soldiers of today as their  
12 Chief of Staff. And I thank each of you, without whom we  
13 would not even have an Army.

14 I thank you for the opportunity to appear here today,  
15 and I look forward to your questions.

16 [The prepared statement of General Milley follows:]

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

1 Chairman McCain: Thank you, General. Thank you for  
2 your strong statement.

3 As you know, last week there were four unarmed marines  
4 and one sailor in Chattanooga, Tennessee who were murdered.  
5 What steps do you believe should be put in place immediately  
6 to improve the security of Army personnel in the United  
7 States, especially at facilities like recruiting stations?

8 General Milley: Senator, first as a son of someone who  
9 served in the 4th Marine Division, I want to publicly extend  
10 my condolences to the families of the four marines and one  
11 sailor who were killed. It is a horrible tragedy.

12 Force protection is a key task for any commander, as it  
13 is for all of the leaders in the Army and throughout the  
14 military. Specifically, there is a wide variety of both  
15 active and passive measures. As you may know, Admiral  
16 Gortney, Commander of NORTHCOM, issued out some increased  
17 force protection measures, which I will not discuss publicly  
18 exactly what those are.

19 But from my view, there is a variety of both active and  
20 passive. From the passive standpoint, there is a variety of  
21 hardening things we can do, bulletproof glass, et cetera.  
22 Actively we can increase patrols, work closely with the law  
23 enforcement.

24 As far as arming recruiters go, I think that is  
25 complicated legally, and there are issues involved

1 throughout the country, but we will have to come to grips  
2 with that, and it certainly should be --

3 Chairman McCain: The legal part of it can be resolved.  
4 Do you think that they should under certain conditions be  
5 armed?

6 General Milley: I think under conditions, both on  
7 military bases and in out-stations, recruiting stations,  
8 reserve centers, that we should seriously consider it. In  
9 some cases, I think it is appropriate.

10 Chairman McCain: As regards Afghanistan, should we  
11 withdraw according to a preordained calendar-based plan or a  
12 condition-based plan?

13 General Milley: I am in favor of a conditions-based  
14 plan.

15 Chairman McCain: Which right now would you say that  
16 the situation would warrant evaluation and revision of the  
17 President's plan by 2017 to have an embassy-based force?

18 General Milley: Right now, I think talking with John  
19 Campbell, General Campbell, the commander of the force in  
20 Afghanistan, it is my understanding that the plan is  
21 continually under review and that we will execute based on  
22 conditions on the ground.

23 Chairman McCain: But that is your view.

24 General Dunford has testified before this committee  
25 that even with the \$38 billion addition, that our Nation's

1 military, quote, would remain at the lower raged edge of  
2 manageable risk in our ability to execute the defense  
3 strategy. Do you agree with that?

4 General Milley: I do with respect to the Army as we  
5 look out, and I concur with General Odierno's assessment.

6 Chairman McCain: That we would be at the lower raged  
7 edge?

8 General Milley: I would probably agree with that, yes,  
9 Senator. And then I think he testified to significant risk,  
10 and if we go to 420,000, as Senator Reed mentioned earlier,  
11 we would be shifting into high risk.

12 Chairman McCain: Do you believe that we should arm the  
13 Ukrainians with counter-battery systems with which to defend  
14 themselves from Russian artillery and rocket strikes?

15 General Milley: Senator, I think providing nonlethal  
16 equipment is already being done, and I think lethal  
17 equipment --

18 Chairman McCain: I am asking about lethal equipment.

19 General Milley: Yes. Lethal equipment I think is  
20 something we should consider, and I would be in favor of  
21 lethal defensive equipment.

22 Chairman McCain: In your view, do we have a strategy  
23 to defeat ISIS?

24 General Milley: Senator, there is a strategy. I think  
25 you are familiar with the nine lines of effort. The

1 military has got two. And currently there is a strategy.

2 Chairman McCain: And that strategy also applies to  
3 Syria?

4 General Milley: Syria is part of the overall strategy  
5 with respect to ISIS, as I understand it.

6 Chairman McCain: So you believe that we do have a  
7 strategy to defeat ISIS.

8 General Milley: I think there is a strategy, yes.

9 Chairman McCain: Do you think it will defeat ISIS?

10 General Milley: Right now, the way the strategy is  
11 laid out, as I understand it, is that it is going to take a  
12 considerable amount of time, measured in years, to defeat  
13 ISIS if we execute the strategy as it is currently designed.

14 Chairman McCain: Maybe you could tell me a little bit  
15 about that strategy because the President said they have not  
16 developed it yet.

17 General Milley: As I understand it, there are nine  
18 lines of effort. The two that concern the military are  
19 providing a variety of enabler capabilities to the Iraqi  
20 military and also to provide security force assistance and  
21 building partner capacity with the Iraqi military.

22 Chairman McCain: In your experience, do you believe  
23 that we need forward air controllers?

24 General Milley: In my experience, having forward air  
25 controllers forward with units provides more effective close

1 air support.

2 Chairman McCain: Well, I thank you, General, and thank  
3 you for your service. And we look forward to moving forward  
4 with your nomination. And congratulations, and all of us  
5 would also agree that your predecessor is also an  
6 outstanding soldier. I thank you.

7 General Milley: Thank you, Chairman.

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

9 Again, thank you, General Miley -- Milley, for your  
10 testimony. I get confused because up our way it is usually  
11 "Miley." I do not know what happened.

12 General Milley: That is in Rhode Island, Senator.

13 Senator Reed: I know. And you are from Massachusetts,  
14 I know.

15 [Laughter.]

16 Senator Reed: So forgive me if I mispronounce things.

17 General Milley: As long as we both like the Red Sox,  
18 we are good, sir.

19 Senator Reed: We like the Red Sox and the Bruins.  
20 Well, I will stop right there and ask a service question,  
21 General.

22 You are facing force reductions, 450,000 active forces,  
23 which leads to the question of how do you ensure that you  
24 can meet all the requirements that are facing the Army. And  
25 several possibilities that you can comment on -- is a much



1 smoother closer integration with National Guard and Reserve  
2 forces so they can come into the fight earlier. That is  
3 one. Two, obviously, continuing to operate jointly and  
4 train jointly with the Marine Corps, which is a way to  
5 augment land forces. And three, to continue or to increase,  
6 in fact, joint operations with foreign militaries that are  
7 our allies. So could you comment on those approaches? And  
8 will that in any way help sort of offset the decline in  
9 manpower?

10 General Milley: Well, first, Senator, I think that the  
11 reduction in manpower down to 450,000 for the active force,  
12 920,000 or 980,000 overall for the total force -- and I  
13 agree with the current Chief of Staff's assessment that  
14 places the Nation at significant risk, given our global  
15 commitments. In order to mitigate that risk, incorporating  
16 elements of the National Guard and Reserve component are  
17 key, and then working with allies is fundamental. I think  
18 all of those are necessary to mitigate some of the risk.

19 Senator Reed: Specifically with respect to the  
20 National Guard, what is your approach? You know, we speak  
21 of one Army, and frankly, looking back 30 or more years, it  
22 is now much more one Army than it was previously. What are  
23 you going to do to make sure that is more than rhetoric,  
24 that there really is one consistent Army -- National Guard  
25 and Reserve, active -- force?

1           General Milley: We are already doing many things. As  
2 the Commander of Forces Command, I have got training  
3 readiness, oversight for the Guard and actual command of the  
4 Reserves. There are many thing we are doing right now. We  
5 integrate at both of our combat training centers down at  
6 Fort Polk, Louisiana and out in California National Training  
7 Center. We are fully integrated with Reserve component and  
8 National Guard elements. So integration of those forces is  
9 key, and we will sustain that and increase that over time.

10           The second big one I think is we have partnerships.  
11 All of our active component forces are partnered with  
12 National Guard units, and they are fully integrated for home  
13 station training and support each other.

14           Senator Reed: One of the areas of concern -- and this  
15 has been led by Senator McCain's efforts over many years --  
16 has been acquisition reform. And he, frankly, indicated a  
17 long litany of major systems where the Army could not get  
18 off the drawing board literally. There are proposals today  
19 to involve the chiefs more directly not only with authority  
20 but responsibility.

21           Can you comment about the acquisition process and what  
22 you would like to do as service chief in making it more  
23 effective?

24           General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

25           In my view, I think the service chiefs should have an

1 increased role across the entire acquisition process where  
2 we are responsible for and held accountable for linking the  
3 requirements, which we do play -- the service chiefs play a  
4 role in that right now. But we are not or the service  
5 chiefs are not as engaged as could be with respect to the  
6 resources and decisions of actual acquisition. So those  
7 three pieces, linking resources, the requirements, and the  
8 actual acquisition -- in my view the chiefs should have  
9 increased authority to link all three of those throughout  
10 the entire process. So not just the inputs of requirements  
11 but also the outputs of acquisition.

12 Senator Reed: Just a final point very quickly is that  
13 we have consistently pointed out that readiness is being  
14 challenged in terms of brigades when 30 percent of our Army  
15 brigades are ready to go, and that is way below. That  
16 requires some either massive budget relief or internal  
17 reallocation of resources. If you do not get the budget  
18 relief, what kind of resources are you prepared to  
19 reallocate to get training done?

20 General Milley: Really, there are three pieces, three  
21 levers that any Chief of Staff can use. One is end  
22 strength. The other is modernization, and the other is  
23 readiness. Our obligation as an Army or any service is to  
24 ensure that we have ready forces. There is no soldier,  
25 sailor, airman, or marine who should ever go into harm's way

1 not fully manned, equipped, well let, et cetera. So no one  
2 should ever go in harm's way unready. So readiness is the  
3 number one priority. It is my number one priority, if  
4 confirmed, and it will remain the number one priority.

