

Stenographic Transcript  
Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

# **UNITED STATES SENATE**

NOMINATIONS

Tuesday, April 17, 2018

Washington, D.C.

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HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATIONS OF:  
ADMIRAL PHILLIP S. DAVIDSON, USN, FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO  
THE GRADE OF ADMIRAL AND TO BE COMMANDER, UNITED STATES  
PACIFIC COMMAND; AND GENERAL TERRENCE J. O'SHAUGHNESSY,  
USAF, FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE  
COMMANDER, UNITED STATES NORTHERN COMMAND, AND COMMANDER,  
NORTH AMERICAN AEROSPACE DEFENSE COMMAND

Tuesday, April 17, 2018

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:31 a.m. in  
Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James M.  
Inhofe, presiding.

Committee Members Present: Senators Inhofe  
[presiding], Wicker, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst,  
Sullivan, Reed, Nelson, McCaskill, Gillibrand, Reed,  
Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, Warren, and Peters.

1           OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. INHOFE, U.S.  
2           SENATOR FROM OKLAHOMA

3           Senator Inhofe: This meeting will come to order.  
4           We're going to go ahead and start on time.

5           We -- on this type of meeting, there are certain  
6           required questions, and that takes a little bit longer. So,  
7           let me start with the opening statement, and Senator Reed  
8           will give his opening statement, and then we'll move on.

9           The committee meets today to consider the nominations:  
10          Admiral Phillip Davidson, to be Commander of the U.S.  
11          Pacific Command -- it's interesting, Admiral, we just --  
12          several of us on this committee just got back from PACOM and  
13          had a chance to see some of the problems there that I want  
14          to be addressing in my questions; and General O'Shaughnessy,  
15          to be Commander of the NORTHCOM.

16          We thank you for the -- all your decades of service to  
17          our Nation, and your willingness to assume these critical  
18          leadership positions. As is our tradition that you'll be  
19          giving your testimony, we invite you to introduce those  
20          members of the family -- I've already met, and so, do a good  
21          job.

22          We have certain -- seven questions that are required,  
23          so I'd like to have each one of you audibly respond to the  
24          questions.

25          Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulation

1 governing conflicts of interest?

2 [The witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

3 Senator Inhofe: Will you ensure that your staff  
4 complies with deadlines established for requesting  
5 communications, including questions for the record, in  
6 hearings?

7 Admiral Davidson: Yes.

8 Senator Inhofe: Will you cooperate -- I heard one yes.  
9 You, too?

10 General O'Shaughnessy: Yes.

11 Senator Inhofe: Oh, good.

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

14 [The witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

15 Senator Inhofe: Will you -- those witnesses be  
16 protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings?

17 [The witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

18 Senator Inhofe: Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear  
19 and testify, upon request, before this committee?

20 [The witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

21 Senator Inhofe: And do you agree to provide documents,  
22 including copies of electronic forms of communication, in a  
23 timely manner when requested by a duly constituted committee  
24 or to consult with the committee regarding the basis for any  
25 good-faith delay or denial in providing such documents?

1 [The witnesses answered in the affirmative.]

2 Senator Inhofe: And have you assumed any duties or  
3 undertaken any actions which would appear to presume the  
4 outcome of the confirmation process?

5 [The witnesses answered no.]

6 Senator Inhofe: All right.

7 Admiral Davidson, the Pacific theater is home to some  
8 of America's most important allies and partners as well as  
9 both our strategic competitors. If confirmed, will you --  
10 you will be responsible for preparing our forces in the  
11 region for a contested competitive future in which you can  
12 deter and, if necessary, defeat potential aggression.

13 I recently visited PACOM, along with several of the  
14 committee members, and we saw firsthand the threat of the  
15 Chinese expansion and aggression. We took away a renewed  
16 appreciation for the importance of American leadership. In  
17 light of the fact that most of your recent experiences have  
18 been outside the Pacific theater, we look forward to your  
19 views on the pressing challenges of the region that this  
20 region presents.

21 General O'Shaughnessy, protecting the homeland remains  
22 the -- a key priority, even as the DOD focuses on the rising  
23 challenge of great-power competitors. If confirmation -- if  
24 confirmed as NORTHCOM Commander, you will be tasked with the  
25 -- defending the Nation from the missile nuclear threats

1 that we face and that we have witnessed. The committee  
2 looks forward to hearing your assessment of the threats to  
3 the homeland, especially the development of advanced  
4 missiles capable of carrying nuclear payloads by Russia,  
5 Iran, and North Korea. And, while we've made some progress  
6 to bolster our homeland missile defense system, the  
7 committee believes that much work remains to be done to  
8 address the ballistic and cruise missile threats.

9 And we congratulate both of you on your nominations and  
10 look forward to this meeting.

11 Senator Reed.

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

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

4 I'd like to join you in welcoming our nominees. Thank  
5 you both for your extraordinary service to the Nation, and  
6 also to your families, who supported you throughout these  
7 very, very challenging endeavors. Thank you.

8 The nominees before us today have impressive records of  
9 service to our Nation, are well qualified for the positions  
10 to which they have been nominated.

11 Admiral Davidson is currently serving as the Commander  
12 of U.S. Forces -- excuse me -- U.S. Fleet Forces Command and  
13 Naval Forces U.S. Northern Command. Previously, he was  
14 Commander, U.S. 6th Fleet and the Commander, Naval Strike  
15 and Support Forces NATO while simultaneously serving as the  
16 Deputy Commander at U.S. Naval Forces Europe and U.S. Naval  
17 Forces Africa.

18 General O'Shaughnessy is currently serving as the  
19 Commander of Pacific Air Forces and the Air Component  
20 Commander for U.S. Pacific Command. Previously, he was  
21 Deputy Commander of United Nations Command Korea and U.S.  
22 Forces Korea.

23 I would also like to welcome, as I said previously,  
24 your families. Admiral Davidson is joined by his wife,  
25 Tracy Davidson, and his daughter, Laura Davidson. Hello.

1 And General O'Shaughnessy is joined by his wife, Donna, and  
2 his son, Sam, who is an excellent mathematician. Sam,  
3 thanks for being here.

4 Admiral Davidson, if confirmed, you will be the  
5 combatant commander in a region that press a myriad of  
6 challenges against the United States and Department of  
7 Defense.

8 China presents a host of long-term strategic challenges  
9 for the Department. It has created an anti-access area  
10 denial challenge and has demonstrated an unwillingness to  
11 play by the rules-based order that has long been established  
12 in Asia.

13 North Korea's ballistic missile program development has  
14 created a serious crisis on the peninsula. And, while we  
15 are cautiously optimistic about the upcoming summit, the  
16 likelihood of success is low.

17 Additionally, you will be taking and tasked with  
18 deepening our alliances and strengthening our partnerships,  
19 a crucial element of our larger Indo-Asia-Pacific strategy.

20 General O'Shaughnessy, if confirmed, your  
21 responsibilities as NORTHCOM Commander will comprise  
22 defending the homeland, including against such threats as  
23 cruise and ballistic missiles, providing support to civilian  
24 authorities in case of national and manmade disasters, and  
25 maintaining close security cooperation with our neighbors.

1 You will also be dual-hatted as the Commander of NORAD, our  
2 binational command with Canada, which has the mission to  
3 provide aerospace warning, aerospace control, and maritime  
4 warning for North America. I look forward to hearing your  
5 views on the issue that will likely come before you in this  
6 notable role.

7 And, with that, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Senator Inhofe: Senator Davidson, you are recognized.

9 Try to confine your comments to 5 minutes. Your entire  
10 statement will be made part of the record.

11 Admiral Davidson.

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1           STATEMENT OF ADMIRAL PHILLIP S. DAVIDSON, USN, NOMINEE  
2           FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF ADMIRAL AND TO BE  
3           COMMANDER, UNITED STATES PACIFIC COMMAND

4           Admiral Davidson: Thank you, Senator Inhofe, Ranking  
5           Member Reed, and distinguished committee members. I'm  
6           honored to appear before you today as the nominee to lead  
7           the United States Pacific Command.

8           I want to thank the President for nominating me, and  
9           also thank Secretary Mattis, General Dunford, Secretary  
10          Spencer, and Admiral Richardson. I am humbled by their  
11          support and confidence.

12          I'm also honored to be next to General O'Shaughnessy  
13          this morning. He is an extremely talented Air Force  
14          officer, and we go back quite a ways. And he has an  
15          impeccable record.

16          I'm pleased to be joined today by my wife, Tracy, and  
17          my daughter, Laura. Without my wife's love and support, I  
18          simply would not be here. I must add, my wife has been a  
19          keen advocate for our Navy and a rock for our Navy families  
20          to lean on for nearly 36 years and some 21 houses ago. She  
21          continues her service, even today, with her direct and  
22          unceasing commitment to family, spouse, and scholarship  
23          organizations throughout the Hampton Roads, Virginia, area.

