

Stenographic Transcript  
Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON THE  
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BUDGET POSTURE IN REVIEW OF  
THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST FOR FISCAL YEAR  
2020 AND THE FUTURE YEARS DEFENSE PROGRAM

Thursday, March 14, 2019

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON COURT REPORTING  
1111 14TH STREET NW  
SUITE 1050  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005  
(202) 289-2260  
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U.S. Senate

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Committee on Armed Services

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Washington, D.C.

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

15

Committee Members Present: Senators Inhofe

16

[presiding], Wicker, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst,

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Sullivan, Perdue, Cramer, McSally, Scott, Blackburn, Hawley,

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Reed, Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King,

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Heinrich, Warren, Peters, Manchin, Duckworth, and Jones.

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1           OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. INHOFE, U.S.

2           SENATOR FROM OKLAHOMA

3           Chairman Inhofe: The meeting will come to order.

4           It's nice to have the -- Steve Turner, Northeastern  
5           State, in the audience today to advise us along our line.

6           And we're very pleased to have the -- Patrick Shanahan,  
7           the Acting Secretary of Defense; General Joseph Dunford, the  
8           Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; and David Norquist.

9           And I have to say, David, I enjoyed our breakfast  
10          together the other day. And I think -- some people think  
11          it's pretty outrageous that we can actually have an audit.  
12          I'm glad that you're in charge of it.

13          Mr. Norquist: Thank you, sir.

14          Chairman Inhofe: Thank the panel for their  
15          distinguished service to the country.

16          And I'm pleased to see that -- the Department of  
17          Defense budget request for 718.3 billion and the overall  
18          national defense request of 750 billion. This amount is an  
19          increase of less than 3 percent of real growth. You know,  
20          we have a -- this manual represents the blueprint that we're  
21          following right now. This was the -- we had a hearing on  
22          this. And I think, in all the years I've been here, this is  
23          the most productive hearing that we've had, where we had  
24          Democrats and Republicans alike in -- coming into the -- to  
25          an agreement on what our needs are to try to perform this

1 function. Well, one of the things that is in this book that  
2 we all agreed to, and all the uniforms that came to our  
3 hearings agreed with this, was to have an increase while  
4 pulling out of this period of time and rebuilding our  
5 military would be between 3- and a 5-percent increase over  
6 inflation. Well, this 750 is actually less than 3 percent  
7 over inflation. So, I just want to remind people of that.  
8 We didn't quite get to that point.

9       The top line is only part of the story. We must ensure  
10 that we are effectively and efficiently spending the money.  
11 And that's why I want to commend you, Secretary Norquist,  
12 for all of your hard work delivering an audit of the Defense  
13 Department this year. It's something we haven't seen. And  
14 that audit should help us identify areas that need more  
15 attention and hold people accountable to spend the money  
16 more properly.

17       Despite leadership changes at the Department of  
18 Defense, I believe the implementation of the National  
19 Defense Strategy should continue, without pause. This is  
20 the book that we're referring to, right here. And when  
21 President Trump came to office, he inherited an American  
22 military in crisis. Meanwhile, China and Russia were  
23 rapidly modernizing their militaries and actually passing us  
24 up in many areas.

25       America's military advantage has eroded in key

1 warfighting areas, such as long-range ground-based fires,  
2 cyber, space, electronic warfare, as well as air and missile  
3 defense. The Commission on the National Defense Strategy, a  
4 bipartisan, independent commission, stated, quote, "Put  
5 bluntly, the U.S. military could lose the next state-versus-  
6 state war that it fights," unquote. The conclusion of the  
7 2018 National Defense Strategy states that we -- and I'm  
8 quoting again -- "need urgent change, at significant scale,  
9 to address strategic competition with China and Russia."

10 I look forward to hearing what the urgent changes are  
11 and, our witnesses, what they recommend. Even the best-  
12 prepared budget request will be meaningless if we don't  
13 reach a budget agreement soon. The Commission on the  
14 National Defense Strategy also stated that there must be --  
15 another quote -- "There must be greater urgency and  
16 seriousness in funding the national defense. Without  
17 sufficient, sustained, and predictable funding, we'll  
18 squander the progress the military has made over the past 2  
19 years." Improved readiness, increased procurement, and  
20 critical capabilities and investment in future technologies,  
21 I see no bigger imperative than this, to reach a budget  
22 agreement immediately in order to fully fund defense and to  
23 fully implement the National Defense Strategy.

24 Senator Reed.

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

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

4           And let me join you in welcoming the witnesses,  
5 Secretary Shanahan and General Dunford and Secretary  
6 Norquist.