5 So that leaves only end strength and modernization.  
6 Right now, the Army has taken a lot of cuts in modernization  
7 over time, and then we have end strength. So if confirmed,  
8 I am going to have to take a hard look to make sure that we  
9 balance those three components as we go forward.

10 Senator Reed: Thank you very much.

11 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 Chairman McCain: Senator Fischer?

13 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 And thank you, General, for being here today.

15 When we met earlier this month you mentioned two of  
16 your priorities. And as you just said, the first one was  
17 readiness, and you also said investing in future needs.

18 Do you believe that the future needs will require the  
19 Army to primarily focus on modernizing its current  
20 capabilities, or do you see a shift to new missions and new  
21 capabilities? And I know there has been a lot of talk about  
22 the Army's role in coastal defense. So where do you see  
23 that headed?

24 General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

25 As you said, two priorities exist for any Chief of

1 Staff really. One is maintaining readiness of the force.  
2 Second is to posture the force to be ready at some point in  
3 the future. The period of time that I would be looking at  
4 in the future, if I were confirmed, would be the 2025-2030-  
5 2035 time frame. Right now our modernization strategy is to  
6 incrementally improve existing systems. And that is okay  
7 for right now. But there are a wide variety of emerging  
8 technologies that we may or may not have military  
9 application 15 to 20 years from now. We are going to take a  
10 look at those. We are going to explore all of those, ask  
11 the right questions and see which ones of those apply to  
12 ground forces. Many already apply to air and naval forces.  
13 So emerging technology is an area we are going to take hard  
14 look at, Senator.

15 Senator Fischer: Do you see a shift, though, to any  
16 new missions that are going to be necessary for the Army to  
17 acquire?

18 General Milley: I think the fundamental missions that  
19 currently exist in the variety of strategic documents that  
20 are out there will remain consistent, and I do not see a  
21 fundamental shift in the mission for the Army.

22 Senator Fischer: Even with the advancement of new  
23 technologies by people who are not our friends? Do you see  
24 the Army playing any role in that on new missions?

25 General Milley: The only one that is coming to mind

1 right now is cyber. We definitely have increased our  
2 capabilities in cyber across the joint force, and the Army  
3 is building a cyber force. So we are going to continue to  
4 look at that because that is critical for the defense of the  
5 Nation and for the Army's capabilities.

6 Senator Fischer: And as the current Commander of the  
7 Army's Forces Command, I know that you are responsible for  
8 providing Army units so you can fulfill the combatant  
9 commanders' requirements. We heard a little bit about the  
10 force reduction and the impact that that may have. Right  
11 now, are you able to fulfill the combatant commanders'  
12 requirements? And where will it be when we look at a force  
13 that is reduced to 450,000?

14 General Milley: As Commander of FORCECOM, right now we  
15 are able, Senator, to fulfill the combatant commanders'  
16 requests for forces that have come in. As we continue to  
17 draw down to 450,000 by 2017-2018, I think we are going to  
18 incur increased risk, as the current chief has mentioned, at  
19 the end of it, it will be significant risk.

20 We will have to see. We do not know what the future  
21 requirements are going to be. Senator McCain mentioned you  
22 got issues in eastern Europe. You got issues with ISIS.  
23 And there is a wide variety of other security challenges  
24 around the world. So if demand continues to increase that  
25 it has in the last year, unanticipated demand, then I think

1 we will have to reassess our risk assessment.

2 Senator Fischer: And SOCOM is one of the combatant  
3 commands that you support as well. And I have been  
4 concerned that reductions across the services are going to  
5 impact the conventional force enablers that our special ops  
6 guys rely upon. How do you work with them to manage that  
7 collateral damage that reductions are going to have on their  
8 capabilities?

9 General Milley: We are very, very closely tied as you  
10 might imagine, with Special Operations Command. 80 percent  
11 of U.S. special operations comes from the Army. So we are  
12 very closely tied at Fort Bragg. FORCECOM headquarters is  
13 also the headquarters for the U.S. Army Special Operations  
14 Command. So we are joined at the hip.

15 And one of the big lessons learned that has come out of  
16 the last 10 to 15 years of conflict has been the synergistic  
17 effect that we have gotten from the interdependence of both  
18 conventional and special operations. So we will continue to  
19 work with them very, very closely. We have them integrated  
20 in all of our major exercises at the combat training  
21 centers. We work with them on acquisition development, and  
22 obviously, we provide a wide variety of enablers that  
23 support special operations. We will keep that linkage.  
24 That will not break.

25 Senator Fischer: Thank you, sir. I appreciate your

1 commitment to making sure that our military men and women  
2 are able to perform the missions that they are given. Thank  
3 you.

4 General Milley: Thank you, Senator.

5 Chairman McCain: Senator Manchin?

6 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 And thank you, General. I want to thank you for your  
8 service to our country and to your family's support of that  
9 service you have given us.

10 Sir, you and I have had a good conversation on quite a  
11 few things, and I will ask you the same question I have  
12 asked most of our conferees. What do you consider the  
13 greatest threat that the United States of America faces?

14 General Milley: As a soldier --

15 Senator Manchin: The national security for our  
16 country.

17 General Milley: As a soldier, as a military officer, I  
18 would have to say that it is Russia, and let me explain that  
19 and why. Russia is the only country on earth that retains a  
20 nuclear capability to destroy the United States. So it is  
21 an existential threat to the United States. So it has  
22 capability.

23 Intent? I do not know. But the activity of Russia  
24 since 2008 has been very, very aggressive. They have  
25 attacked and invaded Georgia. They have seized the Crimea.



1 They have attacked into the Ukraine. That is worrisome. So  
2 I would put Russia right now from a military perspective as  
3 the number one threat.

4 I would also add China, North Korea, and ISIS, along  
5 with Iran, including the recent agreement that was signed  
6 the other day. Those countries -- I would not put them in  
7 any particular order. Each in their own different way  
8 represents security threats to the United States.

9 Senator Manchin: Also, we talked about the obstacles  
10 that you are facing or that we are facing by using the  
11 National Guard to the full extent, especially the day-to-day  
12 operations. If you could expand on that. What are the  
13 obstacles that prevent the Army from using its Army National  
14 Guard to the extent that they should be, as well trained as  
15 they are today?

16 General Milley: As you know, Senator, the National  
17 Guard has been key over the last decade and a half and have  
18 served very proudly and honorably in both Afghanistan and  
19 Iraq, and they are fully integrated in a lot of our training  
20 operations here in the continental United States. It would  
21 help if we had greater access to the guard. Right now, the  
22 Guard has state partnership programs overseas with a wide  
23 variety of countries. There is a lot of exercises in  
24 support of combatant commanders that we could use guard  
25 forces for. And its operations, current operations. Some

1 are peacekeeping, peace enforcement such as Kosovo and the  
2 Sinai. Others are more active in Afghanistan and Iraq. But  
3 fundamentally access to the Guard is key.

4 And that all links back to the budget. Right now we  
5 can only pay for bringing Guard units, mobilizing them,  
6 bringing them on under OCO funding, and many of these  
7 operations are, in fact, exercises for the COCOM's and they  
8 are not covered with OCO funding. So access and funding.

9 Senator Manchin: I am sure we look forward to working  
10 with you on making that available because I think our Guard  
11 could be used more effectively than what they are right now,  
12 other than private contractors that we are using. And that  
13 would bring me right up to the auditing. What is your  
14 understanding of where the Army stands in terms of being  
15 ready for a full audit by the end of fiscal year 2017?

16 General Milley: I have been briefed that both as a  
17 FORCECOM Commander but also through the pre-confirmation  
18 hearing preparation and briefings I got from the Army staff  
19 that the Army is on track and will be ready for the full  
20 auditing in 2017.

21 Senator Manchin: If confirmed, will you make improving  
22 the Army's acquisition system a priority?

23 General Milley: Absolutely.

24 Senator Manchin: I think you would understand the  
25 concerns that we have with the procurement system that we

1 have right now, and it does not seem to work very  
2 functionally as far as effective or cost-effective  
3 especially. And changing those systems -- again, it all  
4 ties back to the auditing as quickly as that can be done.

5 And also, do you have any idea on the amount of  
6 contractors that we have or the Army is using -- contract  
7 forces?

8 General Milley: I do not know right this minute Army-  
9 wide. I do know, for example, I recently commanded in  
10 Afghanistan and there were 1.5, one and a half, contractors  
11 to every soldier that was deployed over there. So the  
12 amount of contractors that we use is significant. I can get  
13 you the exact number.

14 Senator Manchin: If you could, sir, I would appreciate  
15 that because I think the cost of the contractors versus  
16 using our own National Guard and Reserves -- it makes more  
17 sense to use, in my estimation, people in uniform versus  
18 people that basically have been in uniform and left for the  
19 higher pay that the contractors are receiving. And that is  
20 the rub I have had all along. So if you could help with  
21 that, I would appreciate it.

22 General Milley: Absolutely. We will do that.

23 Senator Manchin: Thank you, sir.

24 Chairman McCain: Senator Ayotte?

25 Senator Ayotte: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1           Thank you, General, and I want to thank your family for  
2 their service as well to our Nation.

3           I wanted to follow up. You confirmed today what  
4 General Dunford had also testified to this committee before,  
5 that Russia is our greatest national security threat. And I  
6 noticed also in your advance policy questions that you  
7 stated unambiguously that the Army in Europe does not have  
8 what it needs. What does EUCOM need that it does not have,  
9 and how important is this as we think about Russia as the  
10 most significant threat that we are facing?