24          My daughter, Laura, and son, Benjamin, who could not be  
25          here today, have been with us for nearly every assignment,

1 and I could not be more proud to see them become such fine  
2 citizens in our great country.

3 Our soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, coastguardsmen,  
4 and Department of Defense civilians are all volunteers, and  
5 at the heart of their commitment are their families. I want  
6 to thank the committee for your dedication and support to  
7 our service families. They are the key component to  
8 military readiness.

9 If confirmed, I look forward to working closely with  
10 you as our Nation pursues peace and prosperity in the Indo-  
11 Pacific, a region rife with challenges. For more than 70  
12 years, the Indo-Pacific has been largely peaceful, in many  
13 ways made possible by the commitment of free nations to the  
14 free and open international order and underwritten by the  
15 credibility of the combat power assigned to U.S. Pacific  
16 Command.

17 The National Defense Strategy recognizes that the  
18 central challenge to our prosperity and security is the  
19 reemergence of long-term strategic competition by  
20 revisionist powers. And, while China and Russia are the  
21 priority in that strategy, immediate challenges by North  
22 Korea, Iran, and violent extremists remain. Four of the  
23 five of these principal challenges are found in the Indo-  
24 Pacific, and the fifth, Iran, has previously operated in the  
25 region with an out-of-area deployment to the PACOM AOR.

1           Today, North Korea has rapidly advanced its unlawful  
2 nuclear weapon and ballistic missile programs. China  
3 continues to improve both the size and the capability of its  
4 armed forces, and hopes to supplant the United States as the  
5 security partner of choice, not just in the Indo-Pacific  
6 region, but across the globe. Russia continues to modernize  
7 its military in all domains, and seeks explicitly to  
8 undermine the international order and U.S. security  
9 guarantees. Of course, the presence of ISIS in the region  
10 is real and highlights the need to continue to confront  
11 transnational terrorism in the Pacific, as well.

12           The challenges in Pacific Command are genuine. If  
13 confirmed, I will work to defend against and deter our  
14 adversaries from attacking the United States, our citizens  
15 and interests abroad, as well as our allies in the region.  
16 I'll work to develop the relationships with our allies and  
17 partners in the region, as well as within our own government  
18 and across the interagency, in order to help advance peace  
19 and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific, to deliver the readiness  
20 necessary to operate wherever international law allows,  
21 while at the same time producing a more lethal integrated  
22 and interoperable combat force, and to defeat our  
23 adversaries and those of our allies, should deterrence ever  
24 fail.

25           I am fortunate to have had a wide range of strategy,

1 policy, and operational experiences in the Pacific --  
2 indeed, around the globe -- in nearly 36 years of service.  
3 I have benefited from the leadership and mentorship of  
4 Pacific Command Commanders, like Harry Harris, Tim Keating,  
5 Tom Fargo, and Joe Prueher. And I believe my current  
6 assignment, along with my history of service, not just  
7 within the Department of Defense, but across our government,  
8 has positioned me to lead U.S. Pacific Command and to face  
9 the challenges ahead.

10 I would like to take a moment and thank the members of  
11 this committee and Congress for the recent military budget.

12 The improved level of resourcing will ensure our forces can  
13 maintain the lethality and readiness required to fight and  
14 win when called upon. If confirmed, I look forward to  
15 serving alongside the men and women who make up Pacific  
16 Command. And again, I look forward to working with this  
17 committee as we face these challenges.

18 Senator Inhofe, Senator Reed, distinguished committee  
19 members, I pledge to you that I will devote the whole of my  
20 energy to ensuring Pacific Command is the most lethal and  
21 combat-ready force in our history. I look forward to your  
22 questions.

23 Thank you.

24 [The prepared statement of Admiral Davidson follows:]

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1           Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Admiral.  
2           General O'Shaughnessy.  
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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL TERRENCE J. O'SHAUGHNESSY, USAF,  
2           NOMINEE FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE  
3           COMMANDER, UNITED STATES NORTHERN COMMAND, AND COMMANDER,  
4           NORTH AMERICAN AEROSPACE DEFENSE COMMAND

5           General O'Shaughnessy: Good morning, Senator Inhofe,  
6           Ranking Member Reed, and distinguished members of the  
7           committee. I am, indeed, honored to meet with you today as  
8           the President's nominee to be the Commander of United States  
9           Northern Command and North American Aerospace Defense  
10          Command.

11          I'd like to thank the President, Secretary Mattis, and  
12          General Dunford for their confidence and for nominating me  
13          to lead these two unique but complementary commands.

14          I'd like to thank my good friend, General Lori  
15          Robinson, the current NORTHCOM Commander, for her phenomenal  
16          leadership demonstrated over 37 years of service to our  
17          Nation.

18          I would also like to express my thoughts and prayers to  
19          Senator McCain and his family, in light of his surgery this  
20          weekend.

21          It is a privilege to be sitting with an officer of such  
22          high caliber as Admiral Phil Davidson, someone who I've  
23          known for a long time. And if we are both confirmed, I look  
24          forward to working closely with him as he assumes duties in  
25          the Pacific.

1 I would like to introduce the committee to my family.  
2 As this committee knows so well, we ask a lot of our  
3 military families, and I know I would not be here if it was  
4 not for the support of the love of my life and my best  
5 friend, Donna, as well as my son, Sam. My wife is a  
6 daughter of a career Air Force fireman, so she has quite  
7 literally been part of the Air Force for her entire life,  
8 and has endured countless moves and separations as she  
9 supports her fellow spouses and families.

10 Sam just turned 11 and is in the fifth grade. And, if  
11 confirmed, he will move to his sixth school. And he does so  
12 with eager anticipation and excitement, as so many of our  
13 military kids do.

14 I have spent the last decade focused in the Pacific --  
15 in Korea, Japan, and Hawaii -- witnessing firsthand the  
16 complexities of the strategic environment we find ourselves  
17 in with peer competitors and rogue nations threatening our  
18 Nation. And perhaps what amazes me the most has been the  
19 accelerating pace of change and the importance, at this  
20 critical time, of defending the homeland. And there is no  
21 mission more sacred than defending the homeland.

22 Our Nation's ballistic missile defense capability has  
23 never been more important, given the threat from North  
24 Korea. If confirmed, I will leverage my 10-plus years of  
25 ballistic missile defense experience in a variety roles, to

1 include as Deputy Commander, U.S. Forces Korea, to ensure we  
2 can defend our Nation.

3 In just a few weeks, the U.S. and Canada will celebrate  
4 NORAD's 60th anniversary. And, if confirmed, I look forward  
5 to carrying on this proud binational tradition and gold  
6 standard for military collaboration, as well as continuing  
7 to advance our security cooperation with our essential  
8 partner, Mexico.

9 Over the course of my career, I've had the opportunity  
10 to serve alongside and work close with the professionals of  
11 the total force -- Active Duty, Guard, and Reserve. And, if  
12 confirmed, I pledge to work closely with the National Guard  
13 and Reserve force, who are such a critical part of the  
14 NORTHCOM and NORAD team, and, as this committee knows well,  
15 are absolutely critical to the mission of defending our  
16 Nation and providing support to civilian authorities in  
17 times of need, such as the unprecedented hurricane season  
18 last year.

19 I have had the opportunity to see many members of this  
20 committee as you travel to Korea, Japan, Hawaii, Alaska, and  
21 Guam. One consistent theme on these trips has been your  
22 committee members' extreme commitment to the airmen,  
23 soldiers, sailors, marines, and civilians serving our  
24 Nation. Thank you also for the support of the 2-year budget  
25 deal that provides stable and predictable funding to the

1 military through FY19 and, as Secretary Mattis noted last  
2 week, frees us from the inefficient and damaging continuing  
3 resolution funding process.

4 Senator Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed, and committee  
5 members, thank you for the opportunity to appear before the  
6 committee and for your consideration of my nomination. I  
7 look forward to your questions.

8 [The prepared statement of General O'Shaughnessy  
9 follows:]

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1 Senator Inhofe: Thank you very much, General.

2 Admiral Davidson, we -- I mentioned to you that several  
3 of us just returned from the South China Sea and were  
4 observing what China's activity has been. It's just been  
5 unprecedented in the past. Right now, they're -- they have  
6 an agenda of military modernization and expansionism. And,  
7 you know, we are familiar with what they've done with their  
8 seven -- I've often said what they have done illegally with  
9 their seven outposts. That's creating islands out there,  
10 all of them being singularly for military purposes. Now,  
11 we're talking about over 3,000. These are islands that they  
12 have created. People talk about reclamation projects. Not  
13 reclaiming, because they didn't exist before. But,  
14 nonetheless, we know they have runways, they have cannons,  
15 they have -- everything in there is military. And it's  
16 really pretty scary.

17 China recently conducted the largest naval parade in  
18 the country's history. They announced a five-fire exercise  
19 -- a live-fire exercise in the Taiwan Strait to be conducted  
20 this week. We're talking about right now. The last  
21 exercise in the Taiwan Straits was in 2015 in the lead-up to  
22 Taiwan's presidential election.