7           Before we consider the details of the Defense  
8 Department's budget request, I'd like to address some of the  
9 broader fiscal challenges we face. Once again, we find  
10 ourselves in a situation all too familiar, debating how best  
11 to fund the government under the caps required by the Budget  
12 Control Act of 2011, the BCA. There is bipartisan consensus  
13 that enforcing budget discipline through the BCA and  
14 sequestration is ineffective and shortsighted, and that the  
15 BCA caps for fiscal year 2020 will deprive us of the  
16 resources needed to sufficiently need -- meet the needs of  
17 our Nation.

18           Last year, because we had passed the Bipartisan Budget  
19 Act of 2018, and we knew the permitted spending parameters,  
20 and therefore, were able to mark up and pass the fiscal year  
21 2019 defense authorization and appropriations bills before  
22 September 30th, this gave the military the funding certainty  
23 that it has lacked for many years. I believe Congress  
24 should pass another 2-year budget agreement to provide  
25 further relief from the caps and provide stability for

1 budget planning. Without such an agreement, we will face  
2 great difficulty in crafting a bipartisan authorization bill  
3 and will be hard-pressed to provide the Defense Department  
4 with another on-time appropriation. Delay will likely lead  
5 to recurring continuing resolutions that disrupt planning  
6 and, ironically, add cost and inhibit readiness and  
7 modernization, and, to the Chairman's point, undermine that  
8 sense of certainty that is probably worth billions of  
9 dollars in budget authority. So, I would urge that we do  
10 that.

11 Today, we consider the fiscal year 2020 budget for the  
12 Department of Defense, which seeks \$544.5 billion for the  
13 base budget and \$164.6 billion in overseas contingency  
14 operations, OCO, of which 97.9 billion is designated to pay  
15 for base requirements. In addition, there is another 9.2  
16 billion requested for emergency funding.

17 In its base budget request, the Defense Department  
18 highlights resources intended to prioritize programs  
19 targeted for the high-end fight against near-peer  
20 competitors and to operationalize the National Defense  
21 Strategy, including investments in the space and cyber  
22 domains, larger purchases of aircraft, ships, and munitions,  
23 and increased research-and-development dollars for unmanned  
24 systems, artificial intelligence, hypersonics, and directed  
25 energy. The base budget request also supports the quality

1 of life of our servicemembers by sustaining family support  
2 initiatives and by authorizing a 3.1-percent pay raise, the  
3 largest in 10 years. However, it is clear that the base  
4 budget request will not cover all the Defense Department's  
5 requirements, so we've been presented with a particularly  
6 egregious misuse of the OCO account. I acknowledge that  
7 both Congress and other administrations in the past have  
8 included elements of base funding in OCO accounts, but  
9 overloading the OCO request with \$97.9 billion worth of  
10 activities that truly belong in the base budget just to  
11 avoid the threshold of the BCA cap far exceeds any President  
12 and cannot be justified.

13         Ironically, last year, the President's Acting Chief of  
14 Staff, Nick Mulvaney, called for a, in his words,  
15 "transition away from using OCO as a gimmick to avoid the  
16 sequestration caps," close quote, in his testimony before  
17 Congress. And yet, this defense budget is a prime example  
18 of such a use and undercuts the integrity of the entire  
19 request.

20         I'd also highlight that Section 1524 of the FY18  
21 Defense Authorization Act directed the Defense Department to  
22 update the guidelines regarding the budget items that may be  
23 covered by OCO. Neither OMB nor the Defense Department have  
24 updated these guidelines. I hope our witnesses shed some  
25 light on when this will be done and what the details are of



1 this OCO-for-base request.

2 I also have serious concerns with the \$9.2 billion  
3 requested in emergency funding for unspecified military  
4 construction projects. Three-point-six billion of that  
5 total is intended to replenish funds that may be diverted  
6 from military construction projects that Congress already  
7 authorized and appropriated to build a wall on the southern  
8 border. Even if this funding is replenished, these projects  
9 could be delayed or even canceled. I would also like to  
10 note that Congress has not yet been given the list of  
11 projects whose funding may be diverted, and I'm interested  
12 if the witnesses can provide some information on that list.

13 Moreover, we've learned that an additional \$3.6 billion  
14 of emergency funding in Defense Department's budget will be  
15 used to build more of the wall, projects that have not been  
16 identified in any way and arguably have zero military  
17 utility. Much of our witnesses' testimony today describes  
18 the \$750 billion in investment needed to fulfill the  
19 National Defense Strategy, but the National Defense Strategy  
20 Commission, as the Chairman cites is authoritative in their  
21 comments, noted that comprehensive challenges will require  
22 whole-of-government and even whole-of-Nation cooperation,  
23 extending far beyond DOD. Diplomatic statecraft and other  
24 nonmilitary tools will be critical. So will adequate  
25 support for funding for those elements of American power.