11          General Milley: I think there are two parts to that.  
12 One is to assure our allies, and the other is to deter  
13 Russian aggression. I think in both cases additional ground  
14 capabilities are necessary. The Army is already moving out  
15 on that to place activity sets over there and preposition  
16 equipment to either reinforce capabilities that are there,  
17 forces that are there, or to use that equipment for a  
18 variety of exercises. There are a lot of tools in the kit  
19 bag we can use, but I do think we need to increase ground  
20 forces on a temporary rotational basis in order either to  
21 deter Russia or assure our allies.

22          Senator Ayotte: Thank you.

23          I wanted to follow up. You, in answer to Senator  
24 Manchin, had talked about access to the Guard. And one of  
25 the things that we have seen is a program with the Air Force

1 that is called Total Force Enterprise Active Associate Unit.  
2 So in other words, it is total force. So at Pease in New  
3 Hampshire, we have had an active duty association between  
4 active duty Air Force and our Guard there that has been  
5 really effective.

6 So I wanted to ask you if that is something that you  
7 would take a look at as actually actively partnering certain  
8 units together to have these active duty associations  
9 because I think this model -- the Air Force has had some  
10 good success with it and recognizes, as well, as you have  
11 already indicated today, we would not have been able to  
12 fight the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan without the Guard and  
13 Reserve. And being able to actually do some training and  
14 work together with certain units I think makes some sense.  
15 I wanted to get your thought on that and if that is  
16 something you would look at as a possibility.

17 General Milley: It is, Senator. In fact, I met with  
18 your TAG from New Hampshire, along with all the other TAG's  
19 east of the Mississippi, about -- I guess it was -- 6-8  
20 weeks ago, and they brought that up. So I am going to try  
21 to take a look at that and see where it applies to the Army,  
22 if that Air Force model can apply for greater and fuller  
23 integration.

24 As you know, the Guard and Reserve were integrated  
25 under General Abrams when he was Chief of Staff right

1 following Vietnam. The Abrams doctrine has served the  
2 Nation well, and we intend to fully implement that.

3 Senator Ayotte: Well, certainly it is a total force  
4 needs in terms of what we need to do to defend the Nation.  
5 So I appreciate your careful examination of that program  
6 which has been very successful at Pease.

7 I wanted to also follow up, General. How important is  
8 effective and reliable air missile defense to Army  
9 operations? Because one thing that has been brought to my  
10 attention, we have the Patriot. 13 of our allies also rely  
11 on the Patriot to protect their forces. And yet, some of  
12 our allies have more modern and advanced versions of the  
13 Patriot than our troops have. So I do not agree with that,  
14 and I think this committee very clearly in the defense  
15 authorization -- actually the Army requested \$106 million  
16 for Patriot improvement to upgrade our use of the Patriot,  
17 and that was actually accepted by this committee.

18 So I wanted to get your sense based on your service in  
19 the Army. What is your assessment of the Patriot air  
20 missile defense system, and do you fully support the  
21 improvement funding that the Army requested for this? And  
22 how important is this to our troops?

23 General Milley: Well, Senator, let me take the last  
24 part first, how important it is. To my knowledge -- I am  
25 not a military historian, but I do not think the United

1 States Army has come under enemy air attack consistently  
2 since the invasion of Normandy, and that is because of two  
3 things. One, we have the most dominant Air Force, both  
4 naval aviators and the United States Air Force pilots and  
5 capabilities. We want to retain that forever. And the  
6 other piece is because we have a very robust air defense  
7 capability that is capable of shooting down income aircraft.

8 Since the modern development of missile technology,  
9 that is another component. We have come under missile  
10 threat. We were under missile threat in the first Gulf War  
11 and even in the second Gulf War. Patriot plays a key role  
12 in not only acquiring and then destroying incoming fixed-  
13 wing aircraft, but also in intercepting and destroying  
14 incoming missiles. So Patriot is a very, very key system to  
15 the air defense of our allies and our own soldiers on the  
16 ground.

17 Senator Ayotte: Thank you.

18 Chairman McCain: Senator Hirono?

19 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank  
20 you, General, to you and your family for your service.

21 I appreciated the great conversation we had last week,  
22 and should you be confirmed, I look forward to, of course,  
23 working with you during your tenure.

24 I know that you realize, General, the importance of  
25 milcon funding for readiness, particularly for Hawaii in

1 light of the rebalance to the Asia-Pacific. And in fact, I  
2 spent some 4 hours at Schofield Barracks recently and saw  
3 the direct effect on facilities there when milcon funding is  
4 cut or deferred. So should you be confirmed, I hope you  
5 will work with USARPAC to ensure that their facilities are  
6 maintained and modernized where appropriate so that our  
7 troops have the facilities necessary to efficiently perform  
8 the important tasks we ask of them.

9 General Milley: I will certainly do that, Senator.

10 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

11 I also know that you share my view that the rebalance  
12 to the Asia-Pacific is more than just rhetoric. The Navy's  
13 intentions, for example, are to place 60 percent of its  
14 ships in this area of responsibility. What do you see as  
15 the major components of our rebalance strategy?

16 General Milley: Well, I think that right now, as I  
17 mentioned earlier, two of that list of threats that were  
18 asked to me of Senator Manchin included both China and North  
19 Korea. So the United States Army plays a key role. Eight  
20 of the 10 largest armies in the world are in the Pacific.  
21 Clearly, Navy and Air Force and Marines are fundamental to  
22 success for U.S. national security in the Pacific, but the  
23 Army is too. And we currently have forward-deployed forces  
24 in Korea that have made a significant contribution to  
25 keeping the peace for the last 60 years since the end of the



1 Korean War. We also have forces, as you are well aware in  
2 Alaska, at Joint Base Lewis-McChord in Washington State, and  
3 most importantly, in the State of Hawaii. So there is a  
4 considerable amount of Army capabilities in the Pacific that  
5 play a key role in supporting Admiral Harris as the  
6 combatant commander and supporting Admiral Harris' PACOM  
7 strategy.

8 Senator Hirono: Well, we recognize that because of the  
9 budget issues that certain force reductions were inevitable,  
10 sad to say. And of course, while unfortunate, I do  
11 appreciate the consideration that was given to the rebalance  
12 to the Asia-Pacific and Hawaii's strategic location and the  
13 decisions that were made regarding the cuts to our Army.

14 Can I expect that, if confirmed, you will continue to  
15 give ample consideration to our strategic position -- and  
16 that, of course, includes Alaska -- and to the importance of  
17 the rebalance?

18 General Milley: Absolutely, Senator. As we go  
19 forward, balancing of the disposition of the Army forces in  
20 accordance with the national strategy and balancing that  
21 against risk is the key task for the Chief of Staff and I  
22 will take that.

23 Senator Hirono: This committee has spent considerable  
24 time on the issue of sexual assault in the military, and it  
25 still, of course, occurs and harassment persists in our

1 military. And from your testimony and our meeting, I know  
2 you find it totally unacceptable as well.

3         However, while efforts are being made to support and  
4 encourage victims to come forward, we are becoming more  
5 aware of the problem of retaliation.

6         Can you share with us some of your specific plans to  
7 reduce not only sexual assault but also to stop the further  
8 abuse by retaliation?

9         General Milley: Well, Senator, as you mentioned,  
10 sexual assault is just -- there is no place for it at all in  
11 a disciplined military force. 2 years ago, there were, I  
12 think it was, 24,000 reports of sexual assault. That is an  
13 Army corps. It is wrong. It is just not acceptable and we  
14 cannot accept those kinds of casualties. Really that is  
15 what they are. Victims become casualties. We cannot accept  
16 a corps' worth of casualties and think we are going to have  
17 a ready Army that can deal with the threats that were  
18 mentioned earlier. So it is unacceptable.

19         The Army has done a lot over the last many years here,  
20 and there has been some progress. But it is not nearly  
21 enough, and I am fully committed, if confirmed as Chief of  
22 Staff, to continue to work the entire problem of sexual  
23 assault and bring that to zero.

24         Retaliation is a problem that has recently surfaced in  
25 the last year or so. I saw the recent study which indicated

1 that 60 percent of victims report that they have been  
2 retaliated against, some by chain of command, others by  
3 peers. I think that by chain of command retaliation, we can  
4 after that pretty fast through a variety of tools and  
5 holding commanders accountable. Peer-on-peer is a little  
6 bit more complex, and I am going to have to study that to  
7 figure out exactly what techniques can be used to eliminate  
8 peer-on-peer retaliation.

9 Senator Hirono: Thank you. This will be an ongoing  
10 area of concern for many of us on this committee. So thank  
11 you for whatever can do to improve the situation vastly.  
12 Thank you.

13 Chairman McCain: Senator Ernst?

14 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

15 And thank you, General Milley. It is great to have you  
16 in front of the committee today. I want to thank your wife  
17 for being here as well. Thank you for the support that you  
18 have given over 34 years or 30 years for your husband. So  
19 thank you.

20 I will not ask about the National Guard. We have had  
21 some very in-depth discussions in my office, and I thank you  
22 for your willingness to work with our wonderful National  
23 Guard and all of those great young men and women that  
24 provide a great support system to our active component  
25 members. So thank you for that.

1 I just wanted to mention we do have -- you mentioned  
2 the ties between our active component and the Guard, and we  
3 do have our second BCT from Iowa, the Iowa Army National  
4 Guard, rotating through JRTC right now. So we do appreciate  
5 that partnership.