23 So, do you believe China is militarizing the South  
24 China Sea, despite official claims to the contrary?

25 Admiral Davidson: Yes, sir, I do. They're absolutely

1 building the infrastructure necessary to support troops,  
2 fighter aircraft. They're providing for ammunition bunkers,  
3 revetments --

4 Senator Inhofe: Yeah.

5 Admiral Davidson: -- and covered shelters that will  
6 enable them to put in a variety of kinetic and nonkinetic  
7 capabilities on those islands.

8 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. You know, it's a lot of places  
9 other than just there, but that's an area that you're going  
10 to be very active in. We also know that they -- in  
11 Djibouti, the mouth of Africa, that they are becoming  
12 active; and everywhere you look, they are. And so -- but,  
13 it certainly -- it was so obvious to us there.

14 The -- General O'Shaughnessy, the ballistic missile  
15 defense, the National Defense Strategy recognizes Russia and  
16 China missile threats to the homeland. Russia has developed  
17 a cruise missile that is in violation of INF. There's  
18 nothing new there. China continues to modernize in advanced  
19 nuclear technologies, despite the no-first-use power. So,  
20 that's taking place right now. And it's pretty scary, when  
21 you consider that we have -- even General Dunford said that  
22 -- not long ago, he said that we are losing our qualitative  
23 and quantitative edge. Well, he was really talking about  
24 both Russia and China. You read, and everyone, I think, on  
25 this panel have read, on March 7th, the RAND policy that

1 came out, the paper that came out that was very clear in  
2 stating that if Russia were to take on -- in Europe, take on  
3 NATO -- our NATO forces, including the United States, they  
4 would be -- they would win and we would lose. Then, on the  
5 other hand, you have our allies in the South China Sea, that  
6 we've always depended upon, now playing both sides, because  
7 they see the visibility of the increase in China. And so,  
8 that's -- it's something that's pretty scary.

9 Now, General Lori Robinson, that you mentioned, too, in  
10 a very flattering way -- you did the right thing there. She  
11 was -- as you know, was in Oklahoma for quite some time with  
12 Tinker. We've gotten to know her over the years. But, she  
13 said something that I thought was just pretty remarkable,  
14 and I want to ask you to tell us what you feel about the  
15 same -- for the same statement she made. Now, this was when  
16 she was before this committee, just a short while ago. It  
17 was in February of '18. She said, "I am 100 percent  
18 confident in my ability to defend the United States of  
19 America against a North Korean ballistic missile." General,  
20 do you agree with her? Has she convinced you?

21 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, she has. And I would  
22 say with high confidence that I believe that the ground-  
23 based midcourse defense system in place today has the  
24 ability to defend against a North Korea ballistic missile  
25 strike. I say that based on my current position and over 10

1 years of experience within ballistic missile defense, as  
2 well as my close relationship with MDA in my current role,  
3 and as well as the current -- Lieutenant General Sam  
4 Greaves, as well as Jim Syring before him, and I have high  
5 sense of confidence that, yes, sir, we can defend against  
6 the North Korean ballistic missile.

7 Senator Inhofe: Several of us on this committee just  
8 recently were also up in Greeley, up in Alaska. It was very  
9 disturbing to me, back 9 years ago, when we kind of pulled  
10 the rug out from under the Czech Republic in Poland and did  
11 away with the program that I think was -- be very  
12 instrumental in protecting both western Europe and eastern  
13 United States. Now, it is true that, during the Obama  
14 administration, we were down to 30 ground-based  
15 interceptors. It's now back up to the 44. We are planning  
16 for 20 more; that would be 64. Do you feel that that's the  
17 right steps to be taken to offer us that protection?

18 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I do. And I would  
19 take this opportunity to thank this committee for the great  
20 support for the broad-level missile defense activities that  
21 have been ongoing. And I think the additional 20 is exactly  
22 the path that we should be taking.

23 Senator Inhofe: I agree with that. Thank you.

24 Senator Reed.

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

1           And, gentlemen, again, congratulations, and look  
2 forward to working with you.

3           Admiral Davidson and General O'Shaughnessy, several of  
4 your predecessors, particularly Admiral Harris and others,  
5 have indicated that we'd be in a better position dealing  
6 with the issues in the South China Sea and in the Arctic if  
7 we were members of the United Nations Convention on the Law  
8 of the Sea. Would you share that position, Admiral  
9 Davidson?

10          Admiral Davidson: Yes, sir, I agree. Our accession to  
11 the UNCLOS would help our position legally across the globe,  
12 and would do nothing to limit our military operations in the  
13 manner in which we're conducting them now.

14          Senator Reed: Thank you.

15          And, Admiral -- General O'Shaughnessy, in terms of the  
16 Arctic Ocean, is it particularly critical for us to be  
17 participants?

18          General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, sir, it is. And, based on  
19 not only my current role in the Pacific, but also, if  
20 confirmed, the future role, I do believe that, as you  
21 mentioned, this would actually be very beneficial to the  
22 United States.

23          Senator Reed: Thank you.

24          General Davidson, we're anticipating discussions --  
25 serious discussions with the North Koreans. Just in your

1 discussions, you know, as preparing for your role with  
2 Admiral Harris, is Pacific Command involved in those  
3 discussions? Are you an observer, a participant, or at least  
4 being able to give information and receive information?

5 Admiral Davidson: I'm sorry, sir. Discussions about  
6 what?

7 Senator Reed: North Koreans.

8 Admiral Davidson: Oh, yeah.

9 Senator Reed: Nuclear, which --

10 Admiral Davidson: Absolutely. Pacific Command and  
11 U.S. Forces Korea, which is his subordinate command, are in  
12 very close consultation on the readiness needs and what the  
13 way ahead might be in Korea.

14 Senator Reed: And just to -- from your knowledge,  
15 because very quickly you'll be in the driver's seat, are  
16 these -- who is leading these ongoing discussions? Is it --  
17 it's not Pacific Command. It has to be someone within the  
18 -- either the State Department or elsewhere. Is that  
19 correct?

20 Admiral Davidson: I'm sorry, discussions about North  
21 --

22 Senator Reed: North Korea.

23 Admiral Davidson: -- Korea and the way ahead to  
24 negotiation?

25 Senator Reed: Yes.

1           Admiral Davidson: I apologize. Yes, sir, it's in the  
2 government, and it's happening at the highest diplomatic  
3 levels, the State Department and the White House, as well, I  
4 believe.

5           Senator Reed: Thank you.

6           One of the issues that you'll face as the PACOM  
7 Commander is not just sort of military forces and  
8 maneuvering fleets, but it's also geopolitical, economic  
9 issues, and factors in that regard. China is exerting huge  
10 pressure, both operationally but also economically. So, can  
11 you comment briefly about how you think that Pacific Command  
12 can assist the whole-of-government approach or this whole-  
13 of-government approach by the Chinese?

14          Admiral Davidson: Absolutely, sir. As I said in my  
15 opening statement, I think it's incredibly important to deal  
16 with China across the whole of our government. I intend to  
17 work closely with the State Department and across the  
18 interagency, and with this body, as well, to work on those  
19 issues.

20          Additionally, you know, it's very, very important to  
21 have a network of allies and partners with us on this  
22 journey. As I mentioned, the free and open international  
23 order has been dependent upon free nations working together  
24 in that regard. And I intend to work those allies and  
25 partners quite vigorously in the Pacific.

1           Senator Reed: Well, I appreciate that, but I -- your  
2 challenge has become increasingly difficult as we have --  
3 the Government of the Philippines, which is not as  
4 sympathetic to our values as, I think, previous governments.  
5 You know, turmoil in Indonesia, in terms of their elections,  
6 and both ethnic and other divisions cropping up. So, it's a  
7 much more challenging arena than it was years ago.

8           So, thank you for your commitment to serve.

9           General O'Shaughnessy, you're the operational commander  
10 for our missile defense forces. We're in the process of  
11 reinvesting and reinvigorating the whole missile defense  
12 effort. In our FY15 Defense Authorization Act, we basically  
13 advocated the -- and that's a polite word for saying we put  
14 it in the bill -- the fly-before-you-buy issue with respect  
15 to some of these new systems. And the Missile Defense  
16 Agency seems to be a sort of a fly-before-you-field. What's  
17 your view on this? Should we be much more reluctant to buy  
18 equipment before we've flown it completely?

19          General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I think it's a -- it's  
20 certainly a balance. And testing that is being done today  
21 definitely contributes to our understanding of the  
22 capability of the systems. I will -- have worked closely in  
23 the past and will continue to work closely with the MDA to  
24 ensure that the testing that is done clearly shows what  
25 capabilities we are pursuing and will be able to purchase.

1 So, the -- ultimately, sir, I agree with your concept. We  
2 have to understand what we're procuring, we have to have  
3 confidence in it. And so, therefore, we have to do some  
4 testing before purchasing.

5 Senator Reed: And I -- just a quick question, because  
6 my time is expired -- is basically, there's always this  
7 tension between the sophisticated capability and sheer  
8 numbers, quantity versus quality. And this comes up in the  
9 context of, Do we build more missiles or do we make our  
10 radar more discriminating, do we make our kill vehicle more  
11 effective? Just a quick comment from you. Very quick.

12 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I mean, I would say,  
13 again, it's both. And it's a balance between them. The work  
14 that we're doing with the persistent radar and the  
15 discrimination as well as the capacity as we're -- really is  
16 exactly in line with where we should be going.

17 Senator Reed: Thank you.

18 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

19 Senator Cotton.

20 Senator Cotton: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Thank you, gentlemen, for your testimony today.  
22 Congratulations on your nomination after a long and  
23 distinguished career of service to our Nation.

24 Admiral Davidson, I'd like to return to what the  
25 Chairman discussed, those artificial islands in the South

1 China Sea. Why is China building those islands?

2 Admiral Davidson: China has long claimed the South  
3 China Sea as their own. It is my belief that they intend to  
4 establish the military structure that will help them control  
5 the air and sea lanes through that region of the world.

6 Senator Cotton: Do you have any doubt that, despite  
7 their militarization of those islands, that the United  
8 States Navy and Air Force can keep those lines of  
9 communications open through the South China Sea?

10 Admiral Davidson: It is our job. Yes, sir.

11 Senator Cotton: And how much do those islands raise  
12 the stakes for our partnership with countries on the  
13 littoral of the sea, like Vietnam, the Philippines,  
14 Malaysia, Australia, Taiwan?

15 Admiral Davidson: Well, I think it makes it troubling.  
16 I -- their security relationships with us are very, very  
17 important to us, and also important to their security.  
18 These islands are in areas in which there are conflicting  
19 claims. And, while we take no position on how that's  
20 resolved, we do expect to see them resolved with mutual  
21 consent and as international law allows. And I think it's  
22 creating uncertainty amongst our partners and allies in that  
23 area.

24 Senator Cotton: Thank you.

25 Let's look at one of those, in particular. Taiwan, the

1 only democracy on Chinese soil. What's your opinion on  
2 regularizing arms sales to Taiwan to be consistent with the  
3 Taiwan's Relations Act?

4 Admiral Davidson: I think the Taiwan Relations Act  
5 calls for that. There should be regular arms sales. It  
6 calls specifically for us to help provide for the credible  
7 defense -- help Taiwan provide for the credible defense of  
8 the island.

9 Senator Cotton: And ought we allow port calls between  
10 Taiwan and the United States Navy, and vice versa?

11 Admiral Davidson: We have not, in our recent past,  
12 Senator. I understand that's something to discuss now. I  
13 haven't talked about it with Admiral Harris at any extent.  
14 I'd look forward to having that conversation across the  
15 interagency here and with the Congress.

16 Senator Cotton: And what about allowing Taiwanese  
17 participation in military exercises in the Indo-Pacific?

18 Admiral Davidson: Again, Senator, I -- those are new  
19 initiatives. I'd like a little time to consider that.

20 Senator Cotton: Okay, thank you. Maybe if you could  
21 get back to us --

22 Admiral Davidson: I will.

23 Senator Cotton: -- in the first few weeks on the job,  
24 once you've had a chance to consult with Admiral Harris and  
25 the team you're going to have there.

1 [The information referred to follows:]  
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1           Senator Cotton: General O'Shaughnessy, it takes about  
2   3 years, these days, to build and acquire a new ground-based  
3   interceptor. Does that seem like a satisfactory timeline to  
4   you for a missile that's fairly well developed and critical  
5   to our national security?

6           General O'Shaughnessy: Sir, it does seem like a long  
7   time. And I don't have the details, but I would work closely  
8   with General Greaves on this.

9           Senator Cotton: I would encourage you to do so. I  
10  think it took about 18 months to build the Pentagon in World  
11  War II. Surely our Nation can produce a missile that's so  
12  vital to our national security at a little bit faster rate  
13  than 36 months. As the one who may be firing them, I assume  
14  that you have a pretty highly vested interest in trying to  
15  reduce that timeline.

16          General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, sir.

17          Senator Cotton: Let's look at what you might call in  
18  your -- as you say in your testimony, defense support  
19  civilian authorities. The country faces a drug epidemic  
20  that has become a crisis. Sixty-thousand people are dying a  
21  year from overdoses. That's more than died in the entire  
22  Vietnam War. Many of these drugs are coming in through  
23  Mexico, some through countries to Mexico's south, some from  
24  Mexico itself, some via China into Mexico. What are your  
25  thoughts on what NORTHCOM can do to try to help civilian

1 authorities interdict this flow of drugs?

2 General O'Shaughnessy: Sir, I think carrying on some  
3 of the activities that NORTHCOM is currently doing, we would  
4 be well served by doing so. I'd highlight two, in  
5 particular. For example, being able to provide military-  
6 unique capability to the Department of Homeland Security,  
7 who is the lead Federal agency for the border security. For  
8 example, the U.S. Marine Corps deployment of their ground  
9 sensor platoon, that has given law enforcement agencies some  
10 indications of warnings that they are able to act on.  
11 Another one would be the recently enacted use of the RPAs  
12 from Fort Huachuca, where they're actually flying the RPAs  
13 in direct support of law enforcement agents that can  
14 actually use that for -- to find and ultimately detain  
15 people coming across the border. So, I think these are just  
16 two examples of the types of things NORTHCOM is doing that  
17 we could continue to -- continue on, if confirmed.

18 Senator Cotton: Good. Thank you. It's very high  
19 priority.

20 One last topic. One of your most high-profile missions  
21 at NORAD is tracking Santa every Christmas Eve. I assume  
22 this committee can count on your commitment to continue that  
23 venerable tradition.

24 [Laughter.]

25 General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, sir, especially since my

1 son, Sam, would want to see that, as well.

2 [Laughter.]

3 Senator Cotton: Maybe you and Sam could go into the  
4 Command Center and take a few calls from kids as they call  
5 and see if Santa is coming to their area.

6 General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, Senator.

7 Senator Cotton: Maybe even authorize, for the day, all  
8 military personnel to wear Santa hats instead of their  
9 normal headgear.

10 [Laughter.]

11 General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, sir.

12 Senator Cotton: Take it under advisement.

13 Thank you, Generals.

14 Senator Inhofe: Yes. And keep in mind, we're taking  
15 notes on this.

16 [Laughter.]

17 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Cotton.

18 Senator Hirono.

19 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 I thank you both for your distinguished service.

21 And, Admiral Davidson, thank you for meeting with me  
22 yesterday, and to acknowledge how important the Pacific  
23 Command is to our national security.

24 And, General O'Shaughnessy, I know that you have a lot  
25 of experience in the Pacific region, yourself, and I thank

1 you for that commitment.

2 I'd like to ask both of you two questions that I ask of  
3 all nominees that come before any of the committees on which  
4 I sit. And that is -- and I'll start with you, Admiral.  
5 Since you became a legal adult, have you ever made unwanted  
6 requests for sexual favors or committed any verbal or  
7 physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature?

8 Admiral Davidson: No, I have not.

9 Senator Hirono: General?

10 General O'Shaughnessy: No, Senator, I have not.

11 Senator Hirono: Second question. Have you ever faced  
12 discipline or entered into a settlement related to this kind  
13 of conduct?

14 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, no, I have not.

15 Admiral Davidson: Senator, no, I have not.

16 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

17 Admiral Davidson, the -- there's no question that the  
18 Asia-Pacific region is one of the most complex, dynamic, and  
19 diverse in the world and is comprised of 36 nations, home to  
20 more than 50 percent of the world's population, 3,000  
21 different languages, several of the world's largest  
22 militaries, and five nations allied with the U.S. through  
23 mutual defense treaties. Can you just go over, once again,  
24 how you have prepared yourself to serve as the commander of  
25 this very diverse, large area?

1           Admiral Davidson:  Yes, ma'am.  I have multiple tours  
2   in the Pacific, two tours on the U.S. Pacific Fleet staff,  
3   in fact, in my history, as well as a number of operational  
4   deployments there, as well.  I've had important policy and  
5   strategy responsibilities, here, dealing with the Pacific as  
6   part of the total global portfolio here on the joint staff,  
7   and on two tours on the OPNAV staff, and have dealt with  
8   Southwest Asia and South Asia, to a certain extent, in my  
9   time at the State Department.  And I also have experience in  
10  the White House.

11           Senator Hirono:  And I'm sure you've also touched bases  
12  with General O'Shaughnessy, because he has a lot of  
13  experience in that part of the world -- our part of the  
14  world.  Yes?

15           Admiral Davidson:  Yes.

16           Senator Hirono:  Very good.  In response to one of the  
17  questions that we put to you, advance policy questions, you  
18  noted that the requirements development process lacks the  
19  agility required in the current dynamic operational  
20  environment.  And you say that perhaps we need to look at  
21  some statutory processes, changes that were outlined in  
22  Goldwater-Nichols.  Can you very briefly talk about what you  
23  mean by the DOD needing greater agility in adjusting to the  
24  new operating environment, and any statutory changes that  
25  you would like that would foster that agility?