6 I want to tag on with a little bit on what Senator  
7 Hirono had also brought up, was the cases of sexual assault  
8 in the military. I was at the West Point Board of Visitors  
9 meeting yesterday, and this is a topic that we discussed.  
10 And you have over 34 years of experience in the Army, and  
11 so you have seen a lot of changes through the years. And so  
12 when it comes to sexual assault and the way the Army reports  
13 this, prosecutes this, we have seen some changes in recent  
14 years. And I would like your takeaway from what we have  
15 seen just in the last few years. And with those changes,  
16 what do you see? Is it improving? The areas where you  
17 think we have seen the most impact. If you could just  
18 expound on that a little bit please.

19 General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

20 As I mentioned, there has been some improvement. It is  
21 not good enough, though, but there has been some improvement  
22 over the last couple of years. We know that the prevalence  
23 of incidents appears to be down and the numbers of reporting  
24 is up. So it indicates some shift in trust to the chain of  
25 command.

1           But I think the key is to prevent and/or intervene up  
2 front, and that comes with a change of culture and fully  
3 educating the force, a wide variety of training. If an  
4 incident does occur, though, the first responsibility for  
5 that chain of command is to protect that victim and then  
6 investigate fully with professional investigators, CID  
7 investigators, and then hold those perpetrators accountable.  
8 I think the entire key is within the hands of the chain of  
9 command, and that is staff sergeants and platoon sergeants  
10 up through first sergeants and company commanders, all the  
11 way up through general officers. All of us have to be fully  
12 engaged in order to get after that.

13           A couple of things over 35 years that I have used and  
14 seen and have emphasized.

15           One is the role of the commander, absolutely  
16 fundamental. An engaged commander makes the difference  
17 between success and lack of success.

18           Secondly I would say is operate in buddy teams. There  
19 is great value in operating and using buddy team approaches  
20 like you would in combat.

21           Third is control of the terrain, which is the barracks.  
22 We cannot necessarily control outside the forts, but we  
23 surely as commanders can control the barracks. And  
24 maintaining good order and discipline is fundamental to the  
25 barracks. And lastly is alcohol. We know that in many,

1 many cases of sexual assault, alcohol is a contributing  
2 factor. So maintaining good order and discipline again in  
3 the proper use of alcohol is fundamental.

4 But I think commanders and the chain of command, the  
5 sergeants and the captains and the colonels and the  
6 generals, are fundamental to getting after sexual assault  
7 and bringing it to an end in our Army.

8 Senator Ernst: I appreciate that very much. And I do  
9 see where we seem to have a lower level of incidents. We  
10 have a very, very long way to go with this.

11 One of the points that we raised yesterday at West  
12 Point with the Board of Visitors is that it is really  
13 difficult when you have someone like yourself or even me  
14 with a lot of gray hair standing there telling these young  
15 soldiers do not do this, do not do this. I think where we  
16 can see a lot of shift in the culture and the environment is  
17 when their peers are stepping up and saying do not do it.  
18 We have talked about "not in my squad." I think that is an  
19 important step.

20 We have a long ways to go, General. I look forward to  
21 working with you on this very important topic and protecting  
22 our sons and daughters as they serve. So thank you very  
23 much.

24 General Milley: Thank you, Senator.

25 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

1 Chairman McCain: Senator King?

2 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 General Milley, first I want to commend you on your  
4 statement. I think it is one of the best statements I have  
5 ever heard about the role and mission of the Army. It  
6 should be required reading I think for every member of the  
7 Army today.

8 One of the questions you answered to the chairman was  
9 that would you commit to provide your personal views, even  
10 if those views differ from the administration in power. You  
11 said yes to that question. I want to underline the  
12 importance of that question. All of your experience, all of  
13 your knowledge, all of your wisdom that you have accumulated  
14 over the years are of no value if you do not share them.  
15 And you will be operating in the highest levels of our  
16 Government in a situation that often can be intimidating.  
17 And I want to encourage you to remember that question, and  
18 when in doubt, speak up. You are where you are because of  
19 your knowledge and experience, and you have to share it and  
20 sometimes share it aggressively. I hope you will remember  
21 that question and remember the commitment you made. I think  
22 you have a great deal to offer this country, and I just want  
23 to be sure it gets to the table.

24 General Milley: Senator, I guarantee that. I have  
25 been in a lot of combat, and I will be intimidated by no

1 one.

2 Senator King: I believe that, having met you, General.

3 A more specific question. Are the Iraqi Security  
4 Forces willing to fight?

5 General Milley: When we left in 2011 -- I was not  
6 there in 2011 but was there shortly before that -- and the  
7 Iraqi Security Forces were willing to fight. But in the  
8 years between 2011 and today, their chains of command have  
9 been decimated and they were not getting proper pay and  
10 training went down the tubes. So bottom line is that if 3  
11 or 4 years go by and you lack training, you lack money, you  
12 lack equipment, you lack spare parts, and most importantly  
13 you lack a competent, capable, committed leadership, then  
14 you can certainly understand why units fell apart last year  
15 during the ISIS offensive.

16 So I think there is nothing inherently prohibiting the  
17 Iraqi Security Forces from a will to fight with the  
18 exception of a lack of proper leadership. And that is  
19 fundamental from where I sit, and I would like to get a trip  
20 over there and talk to our commanders on the ground, talk to  
21 General Austin, talk to General Clark, and others. But my  
22 assessment is they have the potential and the capability to  
23 fight, but they must be led just like any army must be led  
24 to close with and destroy the enemies of their country.

25 Senator King: It seems to me that when we think about



1 the strategic challenges of Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, the  
2 Ukraine, all of those are local troops with U.S. support in  
3 one way or another. And one of the key challenges is how do  
4 you teach the will to fight. How do you train? Have we  
5 learned that? Are we at a place where we know what the  
6 pressure points are to develop, for example, the command  
7 mentality that is necessary? Because we are in a series of  
8 disputes around the world, none of which involve directly  
9 many, if any, U.S. troops. So we are at the mercy of how  
10 these local people perform. And I am wondering about the  
11 Army's sort of thinking about how to do training. That may  
12 be one of the most essential tasks that the new Army has.

13 General Milley: We in the Army think that we do know  
14 how to develop leaders. The Army does many, many things and  
15 does many things well, but we definitely produce lots of  
16 good leaders throughout our force on a day-to-day basis. We  
17 know also how to do that with other armies, with foreign  
18 armies, specifically as you mentioned, both Afghanistan and  
19 Iraq. We think we can do that.

20 Well, how do you do that? Leaders have to have  
21 confidence in their personal skills and their competence.  
22 That is fundamental. No soldier is going to follow a leader  
23 who is constantly lost, who is incompetent, who is a cement  
24 head out there and does not know how to shoot, move,  
25 communicate, and bring fire on the enemy. No soldier is

1 ever going to follow that leader. So competence is key and  
2 teaching them the military skills necessary at the level  
3 they are at.

4 The other piece is the leader has to demonstrate  
5 compassion and love for their soldiers. If they see a  
6 leader who does not actually care for them, they are not  
7 going to follow him.

8 And the third piece I think is a committed leader, a  
9 leader who is committed to the cause for which they fight.

10 If those three elements are combined together in Iraqi  
11 leadership at the small unit tactical level and at the  
12 strategic level, then I think the Iraqi Security Forces have  
13 a good chance of prevailing.

14 Senator King: A year or so ago, Senator Kaine and I  
15 were in Lebanon, and we saw the training program that  
16 involves bringing foreign officers to the U.S. and also  
17 providing the kind of training that you are talking about.  
18 That struck us as a very cost-effective technique,  
19 particularly bringing them here because they get a lot from  
20 their peers when they are at Fort Benning or at Fort Hood or  
21 wherever they are. Is that a program that you think should  
22 be continued, strengthened, emphasized?

23 General Milley: Yes, I so, Senator, absolutely. It  
24 has been valuable in the past over many, many decades with  
25 many armies around the world, and doing foreign military

1 exchange and our education system is value added for foreign  
2 armies.

3 Senator King: I am a little bit over time, but a very  
4 short question. How long would it take us to go from a  
5 450,000 back to, say, 550,000 if, God forbid, circumstances  
6 required it? What is the lead time?

7 General Milley: Yes, I would have to take that one for  
8 the record for the analysis and get back to you. I would  
9 like an opportunity to study that.

10 But to build a brigade, for example, a brigade combat  
11 team, call it 3,500-4,000 soldiers -- it depends on the type  
12 of brigade you have. To build that from scratch is about a  
13 3- or 4-year period to really get them certified and ready  
14 to engage in ground combat operations. So to regenerate  
15 that force from 450,000 to 550,000 -- it can be done, but it  
16 is not going to be done in a very, very short amount of  
17 time.

18 Senator King: Thank you. Thank you, General.

19 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Chairman McCain: Senator Wicker?

21 Senator Wicker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 General, thank you for your testimony and thank you for  
23 coming by to see many of us before the testimony.

24 I want to ask you about the National Commission on the  
25 Future of the Army, which was established by the National

1 Defense Authorization Act of 2015, and the Army's Aviation  
2 Restructure Initiative, or ARI.

3 The National Commission's mandate is to evaluate future  
4 missions, evaluate the force mix of the total Army, and  
5 evaluate whether combat aviation assets from the Army  
6 National Guard should be transferred to the Army.

7 I understand from sources within the Pentagon that the  
8 Army intends to implement certain elements of the Army's ARI  
9 as early as October 1st of this year. As I expressed to  
10 you, making these irreversible force structure changes to  
11 the Guard before we have had a chance to see what the  
12 commission has to say about ARI would not be advisable and  
13 does not make sense to me. The intent of Congress was  
14 clear. There should be no transfers of helicopters away  
15 from the Guard until Congress receives and reviews the  
16 findings of the Army commission.