1           Admiral Davidson: Yes, ma'am. It's clear to me that  
2 some of our potential adversaries are innovating with weapon  
3 systems that we need to catch up on, in some cases, or  
4 advance the gap that we currently might hold over them, as  
5 well. The ability to purchase equipments and turn them  
6 quickly into a capability for our soldiers, sailors, airmen,  
7 marine, and coastguardsmen is ponderously slow. So,  
8 anything that allows us to innovate a little bit, permits us  
9 to fail occasionally, will be incredibly important.

10           I am highly concerned about China's pursuit of  
11 hypersonics. And that is one area in which we need to get  
12 after it quickly, and I -- some help there on the  
13 acquisition side would allow us to innovate more quickly.

14           Senator Hirono: I would be very interested any  
15 statutory changes that you would ask us to consider for the  
16 next NDAA.

17           Continuing with the threat of North Korea issue, Hawaii  
18 went through a false alarm relating to what we thought was a  
19 missile coming from North Korea. And so, you know, I'd just  
20 like to ask you, General O'Shaughnessy, that you commit to  
21 working with us -- and me, in particular -- to make sure  
22 that that kind of mishap does not occur, and that we may  
23 need to look at some better ways for an alarm to occur in  
24 the face of a missile threat.

25           General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I do commit to that.

1 And, having seen that firsthand, and seeing the reaction  
2 from our fellow residents of Hawaii, really was striking to  
3 me. And so, I do commit to do that, Senator.

4 Senator Hirono: It was 38 minutes, too long to get the  
5 word out that it was a false alarm.

6 So, for both of you, I am concerned of threats in the  
7 Pacific region that would disrupt fuel delivery or  
8 electricity supplies in the region. DOD relies on  
9 vulnerable fuel and electric supplies to conduct its  
10 military operations, where electric power outages are  
11 military -- on military bases or fuel supply disruptions  
12 could disrupt critical military operations.

13 Admiral Davidson, can you discuss your main concerns if  
14 our adversaries disrupted our fuel supply in the Pacific  
15 region?

16 Admiral Davidson: This is sort of -- that fuel is the  
17 lifeblood of, not only our economies on the Pacific Rim, but  
18 absolutely to DOD's ability to maneuver and do their  
19 function. It's a critical approach to any day-to-day  
20 operation planning that we do, and wartime planning, to be  
21 able to protect those lines of communication that protects  
22 our energy supplies.

23 Senator Hirono: So, are you also committed to enabling  
24 our installations in Hawaii to be self-sufficient, in terms  
25 of fuels, or resorting to relying on wave, possibly, or wind

1 or solar as a way to make you self-sufficient in the  
2 Pacific?

3 Admiral Davidson: Yes, Senator. Our ability to, you  
4 know, conserve our energies is a readiness issue for us in  
5 the Navy, and could be the difference between success or  
6 failure in war.

7 Senator Hirono: One more question, Mr. Chairman.

8 Some of your predecessors have acknowledged that global  
9 warming and climate change is a national security issue. Do  
10 you agree with that assessment?

11 Admiral Davidson: Senator, I've been through the worst  
12 8-month period in weather in my lifetime. Whatever the  
13 cause of that might be, it's truly a problem. We have to  
14 plan for some of these adverse weather conditions for the  
15 future.

16 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

17 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Hirono.

19 Senator Ernst.

20 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 General, Admiral, it's very good to see you. Thank you  
22 for your many, many years of service, and for your  
23 willingness to step up and take on these new roles. I  
24 certainly do appreciate it, as do the others here today.

25 Admiral Davidson, I really enjoyed sitting down with

1 you and having a great discussion the other week, and just  
2 chat about some of the challenges that you see in PACOM.  
3 And amongst those, of course, North Korea, that we've talked  
4 about today, their nuclear ambitions, China's influence, and  
5 also a little bit about Russia. But, it is incredibly  
6 important -- and you mentioned this in your opening remarks  
7 -- that we continue to develop and work on relationships  
8 throughout the region, and strengthen those partnerships.  
9 And I would like to know what partner or ally in the region  
10 you believe is the most important to the United States right  
11 at this moment, and why.

12 Admiral Davidson: Thank you, Senator. We have five  
13 treaty allies in the Pacific. They are all incredibly  
14 important to us. Japan is the foundation of our security in  
15 the western Pacific, and Korea is the lynchpin that holds  
16 together Northeast Asia. Australia is essentially the  
17 foundation pushing up from the bottom across all Asia,  
18 incredibly important. You know we've been assisting the  
19 Philippines from the threat of ISIS in the Philippines,  
20 here, in an advise-and-assist mission over the last several  
21 months. That's been incredibly important, as well. And, of  
22 course, there's Thailand, as well, in Southeast Asia, an  
23 important ally to date.

24 Of partners, I think the historic opportunity for the  
25 United States going forward is probably with India. And

1 that would be a relationship that I intend to work on with  
2 great energy.

3 Senator Ernst: Wonderful. And I appreciate you  
4 calling out all of those allies. They are all very  
5 important to us.

6 Is -- you mentioned India. What more can we be doing  
7 with India? Is it military sales? Is it military  
8 schooling? What additional response can we give for India?

9 Admiral Davidson: Well, I think it's important to get  
10 a -- to establish a foundation in a mil-to-mil relationship.  
11 India's military has long relied on the former Soviet Union,  
12 and then Russia to follow, with some of their technology and  
13 training. We have to break down that historical background,  
14 to a certain extent. "Break down" is not the correct word,  
15 but be willing to work with that so that we can move forward  
16 with India.

17 Senator Ernst: Very good. And a discussion that we  
18 had in my office, as well, and the President has a very  
19 important meeting come up with Abe, of Japan. We think  
20 that's really important. One of the hot topics that they  
21 will be discussing is trade. And I mentioned TPP in our  
22 discussion because I have long believed that trade is not  
23 just about our economy and moving goods between countries,  
24 but, when we have good trade partners, we also foster other  
25 good relationships. And a benefit of that would be a good

1 military or national defense relationship.

2 So, could you share your thoughts on, not necessarily  
3 TPP, but the fact of having bilateral or multilateral trade  
4 relationships with countries, especially in the PACOM  
5 region?

6 Admiral Davidson: As I mentioned in my opening  
7 comments, Senator, the free and open international order has  
8 benefited all the free nations on the planet. And I think  
9 it's the economies of all. And the prosperity that depends  
10 on that is part of an open and free-trade and fair-trade  
11 approach to world economies. I think whatever comes out of  
12 the way forward, fair trade will be an important component  
13 of our security, going forward.

14 Senator Ernst: Thank you. And I do appreciate that  
15 perspective. Again, I think it's very important that we  
16 foster some of these relationships. And by being good trade  
17 partners, it does allow for a free flow of discussion with  
18 those countries and developing other types of relationships.  
19 And what I've heard from a number of those countries is that  
20 they don't want any additional undue influence coming from  
21 China in their countries. They would rather see the United  
22 States as their primary trade partner. So, we look forward  
23 to having those discussions.

24 Gentlemen, I want to thank you again for taking on the  
25 additional responsibilities, if so confirmed. We're looking

1 forward to that.

2 And thank you, to the family members that are here  
3 today. As a former military spouse, myself, I certainly  
4 appreciate all that you do to support your loved one. So,  
5 thank you very much.

6 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

7 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Ernst.

8 Senator Warren.

9 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 And thank you, to our nominees, for your service. And  
11 thank you, to your families, for the service you also give.

12 Admiral Davidson and General O'Shaughnessy, I have a  
13 number of things that I want to cover in my time today, but  
14 I want to start by asking you a question I've asked every  
15 other combatant commander. Does a weakened State Department  
16 make your job easier or harder? And do you support robust  
17 funding for the State Department?

18 Admiral?

19 Admiral Davidson: It makes our job harder. And I  
20 would support robust funding to help them with their  
21 mission, yes.

22 Senator Warren: Good.

23 General?

24 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I agree, a robust  
25 State Department is definitely in our national interest, and

1 certainly makes our job harder if it is not there.

2 Senator Warren: Good. I appreciate this. Every  
3 combatant commander who has come in here has agreed with the  
4 principle that a strong national defense means funding not  
5 only our military, but investing in civilian diplomacy and  
6 development, as well.

7 Now, Admiral Davidson, let me just ask you. You know,  
8 only weeks before his appointment was announced, our new  
9 National Security Advisor, John Bolton, wrote an op-ed that  
10 was entitled "The Legal Case for Striking North Korea  
11 First." I recently returned from the region, where I met  
12 with our close allies in South Korea and Japan. And they  
13 are deeply worried about the implications of a preventive  
14 U.S. strike. A Japanese official told me that he feared  
15 that any conflict on the Korean Peninsula would quickly  
16 spread to the region.