17 As such, I would like to know your opinion of the ARI  
18 plan, which would remove all combat aviation from the Army  
19 National Guard. Do you support halting transfers of  
20 helicopters away from the Guard until the Army commission  
21 reports back in February of next year?

22 General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

23 It is my understanding that the transfer by October is  
24 in accordance with last year's 2015 NDAA, and the 2016 NDAA  
25 and the one that is under debate right now is the one that

1 is talking about halting them. So the Army is actually  
2 executing their last written order, which was last year's  
3 authorization, as I understand it. But I will look into  
4 that, though.

5 As far as do I support it or not, there are puts and  
6 takes to this ARI thing. I think the National Guard has  
7 some good points. The National Guard makes some points that  
8 they are concerned that it is a slippery slope. I am going  
9 to take combat capabilities away from them and they will not  
10 be able to be the strategic and operational reserve. Fair  
11 enough.

12 But there are also key points on the Army side. One  
13 fiscal. There is a \$1 billion a year savings and \$12  
14 billion over time. I think that is not insignificant given  
15 the current crunch with sequester, et cetera. And most  
16 importantly, I think there is a readiness issue. If we do  
17 not execute this ARI, then I think three of the divisions,  
18 the 1st Infantry Division, the 10th Mountain Division, 25th  
19 Division in Hawaii, are not going to have armed  
20 reconnaissance capability, and we are going to blind three  
21 out of the 10 active duty division commanders with inability  
22 to be able to see a battlefield if they were thereby  
23 committed.

24 So on balance, I would favor the transfer. However, I  
25 am going to await the results of the commission and I am

1 going to pay attention to their recommendations very  
2 closely. And I will remain continually engaged with the  
3 Guard and try to do the right thing for the total Army.

4 Senator Wicker: Well, I am glad to know you are going  
5 to await the findings of the commission.

6 And I would just say to you a couple of things.

7 From my conversations with many of our people in the  
8 Guard, they believe that for many of the States, such as  
9 Mississippi, our program would be set back for a decade. It  
10 would take us 10 years to get over the loss of these  
11 Apaches, and I think would do great harm to what we have had  
12 over the past, and that is that the active Army and the  
13 National Guard units have operated seamlessly as one team  
14 since 9/11 and it has been good for the country. I think it  
15 is unfortunate that policy fights and distrust between the  
16 Guard and active Army have become prevalent over the past 5  
17 years.

18 What is your assessment of the current relationship  
19 between the Army and the Army National Guard? And will you  
20 acknowledge that the relationship has deteriorated to a  
21 point where actually it is unseemly?

22 General Milley: Well, Senator, as Commander of Forces  
23 Command, I deal with the National Guard and the United  
24 States Army Reserve on a frequent basis. So I am coming at  
25 this from an operational force point of view, from the

1 fielded forces. I do not see that friction in the fielded  
2 forces. We train together. We operate together. We have  
3 partnerships together. And I have commanded National Guard  
4 forces in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

5 Senator Wicker: You do not see that in the field.

6 General Milley: I do not see that in the field. That  
7 is correct.

8 Senator Wicker: You see it here in the city, do you  
9 not?

10 General Milley: So maybe some things happen when  
11 people come to D.C. I do not know. But perhaps there is  
12 tension --

13 Senator Wicker: I have heard that.

14 General Milley: As I understand it, there is tension  
15 here amongst some of the senior leaders. I will work, along  
16 with General Grass and General Kadavy, to patch up whatever  
17 issues there are.

18 From a personal perspective, I think there is one Army.  
19 That is it. There is one Army. We all wear the same  
20 uniform and it says United States Army on our chest, and  
21 that is the way we have to approach it. The United States  
22 Army cannot conduct combat operations in a sustained way  
23 overseas without the use of the National Guard and the  
24 Reserve. We just cannot do it. We can do short-term  
25 operations, but sustained ops cannot be done without the

1 Guard and Reserve. It is one Army. They are critical to  
2 our success.

3 Senator Wicker: Well, thank you very much for that.  
4 This conversation will continue. We had it privately in my  
5 office. We are discussing it publicly today. And I think  
6 we can acknowledge that the National Guard is a very  
7 integral part of what your mission will be. And I hope  
8 these issues can be resolved in a mutually satisfactory  
9 manner.

10 Thank you very much for your service.

11 General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

12 Chairman McCain: Senator Donnelly?

13 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 And, General, thank you and your family for all you  
15 have done for our country. And thanks for taking the time  
16 to come to my office. And I just wanted to follow up on  
17 that discussion.

18 In regards to military suicides, we talked about the  
19 importance of pushing situational awareness down the chain  
20 of command. You know, when I met with the Israeli defense  
21 forces, they said what was critical in reducing suicides was  
22 pushing it down the chain of command so the squad leader,  
23 the platoon leader, who could identify it right on the spot,  
24 could help. I was wondering what your plans are to make  
25 sure that at the squad level, the platoon leader, the



1 leaders of those squads and platoons are aware of the  
2 challenge and are ready to try to help in eliminating it.

3 General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

4 As you know, I have been in command a lot, and suicide  
5 is a horrible, tragic thing to see in a unit. The effects,  
6 obviously, on the family, the unit, et cetera are just like  
7 you would have a killed in action in combat. It is  
8 terrible. It is horrible.

9 But I think in terms of how we get after it,  
10 situational awareness is key. Because the Army has done a  
11 lot over the last couple years to increase situational  
12 awareness of the signs and the symptoms and then the  
13 techniques of intervention, our numbers have dropped  
14 considerably in suicide. So that is one point is to  
15 continue sustaining and actually increasing situational  
16 awareness.

17 The second is to continue to reduce the stigma.  
18 Behavioral health, mental health -- my view is there but for  
19 the grace of God, go I. The human psyche is a very fragile  
20 thing, and any one of us, regardless of how many patches or  
21 ranger tabs or anything else anyone has, is not so hard, not  
22 so tough that they cannot break under a certain, correct  
23 combination of stressors and pressures. And we have to be  
24 alert to those signs and symptoms, and we have to reach out  
25 and be literally our brother and sister's keeper.

1           That attitude has to happen throughout the force. It  
2 has happened considerably better than it was in previous  
3 years. In the last few years, it has improved  
4 significantly, and that is what I think is contributing to  
5 the reduction in suicides is the increase in situational  
6 awareness, the reduction of stigma, and then the  
7 intervention on the part of junior soldiers at the most  
8 junior level.

9           Senator Donnelly: Well, I would encourage you in your  
10 new position to really birddog this and to make sure that  
11 the squad leaders and the platoon leaders know, hey, let us  
12 know if you see something going sideways for one of the  
13 guys, one of the men and women, let them know there is no  
14 stigma and that they should get help. And I know you will  
15 do that.

16           I wanted to switch to Iraq. I was there recently, met  
17 with your folks, our whole team. And it was right before  
18 the push into Ramadi and Fallujah began. And the discussion  
19 was just as you said. It is a question of good leadership  
20 for the ISF, the Iraq Security Forces. And so as opposed to  
21 this plan or that plan, I would love to hear your  
22 unvarnished advice on what you think our role should be in  
23 helping the ISF, the Iraqi Security Forces, get their  
24 leadership back together. What can we do best to help them  
25 do that?

1           General Milley:  Senator, I would like also the  
2 opportunity to get over and visit and talk to the guys on  
3 the ground to answer that question in a more informed and  
4 holistic sort of way.

5           But based on what I know now and my own experience in  
6 both Iraq and Afghanistan, there is a wide variety of things  
7 we need to and should do to help the Iraqi Security Forces  
8 in our advise and assist levels of effort.  As I understand  
9 it, the constraint right now is not so much on what we are  
10 doing, but on the amount of trainees the Iraqi Security  
11 Forces are providing for our trainers to do.  So maintaining  
12 a robust train, advise, and assist effort, Security Forces  
13 assistance effort, with the Iraqi Security Forces over a  
14 considerable length of time is going to go a long way to  
15 shoring them up.

16           What Senator McCain mentioned earlier about JTAC's  
17 forward I think is something that should be seriously  
18 considered to improve the effectiveness of the enablers, the  
19 close air support that is being provided.  I think advisors  
20 going forward with units again is something that should be  
21 seriously considered.  However, there are lots of issues  
22 with that with security of our people and the risk  
23 associated with it, et cetera.

24           But bottom line is there are things we can do.  I would  
25 like an opportunity, though, Senator, to talk that over with

1 commanders on the ground and give you a more informed answer  
2 at a later date.

3 Senator Donnelly: Great.

4 I am about out of time. I would just ask you to  
5 remember in regards Iraq -- and I know you will -- when you  
6 said the Army's mission is to win. We have to win there too  
7 in order to have success in Syria and to help the Iraqi  
8 forces have that kind of leadership.

9 And the last thing I will say is our Article 5  
10 responsibilities under NATO with Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania.  
11 In Korea, their motto, as you know, is "fight tonight." We  
12 have to make sure we have the same kind of readiness in  
13 those areas because we have the same obligations to those  
14 countries. They have said they would stand with us. We  
15 need to do the same for them.

16 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 Chairman McCain: Senator Tillis?

18 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 General Milley and Ms. Milley, congratulations. Thank  
20 you for your service.

21 General Milley, I want to start maybe with going back  
22 to something that the chairman mentioned in his opening  
23 comments. And incidentally, I am sorry I had to step out.  
24 I have got a competing committee meeting over in Judiciary  
25 that I have got to go back to.

1           We have sequestration, which I think to a person we all  
2 recognize is devastating. We have to get rid of it. It is  
3 bad policy. It should have never been implemented.

4           What are your thoughts, though, about ways that we can  
5 save money? In new your position -- and I look forward to  
6 supporting you in this nomination. But what areas in your  
7 opinion do we have the opportunity to bend the cost curve or  
8 increase productivity, and how would you go about doing that  
9 in your new role?

10          General Milley: I think there are at least three areas  
11 that should be seriously considered. Senator McCain has  
12 already referenced them. One is I think we have to take a  
13 hard look at overhead. The Army, but not just the Army, the  
14 military across the board, all the services, to include  
15 Department of Defense are a very, very large organization  
16 with a big bureaucracy with a significant overhead.

17          Second is acquisition. As already previously  
18 mentioned, there is a considerable amount of cost and in  
19 many cases waste in the acquisition process. We need to get  
20 that under control.

21          And a third and final piece that I think is worth  
22 taking a look at, there is a wide variety of emerging  
23 technologies that could, in the out-years, 15-20 years from  
24 now, lend itself to automated processes and reducing either  
25 manpower or manpower costs, compensation costs, over time.

1           And those would be three pretty big areas that I would  
2 want to take a look at if confirmed.

3           Senator Tillis: Thank you.

4           We have Russia creating a looming threat in Europe. We  
5 have the Pacific and China's expansion or, I should say,  
6 increased activities there. We have the ongoing war in the  
7 Middle East, the fight against Islamic extremism.

8           General Odierno, I believe said that a 50-brigade Army  
9 should be adequate to keep these threats in check. But now  
10 we are on a trajectory for about a 33-brigade Army. Do you  
11 think that managing or facing those threats is possible with  
12 a 33-brigade Army?

13          General Milley: Senator, are you talking active  
14 brigades? Are you talking the total Army brigades? Because  
15 right now, total Army, we have 60 brigades today. We have  
16 got 32 in the active component today. The plan that was  
17 announced a week or 2 ago will take us down to 30 brigades,  
18 active component, and we will lose two out of the Guard.  
19 But the bottom line is --

20          Senator Tillis: That was the active, the 33 brigades.

21          General Milley: I think from a total Army perspective,  
22 we have got adequate capacity, numbers, of brigade combat  
23 teams to handle the contingencies that are currently on the  
24 books. If we do not drop below the 980 force, we have  
25 adequate capacity, size, but that is with significant risk.

1 That risk is incurred in terms of time, the time to the  
2 fight, the time to mobilize Guard units, the time to get  
3 them trained, certified, et cetera, and get them to the  
4 fight. And then it is also significant risk and potential  
5 casualties.

6 And the second piece is not just capacity but  
7 capability, the readiness of the force and how capable it is  
8 to handle that type of fight, which is a different fight  
9 than what we have been dealing with for the last decade and  
10 a half.

11 So we have got a ways to go in terms of improving our  
12 readiness with respect to the higher end type of combat  
13 operations.

14 Senator Tillis: General Milley, I just want to close  
15 by saying I look forward to you being in this role. You  
16 were one of the first people to reach out to me back before  
17 I was even sworn in to offer information and help me ramp  
18 up. You were very generous with your time when I spent  
19 several days down at Fort Bragg, and you have been up here  
20 several times. I know you to be a very approachable, direct  
21 person. I think you are going to be a great addition as the  
22 Chief of Staff.

23 Thanks again to you and your family.

24 Chairman McCain: Senator McCaskill?

25 Senator McCaskill: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1           General, thank you. As everyone has expressed, we  
2 appreciate you coming by our offices and a chance to visit  
3 one on one, and I certainly appreciated that.

4           I want to talk about the cuts and sequestration and the  
5 issue that we have in front of us in the next 90 to 120 days  
6 here in Congress.

7           The installation-level cuts that the Army announced  
8 earlier this month are based, of course, on us shrinking to  
9 450,000 soldiers. As you know and have talked about this  
10 morning, there is a significant risk that these cuts will  
11 not be the last. If Congress does not provide some relief  
12 from sequester-level caps, the Army will be forced to cut an  
13 additional 30,000 active duty soldiers.

14           This year, the Republicans are attempting to get around  
15 the statutory budget caps by using the overseas contingency  
16 operations, or the war fund, which does not have to be paid  
17 for. It can be put on a credit card. Would you buy back  
18 force structure using this war fund?

19           General Milley: Senator, we would prefer, if possible,  
20 the budget be in the base. But as the recipient of the  
21 money, we will take the OCO if that is the only mechanism  
22 that we can in order to sustain readiness, end strength, and  
23 modernization.

24           Senator McCaskill: Let me ask one that I think is even  
25 more difficult because then it kind of tramps on whether or



1 not the OCO is being used appropriately because there is  
2 also an obligation you have to only use the overseas  
3 contingency fund for what it was designed to be and that is,  
4 an off-the-budget, unpaid-for, on-the credit-card to be used  
5 in an emergency for the purposes of a contingency operation.  
6 That is why it is called the contingency operations.

7 In your advance policy question for this hearing, you  
8 noted that our technological advantage over current and  
9 potential adversaries are at risk. We invested in the base  
10 budget in technology and research for decades to get us to  
11 the point that we are today where we are the most  
12 technologically force in the world. If we want the young  
13 men and women we will send to war in the future to have the  
14 same advantages that the men and women have today with our  
15 technological superiority, can you make long-term research  
16 and development investments using a fund that was designed  
17 only to apply to a contingency?

18 General Milley: I would have to get back to you on the  
19 actual legal use of that fund relative to long-term  
20 research. I think the answer would be no. I think OCO  
21 funds are specifically targeted to named operations,  
22 overseas contingency operations. But I would have to get  
23 back to you to see if that could be used. I do not think it  
24 could, but I will check and get back to you, Senator.

25 Senator McCaskill: The frustrating part of this is the

1 only difference between the commitment to put this \$40  
2 billion in the budget between my friends and colleagues and  
3 us on this side of the aisle is the willingness to  
4 acknowledge that we are spending the money, is the  
5 willingness to say this belongs in the base budget, let us  
6 put it in the base budget, let us not use an artifice, a  
7 gimmick, phoniness, to pretend that somehow we are not  
8 making an investment in the base needs of our military but  
9 rather in an overseas contingency operation.

10 And it remains a great frustration to me and one that I  
11 am hopeful that we can work out so that we do not go down  
12 this path and create this precedent that I think is very  
13 dangerous for the long-term stability of our military and  
14 your all's abilities to do your jobs in terms of planning  
15 and coordinating and having what you need going forward. I  
16 just think it is a very, very irresponsible precedent.

17 On sexual assault, I know that several members have  
18 talked about it to you already. I do want to mention I know  
19 you are getting after the retaliation. I will continue to  
20 monitor that.

21 But I want to mention briefly at the end of my time the  
22 incredible training that is going on at Fort Leonard Wood  
23 for the investigators of sexual assault. This is a special  
24 set of training that must occur, and I would like your  
25 commitment -- the forensic experimental trauma interview is

1 now being trained throughout the military and frankly in the  
2 civilian world. The expertise that has been developed at  
3 the fort on this is unparalleled in terms of how you get  
4 after a sexual assault investigation, particularly  
5 interviewing a victim. I would like your commitment to  
6 familiarize yourself with that training and a commitment  
7 that you will continue to fight for the adequate funding so  
8 we can actually get these perpetrators behind bars so they  
9 are not, in fact, besmirching the amazing and wonderful  
10 military that we have in this country.

11 General Milley: I will absolutely take a deep look at  
12 that. As I understand it from reports I have, it is the  
13 best practice and it leads the Nation in its skills.

14 Senator McCaskill: It does. It does, in fact.

15 And my thanks to you and your family for your service.

16 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan?

17 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 General Milley, good to see you. Thank you for your 35  
19 years of service and to your family who I know has  
20 sacrificed a lot.

21 I wanted to talk -- I have a number of questions, as  
22 you can imagine -- about the Army's decision to cut 40,000  
23 troops recently. I know that you were not in the ultimate  
24 decision-making but you are going to be tasked with  
25 implementing this and maybe relooking at it. So I would

1 appreciate some of your thoughts and views.

2 You know, General Dunford last week talked about the  
3 importance of the military and DOD focusing on and  
4 implementing the defense guidance from the Congress. You  
5 know, I gave examples of if the CNO was told by the Congress  
6 11 carriers we need or the Chief of Staff of the Air Force,  
7 we need A-10's, even though the service does not like it,  
8 they do it.

9 So one of the things that I am concerned about is in  
10 the current NDAA, we have a lot of focus on the Pacific  
11 rebalance, and there is very strong language, very directive  
12 language. The United States forces under the OPCON of PACOM  
13 should be increased. Any withdrawal of the United States  
14 forces outside the continental United States Asia-Pacific  
15 region would therefore seriously undermine the rebalance. A  
16 lot of focus on the rebalance. It was put in there to  
17 provide credibility to strategy that this Congress  
18 bipartisan supports.

19 So I have been quite concerned that the Army's decision  
20 pretty much ignores this. With all due respect to Senator  
21 Hirono, I do not think the decisions were inevitable. As a  
22 matter of fact, I think that what was just announced takes a  
23 huge chunk, not only increasing forces, not only keeping  
24 them the same, but dramatic increase. As a matter of fact,  
25 of the 40,000, a huge proportion was from the Asia-Pacific

1 region.