17 So, Admiral, can you expand on your view of the impact  
18 of a conflict in North Korea for U.S. forces, and what it  
19 means for our allies and partners in the region?

20 Admiral Davidson: I think any kind of conflict with  
21 North Korea, that you have to plan for all the potential  
22 enemy courses of action that might result in severe  
23 consequences for all parties involved. And, as I've looked  
24 at and understood the problem over my lifetime, executing  
25 any kind of combat operations on the Peninsula there in

1 Korea requires the support of allies, both on the Peninsula  
2 and off the Peninsula.

3 Senator Warren: Well, sir, let me push on this just a  
4 little bit. The Trump administration recently released  
5 National Defense Strategy says that, "Long-term strategic  
6 competitions with China and Russia are the principal  
7 priorities" -- that's a quote -- "for the Department of  
8 Defense. The strategy stresses the need to modernize  
9 existing equipment, invest in advanced capabilities, and  
10 enhance the readiness of the joint force for a high-end  
11 fight." Now, many analysts estimate that a conflict on the  
12 Korean Peninsula could bog us down there for years,  
13 degrading our equipment and potentially resulting in  
14 thousands of casualties, both to our allies and to our own  
15 troops.

16 So, Admiral, what would be the impact of a long-term  
17 conflict on the Korean Peninsula on our ability to prepare  
18 for a high-end conflict like those that are described in the  
19 Defense Strategy?

20 Admiral Davidson: Certainly, Senator, I think just our  
21 history in the last 15 years has demonstrated that any long-  
22 term conflict has significant financial costs and costs  
23 around the globe, and people costs within the armed  
24 services. That -- we have to consider that as we go  
25 forward.

1           Senator Warren: Good. And, actually, let me add one  
2 more. Would it be more difficult to maintain our  
3 technological investments to counter China if we were  
4 fighting a sustained ground war in North Korea?

5           Admiral Davidson: I think those investments would be  
6 competing for funds in that kind of environment, yes, ma'am.

7           Senator Warren: Yeah. You know, I'm glad to see that  
8 the President is now interested in diplomacy. I'm not sure  
9 he understands the enormous complexity of these  
10 negotiations, but I strongly hope for success. Because a  
11 ground war on the Korean Peninsula would be devastating to  
12 our forces and devastating to our allies, and such a war  
13 would deeply undermine our long-term strategic interests in  
14 the Indo-Pacific region and, frankly, all around the world.

15           Let me see if I can sneak in one more question before I  
16 run out of time here. And that's for you, General  
17 O'Shaughnessy. If confirmed, will you take responsibility  
18 for Operation Noble Eagle, including the air defense of our  
19 Nation's skies? The Air National Guard is indispensable to  
20 this mission, and many of the Guard units fly the F-15 C/D,  
21 our fourth-generation air superiority aircraft. But, last  
22 year, the Air Force briefly flirted with the idea of  
23 retiring the F-15 C/D. And this year, the Air Force  
24 requested no money to continue upgrading this C/D fleet. We  
25 have more than 400 F-15s in our inventory, and the majority

1 of them are used by the Guard. The Air Force says they want  
2 to replace the F-15s with the fifth-generation F-35s. And  
3 I'm all for that. But, they also say they won't acquire a  
4 sufficient number of the F-35s to do that for more than 20  
5 years.

6 So, if I can ask you -- and I'm out of time here, but  
7 if I can just ask on this question -- can we afford to wait  
8 20 years to replace the capacity that the F-15s currently  
9 provide? And let me ask if you support continuing to  
10 maintain and upgrade these aircraft, as previously planned,  
11 so they can continue to fly?

12 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, the F-15 is a very  
13 capable aircraft. And the way I would look at this is, to  
14 your point about, we need to maintain our overall capability  
15 and capacity in doing so. I would work closely with the Air  
16 Force, if I was confirmed, to make sure we maintain that  
17 capability and capacity that is relevant to the threats that  
18 we will be facing.

19 Senator Warren: Thank you. I appreciate this. You  
20 know, on 9/11, F-15s, including from the 104th Fighter Wing  
21 in Massachusetts, were some of the first aircraft in the  
22 sky. These are our citizen airmen, and they have protected  
23 our Nation from the skies 24 hours a day, 365 days a year,  
24 for over 16 years now. We owe it to them to make sure that  
25 they have the equipment and the resources they need.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Senator Inhofe: Senator Rounds.

3 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 Gentlemen, thank you for your service to our country,  
5 and thank you, to your families, for their support for you  
6 and their sacrifice, as well.

7 Admiral Davidson, as an interested -- a very interested  
8 observer in the Pacific Rim region, do you think that North  
9 Korea would be offering to come to the bargaining table  
10 today and find a diplomatic solution to the challenges on  
11 that peninsula if this country had not taken a very strong  
12 and hardline approach to their development of nuclear  
13 weapons?

14 Admiral Davidson: If you're referring to the maximum  
15 pressure campaign, sir, I think that's been highly effective  
16 at getting us to a place where we might have a discussion.

17 Senator Rounds: So, the President's approach with  
18 regard to a flatout refusal to allow North Korea to maintain  
19 and develop their nuclear weapons is probably a primary  
20 reason why they're at the bargaining table today, looking,  
21 perhaps, for a diplomatic way out.

22 Admiral Davidson: Yes, sir, I would agree with that.

23 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

24 Last year at this hearing, Admiral Harris testified  
25 that aspects of the INF Treaty that limit our ability to

1 counter Chinese and other countries' land-based missiles, I  
2 think, is problematic, is that -- is his quote. Do you  
3 agree? And what would be your approach to the INF Treaty as  
4 the PACOM Commander?

5 Admiral Davidson: Well, I think you heard from the  
6 Secretary and the Chairman last week that, you know, staying  
7 within the INF is in the greater national security interests  
8 for our country. You know, the issues are, it's a bilateral  
9 treaty between us and Russia. China is not a signatory to  
10 it, and they're developing weapons outside of it. It forces  
11 us into a position where we have to comply to fulfill the  
12 treaty on -- with one party and not really have the ability  
13 to counter with a like weapon in the other relationship.  
14 And that's problematic, and will continue to be problematic  
15 for Pacific Command.

16 Senator Rounds: So, what we have is -- is China,  
17 without having their hands tied by a treaty, they're develop  
18 these weapons, these weapon systems. At the same time, we  
19 are limited in our ability to respond to these weapon  
20 systems that we believe, or know, are under development  
21 today.

22 Admiral Davidson: Yes, sir. It's causing us to have  
23 to invest in weapons that, in fact, are probably more  
24 expensive to employ. I think that's true.

25 Senator Rounds: I think Senator Ernst was on target,

1 and I'd like to follow up a little bit with regard to the  
2 TPP. There's 500 million people in the Pacific Rim region  
3 that would like to trade with our country. They are  
4 countries that we would very much like to have as allies and  
5 to develop long-term relationships with. Can you discuss, a  
6 little bit, their interest in negotiating and trading with  
7 the United States versus the concern that you perceive they  
8 may have with the current long-term approach by China with  
9 their One Belt, One Road policy?

10 Admiral Davidson: Well --

11 Senator Rounds: They clearly would rather do business  
12 with us.

13 Admiral Davidson: Well, I think that's true, sir. I  
14 mean, I -- the -- as I mentioned in my opening statement of  
15 the open international order, I think they would like a free  
16 partner that helped -- that has their prosperity and  
17 security in mind. And I think that drives to an outcome to  
18 pursue a trade deal with us, yes.

19 Senator Rounds: With regard to our strategic needs in  
20 the Pacific Rim region, would the TPP help or hurt our  
21 strategic needs?

22 Admiral Davidson: I'd -- whatever form the trade takes  
23 at the end of the day, the -- any agreement takes at the end  
24 of the day, I think a fair trade deal is incredibly  
25 important to our prosperity and security, and theirs.

1 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

2 General O'Shaughnessy, the U.S. Navy identified a  
3 number of unfunded priorities in the area of critical  
4 munitions, including the LR, the LRASOM, the Harpoon Block  
5 II plus, the AIM-9X, the MK-48 heavyweight torpedoes. These  
6 are also critical munitions for PACOM. I know that, with  
7 regard to Admiral Davidson, I think he would agree, but I'm  
8 just curious, we're looking -- asking for additional funds  
9 for the PACOM region and yet, at the same time, in NORTHCOM  
10 you have needs, as well. I'm just curious with regard to  
11 these weapon systems that we're developing, not just for  
12 PACOM, but for the protection of the United States, we put a  
13 lot into our land-based systems. Do you support the defense  
14 -- or the Department of Defense's fiscal year '19 request  
15 for \$98 million for the Southeast Asia Maritime Stability  
16 Initiative? And with that perhaps also comes the  
17 opportunity, I think anyway, to work through the process of  
18 -- I guess what I'm looking at is -- is the need, in terms  
19 of the defense of North America. The farther away we can  
20 get with regard to the defenses that we've got and the  
21 ability to defend there seems to me to also be positive in  
22 -- with regard to the defense of our country, as well. And  
23 I just -- I think that connection's got to be made  
24 someplace, and sometimes we don't do a good job of doing it.  
25 Can you share a little bit about the needs, not just for

1 each -- for your command, but for the PACOM command, as  
2 well?