2 So the idea of fighting tonight, maintaining the  
3 rebalance -- I think it is all undermined. I think it is  
4 dramatically undermined. And I think our allies are going  
5 to see it undermined.

6 So do you think that the President's rebalance strategy  
7 has been undermined by dramatically reducing forces despite  
8 this Congress' defense guidance to the Department of Defense  
9 to not do that?

10 General Milley: I do not think it has necessarily been  
11 undermined, Senator. From an Army perspective, about 20  
12 percent of the Army's combat power is in the Pacific, even  
13 with the reductions.

14 But more to your point, though, I agree that the sense  
15 of the Congress should absolutely inform decision-making,  
16 and we should take that seriously and I think we will.

17 Senator Sullivan: But it does not look like you did in  
18 this case.

19 General Milley: Well, as you know, I was not in  
20 this --

21 Senator Sullivan: I know. Again, General, I have the  
22 utmost respect for you. I am talking about the Army's  
23 decision which now you are going to have to defend. The  
24 Department of Defense, the Army did not -- did not -- abide  
25 by the defense guidance of the Congress. Period. If they

1 read that NDAA amendment.

2 General Milley: I will take a hard look at the entire  
3 issue, and I look forward to working with you on it. But I  
4 do think, Senator, that the Army has substantial  
5 capabilities committed to the Pacific.

6 Senator Sullivan: But they have been significantly  
7 increased in the last 2 weeks, according to this decision.  
8 The only airborne combat brigade in the entire Asia-Pacific  
9 has now been gutted.

10 General Milley: I would say that the airborne brigade  
11 was brought down to a battalion task force with the specific  
12 intent and design that it could be reversed if funding  
13 becomes available over the next couple of years. That  
14 brigade does not go to a battalion, I do not think, until  
15 late 2016 or 2017. So it is designed to go to a battalion  
16 task force with the intent of reversing it if funding is  
17 made available.

18 Senator Sullivan: Do you think our allies were  
19 supportive of this? I mean, the idea of fighting tonight in  
20 Korea -- that BCT was the reserve cavalry for any  
21 contingency in Korea that can get there in 7 hours, a very  
22 capable, mountain, cold weather unit. Do you think that our  
23 capability in Korea has been decreased by this decision?

24 General Milley: The Army, Marines, both have  
25 significant ground capabilities that are positioned

1 throughout the continental United States, Hawaii, Alaska,  
2 Fort Lewis, Washington, and Okinawa that can respond. We  
3 think that it is a capable response to mitigate the threat  
4 given the current situation.

5 Senator Sullivan: Mr. Chairman, I will have more  
6 questions in the second round. Thank you.

7 Chairman McCain: Senator Gillibrand?

8 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Mr.  
9 Ranking Member, for this hearing.

10 Thank you so much, General Milley, for your service.  
11 Thanks to your family. You have done extraordinary things,  
12 and I am so grateful that you are continuing to serve our  
13 country.

14 I want to talk a little bit about combat integration.  
15 I want to applaud the Army for taking steps towards  
16 eliminating combat exclusion policies for women by opening  
17 up over 20,000 combat engineer and associated skill  
18 positions to female soldiers in June.

19 As you look at the positions that still remain closed,  
20 what reasons might there be for the Army to ask for an  
21 exception to policy for a position?

22 General Milley: The only reason at all, Senator -- and  
23 there has been no decision yet, but everything revolves  
24 around standards and readiness. So the military  
25 occupational specialties that remain closed currently are

1 infantry armor, some forward observers in the field  
2 artillery, and then special operations, special forces.

3       There is a gender integration study ongoing right now  
4 by Training and Doctrine Command. There is a similar study  
5 ongoing by the Marines. They are both crosswalking their  
6 data. I expect to see that information, if I am confirmed,  
7 probably in September-October and will have to make a  
8 decision or a recommendation to the Secretary of Defense  
9 whether to seek a waiver or not. And so I will take a hard  
10 look at all that data and make that call at that time.

11       Senator Gillibrand: Well, we have seen the success of  
12 the cultural support teams in Afghanistan and how vital  
13 women were to those missions to gather vital intelligence as  
14 to where terrorists were, where weapons were being housed  
15 from women and children in those homes. So I do hope you  
16 will focus every effort to make sure our best and brightest  
17 and all of our best and brightest are serving.

18       I was concerned about the recent news regarding the  
19 eight women who failed the first phase of the Army Ranger  
20 School for the second time due to their inability to  
21 accomplish subjectively evaluated leadership tasks. These  
22 women were already officers, ranging from captains to majors  
23 with years of leadership experience. Why do you think that  
24 class of women -- why do you think these women were in such  
25 a historically high attrition rate? And do you find it



1 alarming that the U.S. military academy at West Point is  
2 graduating leaders who, after 5 to 6 years of service, are  
3 not able to complete leadership tasks that are successfully  
4 accomplished by specialists and private first classes?

5 General Milley: Senator, Ranger School is a very, very  
6 hard course, male, female, no matter who you are. That is a  
7 hard course with a high attrition rate. So the women that  
8 failed -- one of the key tasks that they failed were  
9 patrolling tasks, leadership skills, which because they are  
10 not in the infantry already, they have had a limited  
11 opportunity to train to those. I expect that those skills  
12 would improve over time. But right now we have three women  
13 who are in the mountain phase, as of yesterday anyway --  
14 still in the mountain phase of Ranger School, and we are  
15 observing that to see how that goes.

16 The broader issue of women in the infantry, women in  
17 armor, et cetera -- again, there is a very detailed study  
18 going on. I want to take a hard look at all that and make  
19 sure that the standards are being met in the readiness  
20 force.

21 As to whether women can fight or not, there is no  
22 doubt. I have seen it personally, up close and real. There  
23 is no doubt in my mind that women can engage in ground  
24 combat with the enemies of our Nation because they have done  
25 it. They have been doing it for 10 years.

1           Senator Gillibrand: I also want to associate myself  
2 with the remarks from Senator Ernst, Hirono, and McCaskill  
3 about sexual assault in the military and how important it is  
4 for this committee that we solve that problem.

5           I do want to just note one thing from your testimony.  
6 Retaliation is not a new issue. In fact, we have been  
7 measuring retaliation over the last several years because of  
8 our DOD surveys. And one of the biggest challenges we have  
9 and why Senator McCaskill raised it is this year's survey --  
10 62 percent of survivors were retaliated against, perceived  
11 retaliation, because they reported these crimes. That is  
12 the same statistic as 2 years ago. It is the same as the  
13 2012 survey. So we have a real challenge here with  
14 retaliation.

15           And to be clear, the retaliation is fairly diverse. 62  
16 percent is -- 53 percent is social retaliation, peer-to-  
17 peer. 35 percent is administrative action. 32 percent is  
18 professional retaliation. And 11 percent is punishment for  
19 an infraction. So if you look at all those factors, 35, 32,  
20 and 11, arguably more than half of the retaliation is  
21 through the chain of command. So please do study that  
22 because there is an issue of perception by female members of  
23 the military of discrimination. They said in 60 percent of  
24 sexual harassment cases and sexual discrimination cases, it  
25 came from the immediate commander. So you are talking about

1 unit commanders who are perhaps creating a toxic climate.  
2 And so that command climate really needs to be looked at  
3 aggressively to make sure that these female soldiers know  
4 that they can succeed and that their immediate supervisor  
5 does not have it out for them.

6 General Milley: I will make that a focus area,  
7 Senator.

8 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

9 Chairman McCain: Senator Lee?

10 Senator Lee: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 And thank you, General Milley, for your service to our  
12 country and for your willingness to be considered for this  
13 position.

14 I really enjoyed our visit last week when we met and  
15 enjoyed getting to know you a little bit better.

16 I want to first join my colleagues in condemning the  
17 deplorable attacks against our service members in  
18 Chattanooga last week. I pray for the friends and family  
19 members and the colleagues of the five service members who  
20 lost their lives, and I pray for a quick recovery for those  
21 who were injured.

22 The attacks in Chattanooga last week were the latest in  
23 a string of deadly assaults on military personnel in  
24 facilities in the United States, including Fort Hood and the  
25 Navy Yard, as well as a number of attacks that were planned

1 but that, quite fortunately, were disrupted before they  
2 could be carried out. In the coming months, I hope our  
3 military leaders and Congress can work together and work in  
4 an efficient, effective manner to figure out how we can  
5 better protect our men and women in uniform from these types  
6 of attacks in the future.

7 One of the concerns that I have heard repeatedly from  
8 service members in Utah and elsewhere is that they feel  
9 inadequately informed by military leadership about some of  
10 the persistent threats against themselves, their families,  
11 and the facilities where they happen to work. They see  
12 threats on the news or through social media, but they do not  
13 feel like they have been given enough information about what  
14 is being done to protect them or proper guidance on how to  
15 protect themselves at or away from their workplace.

16 General, what is your assessment of how such  
17 information is being disseminated through the Army and, if  
18 confirmed, what you might do to improve the effectiveness of  
19 information and guidance that is coming from Army leadership  
20 on these threats to our homeland and to our service members  
21 in particular?

22 General Milley: Senator, unfortunately, in today's  
23 world, there is no rear area in this battle against the  
24 terrorists of ISIS or any other terrorist organization. The  
25 rear area of the United States is, in fact, vulnerable, and

1 we have to do a better job at making sure that vulnerability  
2 assessments, information awareness is out there with our  
3 soldiers and their families. There is no doubt in my mind  
4 we have to increase that throughout the force, throughout  
5 the total Army, and indeed, throughout the entire military,  
6 those things like what to look for, signs, indicators of  
7 warnings, of reconnaissance and surveillance by the enemy,  
8 by the terrorists on a particular compound or against a  
9 particular person.