3 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I can. And I would  
4 certainly say, certainly with my current position, I  
5 absolutely do support that initiatives. And, to your point,  
6 I see very much a relationship to defending the homeland.  
7 As is often said, the best defense is a good offense. And  
8 so, in this regard, some of those weapons that you mentioned  
9 would allow us to bring offensive capability against a peer  
10 competitor, and that'll be critically important.

11 In addition, some of those munitions you mentioned are  
12 directly attributable to the NORTHCOM forces would use in  
13 defending the homeland -- for example, the AIM-9X, that you  
14 mentioned, would be critical for the defense of the  
15 homeland, as well.

16 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

17 Thank you, gentlemen, for your service.

18 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Rounds.

20 Senator Donnelly.

21 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 I want to thank both of you for being here, and your  
23 families, as well.

24 Recently, the Centers for Disease Control reported that  
25 overdose deaths in Indiana increased by 28 percent from July

1 2016 to July 2017. Over 1700 Hoosiers died in the last year  
2 from drug overdoses. This is much larger than Indiana,  
3 though. Nationally, over 60,000 people died in 1 year from  
4 drug overdoses, over 40,000 of them opioid overdoses. It's  
5 a national epidemic.

6 General O'Shaughnessy, if confirmed, how would you  
7 prioritize the opioid crisis among Northern Command  
8 priorities?

9 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I agree with your  
10 assessment that this is, in fact, a national crisis. And,  
11 as such, and if confirmed, I would make it a high priority  
12 to find opportunities to provide unique military  
13 capabilities to support the Department of Homeland Security,  
14 the lead Federal agency, in this respect.

15 Senator Donnelly: Well, I'm deeply concerned about  
16 heroin production and trafficking. It's shifting from South  
17 America to Mexico. We heard from the FBI and others, most  
18 heroin in the United States is coming in through Mexico, and  
19 is also produced there, rather than coming up from South or  
20 Central America. Solving this challenge will require close  
21 partnerships with the Mexican government and the military.  
22 How would you assess their capability and the will of the  
23 Mexican government and security forces to work with us on  
24 this?

25 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, if confirmed, I would

1 try to build on the great relationship that General Robinson  
2 has established with both the SEDENA and SEMAR with the  
3 chiefs of staffs or their Secretary of National Defense.  
4 From the strategic-level dialogue all the way down to the  
5 over 1500 Mexican soldiers trained with our airmen,  
6 soldiers, sailors, marine to try to increase their ability  
7 to interdict in Mexico -- the Mexicans interdicting in  
8 Mexico prior to reaching our border. So, I think, in  
9 summary, that our relationship, our close cooperation with  
10 Mexico, our mil-to-mil relationship with Mexico is  
11 critically important to help secure the border.

12 Senator Donnelly: The closer that relationship is, the  
13 better success we'll have. If you want to put this in a  
14 human term, these are all our sons and daughters who are  
15 dying. These are our brothers and sisters. I don't know  
16 any family that doesn't know somebody in their town that  
17 hasn't been touched by this, that someone who's a student at  
18 Indiana University or a student down the road, here, at Old  
19 Dominion, in Tim's State, or Senator Kaine's State. This is  
20 tearing our country apart. And it's all coming in through  
21 Mexico to this country. And it's coming in primarily, not  
22 over mountains or across rivers or this or that, but through  
23 the checkpoints that already exist. And we have to do  
24 something different at these checkpoints to stop this,  
25 General. And your efforts to do this is not only important

1 to our national security, but to all of our families, that  
2 our kids can come home at night, that we know, when we go  
3 down to wake them up in the morning, that they're still  
4 there. I mean, that's how core this is to the challenges we  
5 face in this country right now. And we really, really need  
6 you to dig in deep on this, sir.

7 General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, I share your concern.  
8 And, if confirmed, I promise to make this a priority.

9 Senator Donnelly: Thank you.

10 Admiral Davidson, as you may know, last year's NDAA  
11 included a provision I authored requiring the White House to  
12 submit a report on a comprehensive strategy on North Korea  
13 within 90 days. It was due on March 12th. We still have  
14 nothing that has been given to us in regards to this. I'm  
15 eagerly awaiting to see it. But, in light of developments  
16 on a possible meeting between the President and Kim, I'm  
17 even more convinced the administration needs to have a clear  
18 vision and a comprehensive strategy, and they need to  
19 present it to Congress. What do you think are our interim  
20 objectives for these talks with North Korea?

21 Admiral Davidson: Well, sir, I think the President's  
22 made it plain that denuclearization is the objective of  
23 these talks.

24 Senator Donnelly: What if the talks are not  
25 successful? Then what?

1           Admiral Davidson: We've had some success with the  
2 maximum pressure campaign. I mean, we certainly -- the --  
3 my job and General Brooks's job in -- or, excuse me, if  
4 confirmed, my job and General Brooks's job in Korea, along  
5 with the Secretary, would be to present the options across  
6 the range of military operations that are possible to  
7 continue the pressure and see if we can't achieve the --

8           Senator Donnelly: What do you see as your biggest  
9 challenge right now with the North Koreans?

10          Admiral Davidson: The biggest challenge right now,  
11 sir, I think, is the negotiation, going forward, and getting  
12 some clarity on the situation as to what KJU seeks.

13          Senator Donnelly: Okay.

14          Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15          Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator.

16          Senator Kaine.

17          Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

18          And thank you, to the witnesses. And congratulations  
19 on your nominations.

20          Admiral Davidson, I want to ask you about something  
21 that we talked about with Admiral Harris when he was here.  
22 We talked about this notion of the quad, a sort of a loose  
23 coalition between the United States, Japan, Australia, and  
24 India for defense cooperation purposes. I think it has a  
25 lot of promise. I'm on the Foreign Relations Committee, in

1 the -- I'm the Ranking Member on the subcommittee that  
2 oversees the U.S./India relationship. And so, I'm intrigued  
3 by the idea. If you could talk a little bit about your view  
4 of the quad, what it could be and what you might intend to  
5 do to further that notion, should you be confirmed as PACOM.

6 Admiral Davidson: It's -- I agree that I think there  
7 is some opportunity there, Senator, absolutely, to come  
8 together on issues where our interests converge. As I  
9 mentioned earlier, I think India and the relationship with  
10 the United States is the potentially most historic  
11 opportunity we have in the 21st century, and I intend to  
12 pursue that quite rigorously.

13 I've traveled to Japan and Australia quite a bit. I've  
14 got good relationships in Australia, absolutely. And I look  
15 forward to building those relationships and see where I  
16 can't find out where these interests converge and what the  
17 opportunity might be.

18 Senator Kaine: I might have missed it earlier if it  
19 was discussed, but talk a little bit about U.S./Vietnam  
20 military cooperation. I know we had a carrier visit  
21 recently in Vietnam. There's been an increasing desire on  
22 behalf of Vietnam to do military cooperation together with  
23 the United States, I think largely due to their concerns  
24 about Chinese influence in the region. Talk a little bit  
25 about how you see that relationship on the mil-to-mil side,

1 going forward.

2           Admiral Davidson: Yeah, to -- the carrier visit was  
3 quite historic, and we're in discussions with Vietnam. I  
4 think a high-endurance cutter, we're going to transfer to  
5 them under the Foreign Military Sales Act. We've been  
6 working with Vietnam on the Code of Conduct for Operations  
7 at Sea, which I think is an important opportunity to build  
8 on, might raise some confidence in the security amongst the  
9 South China Sea rim nations. I think this is an incredible  
10 opportunity for us.

11           Senator Kaine: One last question for you, and then a  
12 question for General O'Shaughnessy.

13           You -- you're coming from fleet forces, so you've been  
14 experienced in trying to find a balance between the need to  
15 over -- you know, the working of our people in --  
16 overworking of our people in the combatant commander  
17 request. Now you'd be on the other side as a combatant  
18 commander. How will your fleet forces background give you  
19 the ability to sort of manage what the appropriate workload  
20 is for a part of the world that has significant demands  
21 right now?

22           Admiral Davidson: Yes, sir. I think my experience  
23 there will be important. The operations of forces, you  
24 know, has to take into account the readiness and the  
25 preparedness of those forces. And, as we look to the new

1 National Defense Strategy, trying to balance what we  
2 maintain forward with our ability to generate the readiness,  
3 the capability, the training, all of that that goes into  
4 high-end warfare is incredibly important. I'm going to have  
5 to help seek that balance --

6 Senator Kaine: Great. Thank you.

7 Admiral Davidson: -- if I'm confirmed. Excuse me.

8 Senator Kaine: And, General O'Shaughnessy, I want to  
9 ask you -- you were talking to Senator Donnelly about Mexico  
10 and about drug interdiction, some of those issues. There's a  
11 whole series of issues where the mil-to-mil cooperation with  
12 Mexico is very important. It could be human trafficking,  
13 migrant flows, drug interdiction, et cetera. The current  
14 relationship on the political side with Mexico is very, very  
15 strained -- presidential rhetoric and presidential candidate  
16 rhetoric on the Mexican side of the border is also kind of  
17 in a really aggressive back-and-forth right now. How is  
18 that affecting the current mil-to-mil relationships with  
19 Mexico? And what do you think you could do, should you be  
20 confirmed in the NORTHCOM position, to make sure that those  
21 relationships stay strong for the important work that we  
22 have to do together?

23 General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, sir. Senator, I think  
24 that highlights the importance of the mil-to-mil, because  
25 that mil-to-mil provides the stability if you have a solid

1 foundation within it. I applaud General Robinson's efforts  
2 to enhance that mil-to-mil. And what I have seen in the  
3 Pacific -- for example, in the Philippines -- play out is,  
4 our strong mil-to-mil relationship with our Philippine  
5 counterparts is what's allowed us to fairly seamlessly go  
6 through some political ups and downs with our relationship  
7 with the Government of the Philippines. So, I would apply  
8 that same model to Mexico, in the sense that that foundation  
9 that you set from the mil-to-mil side will allow that  
10 relationship to continue. As the political aspects go up  
11 and down, as they may, that foundation will provide us the  
12 ability to continue the great -- to reap the great benefit  
13 that we have from that relationship.

14 Senator Kaine: I think that's a very good insight.  
15 Some of the work that we do together with other militaries,  
16 it might be just a fraction of our budget, but it's some of  
17 the best money that we spend, and the U.S. still really is  
18 the partner of choice for militaries around the world. And  
19 I appreciate that answer.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Kaine.

22 Senator Blumenthal.

23 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

24 Thank you both for your service and to your families,  
25 as well.

1           Admiral Davidson, you led the comprehensive review of  
2 the fatal collisions that occurred in the Pacific leading to  
3 the death of 17 sailors, including two from Connecticut. In  
4 fact, I think there were two reviews. Are you satisfied  
5 that the Navy is pursuing whatever measures were recommended  
6 as a result of those reviews?

7           Admiral Davidson: Yes, sir, very much. The Vice Chief  
8 and the Under Secretary of the Navy are leading an oversight  
9 council to make sure that those recommendations get  
10 inculcated. And, in fact, in just the last couple of weeks,  
11 the Vice Chief -- I accompanied him once -- has been over  
12 here on the Hill to brief professional staff on both the  
13 House and Senate side on the progress made so far.

14           Senator Blumenthal: And are you satisfied that  
15 sufficient resources have been dedicated to achieving those  
16 goals?

17           Admiral Davidson: The Vice Chief gave guidance, in a  
18 recent Navy meeting alone, to try to get some of the  
19 investments that were targeted farther to the right in the  
20 FYDP, you know, in the out years, moved left. And he's  
21 having meetings this month to see what we might be able to  
22 produce and achieve sooner investment to get these things  
23 done.

24           Senator Blumenthal: Speaking of investments, you  
25 mentioned, in your testimony, that undersea warfare is a

1 critical area where we still have a, as you said it,  
2 perishable advantage, which requires sustained investment in  
3 innovation and building to maintain it. Could you give us  
4 your assessment of -- and you mentioned the Chinese as a  
5 principal adversary -- where the Chinese are in their  
6 development?

7 Admiral Davidson: They maintained investments in  
8 undersea warfare as one of their key priorities, moving  
9 forward.

10 Senator Blumenthal: Are they advancing to eliminate  
11 that advantage that we have?

12 Admiral Davidson: I believe so, sir. They have new  
13 submarines on both the ballistic missile side and on the  
14 attack submarine side, and they're achieving numbers in the  
15 build of those submarines, as well, and they're also  
16 pursuing other technologies to give them better insights  
17 into our operations in the undersea domain.

18 Senator Blumenthal: Are they stealing our technology  
19 to advance their program?

20 Admiral Davidson: I think -- we've talked, on a number  
21 of occasions over here on the Hill, Senator. I believe that  
22 they are stealing technology in just about every domain, and  
23 trying to use it to their advantage.

24 Senator Blumenthal: And what's the means that they use  
25 to steal that technology?

1           Admiral Davidson: One of the main concerns that we  
2 have, sir, is cyber and penetration of the dot-com networks,  
3 exploiting technology from our defense contractors, in some  
4 instances, and certainly their pursuit in academia is  
5 producing some of these understandings for them to exploit.

6           Senator Blumenthal: Is there more that should be done  
7 to bolster the defenses, the cyber defenses that we have,  
8 especially among our contractors?

9           Admiral Davidson: I have -- I think, across the DOD  
10 domain, absolutely, sir, and I think we should insist on  
11 higher standards for those systems that we buy from the  
12 commercial activities, here, yes.

13          Senator Blumenthal: I know that it may be beyond your  
14 particular area of authority, but is there an effort  
15 underway in the Navy and in the DOD to bolster those  
16 defenses against cyber penetration among our defense  
17 contractors in the private sector?

18          Admiral Davidson: I'd have to get -- it's -- to  
19 qualify it as robust or not, sir, I'd have to get back to  
20 you on that.

21          Senator Blumenthal: I would appreciate it.

22          Admiral Davidson: Absolutely.

23          [The information referred to follows:]

24          [COMMITTEE INSERT]

25

1           Senator Blumenthal: General O'Shaughnessy, I'm  
2 interested in the impact of climate change on NORTHCOM  
3 operations, the thawing of the Arctic, to put it most  
4 simply. How is it impacting our mission requirements? Has  
5 it impacted the number of ships and patrols required in the  
6 Arctic? I can't give you, off the top of my head, the  
7 numbers on the contraction of the perennial ice cover there,  
8 but certainly it creates strategic challenges, does it not?

9           General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, that absolutely does.  
10 And certainly the Arctic and, for example, just as you  
11 mentioned, the northern sea route is an example of -- we see  
12 increase use of an activity in the Arctic. I think, from  
13 the NORTHCOM perspective and the NORAD perspective as well,  
14 if confirmed, I would certainly make the Arctic a priority,  
15 because, as we look to the future, look at the strategic  
16 competition we're in, or look at Russia and China and their  
17 activities there, that is clearly something that we need to  
18 also be focused on.

19           Senator Blumenthal: The numbers I have on the  
20 disparity in our icebreaker fleet, ours compared to the  
21 Russians, is two versus 40. And they have an additional 11  
22 in development. Is that an important area of investment?  
23 And, first, I should ask, Are those numbers roughly correct?

24           General O'Shaughnessy: Senator, we do see significant  
25 -- especially on the Russia side, and increasingly on the

1 Chinese side, in the order of magnitude that you addressed.  
2 I would say it's certainly something that we would advocate  
3 for, and, if confirmed, I would advocate for, as NORTHCOM as  
4 well as the role of the Arctic Capability Advocacy Working  
5 Group, which is -- by the Unified Command Plan, is  
6 designated as the NORTHCOM Commander. I would take that  
7 role incredibly seriously, especially given all that you  
8 mentioned with the activity in the Arctic and working with  
9 fellow COCOM Commanders, if confirmed, of both EUCOM and  
10 PACOM in addressing the challenges we see coming from the  
11 Arctic.

12 Senator Blumenthal: And if the Chairman would permit  
13 me one more question.

14 Senator Inhofe: Go ahead. Yes, go ahead.

15 Senator Blumenthal: Maybe you can explain to the  
16 average American, What's the importance of these  
17 icebreakers? I think you and I know what it is, but maybe  
18 you can tell the average American. Why should we care about  
19 icebreakers in the Arctic?

20 General O'Shaughnessy: Again, as an advocate for, not  
21 necessarily someone that would be procuring if the -- if  
22 confirmed, but we would be working closely with the  
23 Department of Homeland Security -- the Coast Guard,  
24 specifically -- as they work to increase and robust-up their  
25 iceberg capacity. Clearly, as you see, the -- in the -- as

1 the Arctic does open up, it is not open for all seasons.  
2 And so, you need the ability to use a icebreaker to clear  
3 the path to allow the shipping boats, et cetera, maritime to  
4 operate. Especially as we look at the increased activity, I  
5 clearly see that as a need, as a Nation, that we need to  
6 pursue.

7 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you very much, General.

8 I just came from a confirmation hearing for Admiral  
9 Shultz, in the Commerce Committee, as Commandant of the  
10 Coast Guard. So, I'm going to go back and repeat to him  
11 what you've just said.

12 General O'Shaughnessy: Yes, sir.

13 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

14 Senator Inhofe: All right. Thank you.

15 Further questions, Senator Reed?

16 Senator Reed: No, sir.

17 Senator Inhofe: All right. We're adjourned. Thank  
18 you very much for your time, your patience.

19 [Whereupon, at 10:46 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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