10           Unfortunately, though, a lot of these type of attacks  
11 are very ambiguous. This one in Chattanooga may or may not  
12 have had recon ahead of time or any kind of indicators ahead  
13 of time, may or may not have been a lone wolf. We do not  
14 know yet. It is too early in the investigation. But a lot  
15 of times, these things are very ambiguous. So both active  
16 and passive defensive measures at all of our installations,  
17 with all of our families, with all of our soldiers, sailors,  
18 airmen, and marines is going to be a necessary requirement  
19 in the current environment.

20           Senator Lee: Thank you. I appreciate your insight on  
21 that.

22           I next wanted to follow up on some questions that  
23 Senator Wicker asked and some comments that he made.

24           Among the most contentious issues in this committee  
25 over the past 2 years has involved the Army's Aviation

1 Restructuring Initiative. Now, I understand the Army has  
2 been put in a difficult position by budget reductions, and  
3 over the past several years has been exploring a number of  
4 options to maximize combat power while at the same time  
5 figuring out how to cut costs.

6 Congress has similarly been taking a hard look at this,  
7 which is why the Commission on the Structure of the Army was  
8 established in the NDAA.

9 If confirmed, will you commit to thoroughly reviewing  
10 the Army's Aviation Restructuring Initiative and working  
11 closely with Congress, once the commission report is  
12 delivered next year, to help us figure out the best path  
13 forward on restructure issues?

14 General Milley: I absolutely will, and I look forward  
15 to reviewing that commission report.

16 Senator Lee: What do you think are the biggest threats  
17 that, should you be confirmed, you will have to prepare the  
18 Army to address in the coming decade?

19 General Milley: I think the Army's fundamental mission  
20 of engaging in ground combat, winning in ground combat -- I  
21 think that mission remains sound, and I anticipate that  
22 mission will remain so in the future.

23 Senator Lee: The three key tasks in the national  
24 security documents that are out there is to assure our  
25 allies, deter opponents, and if necessary, fight and win on

1 the ground. And all of those are going to be challenges in  
2 the years ahead as we go forward.

3 Thank you very much. I see my time has expired. Thank  
4 you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan?

6 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 General, you talked about budget constraints and  
8 looking at ways to reduce those. One that you did not  
9 mention is making sure there is no overlap in terms of core  
10 competencies and missions. I am assuming you think a core  
11 competency of the Army -- I certainly do -- is the airborne  
12 brigade task force, the ability to deploy anywhere on a  
13 moment's notice, kick in the door.

14 General Milley: Airborne operations are a core  
15 competency in the United States Army. That is correct.

16 Senator Sullivan: So one of the things that I have  
17 been somewhat concerned about is when you look at the Army's  
18 Pacific Pathways mission -- my office has been asking the  
19 Army for weeks now on what the costs of that are. We have  
20 not been able to get any answers on that. But to me, do you  
21 see the value, in terms of our Nation's defense, of BCT with  
22 regard to the Army or putting soldiers on naval shipping  
23 with helicopters and doing expeditionary maneuver throughout  
24 the Pacific? What is a higher value for the Army?

25 General Milley: I think they are both of value to the

1 Army. And I do think that Army forces on shipping and  
2 moving them around the Pacific has been done really for over  
3 a century. That is how the Army moves, by air and by ship.

4 Senator Sullivan: You do not see that as redundant to  
5 the Marine Corps' mission in the Asia-Pacific?

6 General Milley: No, not at all. And the reason I say  
7 that is because they complement each other, but the Marine  
8 Corps core competency is amphibious assault not just  
9 movement by sea. What we are really talking about for  
10 Pacific Pathways is the strategic movement of Army forces  
11 over the ocean. We are not using any gray hulls anyway to  
12 do that. We are using black and green hulls to do that.

13 Senator Sullivan: So if you had to choose, though, in  
14 austere budget times, would the Army want to focus on  
15 airborne core competencies or a mission that in some  
16 people's view looks somewhat redundant to another service's?

17 General Milley: Well, frankly, Senator, the Army has  
18 to do both.

19 Senator Sullivan: No, but I am just asking if you had  
20 to choose. In this kind of austere budget, you have to  
21 choose.

22 General Milley: We have to be able to do both. We  
23 have to. We do not have a choice. We have to maintain both  
24 capabilities, forced entry capability for vertical insertion  
25 airborne assault, and we have to be able to move forces,



1 both air and sea, to reinforce in a variety of  
2 contingencies.

3 Senator Sullivan: We would appreciate it -- I would  
4 appreciate if we can get some numbers on the Pacific  
5 Pathways in terms of costs.

6 General Milley: Sure, absolutely.

7 Senator Sullivan: I want to turn to another issue,  
8 kind of emerging threat issues. You know, you and many  
9 others who have testified have talked about Russia as a  
10 principal threat, and certainly that is the case in the  
11 Ukraine.

12 I want to emphasize and talk a little bit more about  
13 the Arctic. And you have probably seen in the last just few  
14 weeks there have been articles. I just got this in the  
15 airport today. Russia has made military buildup in the  
16 Arctic a strategic priority. There is article after article  
17 about the Russians moving huge force posture, huge force  
18 structure, four new BCT's, big operations that nobody is  
19 even aware of that are taking us by surprise all through the  
20 Arctic.

21 You have probably seen this map that has new airfields,  
22 11 new airfields, 40 Arctic icebreakers, some nuclear-  
23 powered. The U.S. has these forces here. That is it. This  
24 recent decision we are going to remove a key capability of  
25 these and we have this as our strategy. This is the 2013

1 DOD Arctic strategy. It mentions climate change five times  
2 and in a footnote mentions Russia. This is a joke of a  
3 strategy.

4 And I think during our deliberations for the NDAA, the  
5 Congress recognized that this is a serious issue, a serious  
6 new threat environment. So we had an amendment that came  
7 through the NDAA that focused on our interest in the Arctic,  
8 the need for a much broader assessment, for a much more  
9 serious look in terms of OPLANS, in terms of a military  
10 strategy. And that passed unanimously.

11 But what I was wondering, when you look at -- so the  
12 Secretary of Defense has to put forward this strategy within  
13 the next year. And yet, our most capable Arctic forces,  
14 before we even do the analysis, before we do the planning,  
15 before we do the OPLAN, we are going to remove the most  
16 capable, indeed the most lethal Arctic warriors that we  
17 have. And as you know, General, it takes a long time to  
18 become proficient in the Arctic.

19 So I am wondering what your thought on that is, and if  
20 confirmed, I think it make sense to do the analysis first,  
21 to do the OPLAN first, to do the strategy first before we  
22 move any force structure. Would you commit to work with  
23 this committee to hold off on moving Arctic forces,  
24 particularly given the dramatic threat increase until after  
25 the Secretary of Defense and others have put together an

1 Arctic strategy, has defense guidance from this committee  
2 and this Congress? Do you think that that is the most  
3 logical way to do the planning?

4 General Milley: I appreciate that, Senator. And I  
5 agree with you. I think that having an OPLAN first and then  
6 figuring out your task organization second is the right  
7 sequence, and I think that is in fact what is about to  
8 happen. I think as you already mentioned, the Arctic OPLAN,  
9 the Arctic strategy is going to get reviewed by OSD, and  
10 General Dunford mentioned that the other day.

11 Senator Sullivan: Well, there is no OPLAN. There is  
12 no strategy unless you want to call this a strategy. So, I  
13 mean, there is a lot of work that needs to be done.

14 General Milley: There is a lot of work that needs to  
15 be done, and it is under review, as I understand it. And I  
16 think you asked General Dunford to produce an OPLAN, and I  
17 think he committed to doing that and I look forward to  
18 participating in that and will work with that over the  
19 course of the next year.

20 The forces in Alaska do not get reduced, according to  
21 the decision I think I heard, until end of 2016 and 2017.  
22 So an OPLAN first, reduction of forces second if still  
23 required. And I will work with you on that.

24 Senator Sullivan: Good, because to me, again, I think  
25 it makes strategic sense to put together the plan, see what

1 the combatant commanders need in terms of troops, see what  
2 the new threat level is, and then make the plan on troop  
3 levels once you are informed by a real strategy, not a  
4 13-page document. Thank you.

5 Chairman McCain: General, I just would like to say  
6 that Senator Sullivan raises this whole issue of the Arctic  
7 and the recent Russian moves in that region. We need to pay  
8 a lot more attention to it. We see our friends in Norway,  
9 in particular, but also Sweden, Finland, those nations there  
10 that are experiencing things like Russian overflights and  
11 Russian submarine activities and other -- I believe that the  
12 Russians have -- what is it, Senator Sullivan? 50-some  
13 icebreakers?

14 Senator Sullivan: Close to 40.

15 Chairman McCain: Close to 40 icebreakers. I think we  
16 have one. Is that correct?

17 Senator Sullivan: Yes, sir.

18 Chairman McCain: So we have got a very full agenda,  
19 but the Arctic I think is another area that we have to be  
20 concerned, particularly given Russian behavior. Even  
21 Sweden, which is traditionally, as we know, a very neutral  
22 nation, has become extremely concerned about Russian  
23 activity in their territorial waters. And as we see climate  
24 change -- as we see areas of the Arctic opening up to being  
25 areas of navigation, this is an area that I hope we will

1 spend some time on. And I thank Senator Sullivan for his  
2 attention and involvement in what is, I view, a looming  
3 situation with Russia.

4 I thank you, General.

5 The committee is adjourned.

6 [Whereupon, at 11:21 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25