1 With the State Department and other agencies facing drastic  
2 cuts in this budget request, I'm interesting to know if the  
3 Defense Department will truly be able to realize the  
4 National Defense Strategy.

5 It is a duty of this committee to ensure the men and  
6 women we send into harm's way have the resources necessary  
7 to complete their mission and return home safely. But, I  
8 firmly believe, if the Senate decides to modify the budget  
9 caps for FY20, we must do so in a manner that continues to  
10 provide sufficient funding for both defense and nondefense,  
11 as we have done every other time we've adjusted the caps.

12 I'm proud that this committee has always worked in a  
13 bipartisan fashion during this process. I look forward to  
14 working with all the committees to come to a reasonable  
15 agreement again this year.

16 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

18 We'll now have opening statements by both the Secretary  
19 and General Dunford. And we would -- your entire statement  
20 will be made a part of the record, but, if you can hold it  
21 down to around 5 minutes -- we have a full house today, and  
22 we want to get to questions by all of our members on both  
23 sides.

24 So, we'll start with you, Secretary Shanahan.

25

1           STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICK M. SHANAHAN, ACTING  
2   SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; ACCOMPANIED BY HON. DAVID L. NORQUIST,  
3   UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (COMPTROLLER)

4           Mr. Shanahan: Thank you, Chairman Inhofe and Ranking  
5   Member Reed, distinguished members of the committee. Thank  
6   you for this opportunity to testify in support of the  
7   President's budget request for fiscal year 2020.

8           I'm joined by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff,  
9   General Joseph Dunford, and the Department's Comptroller and  
10   Chief Financial Officer, Mr. David Norquist.

11           During my time at the Department of Defense, I've  
12   engaged in substantive discussions with many of you. In our  
13   conversations, there has been an enduring constant. That  
14   is, the bipartisan nature of defense, proved by the  
15   sustained funding increases Congress has provided, the last  
16   2 years. On behalf of our military's selfless patriots,  
17   thank you.

18           It has been a great privilege and honor to serve  
19   alongside the men and women of the Department of Defense,  
20   and it is -- it was a pleasure to work with Secretary Mattis  
21   to craft the 2018 National Defense Strategy. Released in  
22   January of 2018, that strategy laid the foundation for  
23   restoring military readiness and modernizing our joint force  
24   for an era of great-power competition.

25           I now oversee the continued execution of our strategy,

1 which is the undisputed driver of today's budget request.  
2 It was extremely helpful for the Department to receive the  
3 authorization and appropriation bills on time and at the  
4 requested top line last year. That is equally important  
5 this year, as our competitors have not been complacent.  
6 China's defense spending approaches that of the United  
7 States when we take into account purchasing power and the  
8 portion of our budget going to military pay and benefits.  
9 That, coupled with China's organized approach to steal  
10 foreign technology, has allowed China to modernize its  
11 missile, space, and cyber capabilities, as well as project  
12 power far beyond its borders. Russia, for its part,  
13 continues to compete asymmetrically with the United States,  
14 modernizing and developing its own missile, space, and cyber  
15 capabilities. Simultaneously, North Korea's nuclear weapons  
16 and missiles remain a pressing concern. Iran's missile and  
17 cyber threats and malign aggression across the Middle East  
18 and beyond threaten U.S. national interests. And we know  
19 what -- violent extremist organizations like al-Qaeda and  
20 ISIS continue to foment instability in vulnerable areas.

21 We have seen marked progress in our current operations  
22 as we work by, with, and through an expansive network of  
23 allies and partners across the globe. In Syria, the 79-  
24 member Defeat ISIS Coalition has liberated virtually all of  
25 the territory ISIS once held. As the U.S. drawdown

1 continues, we will maintain a presence to prevent ISIS  
2 resurgence.

3 As part of a whole-of-government approach, we fully  
4 support Iraq's fight against terrorism, and we continue to  
5 enable the Iraqi Security Forces' progress in securing  
6 liberated areas and thwarting ISIS's attempts to mount a  
7 clandestine insurgency.

8 In Afghanistan, U.S. and coalition forces are training,  
9 advising, and assisting Afghan forces to apply pressure on  
10 the Taliban. We support the ongoing negotiations, the best  
11 window for peace there in 40 years, and continue to stymie  
12 terrorist threats to our homeland.

13 Defeating al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula and ISIS  
14 remains the top U.S. national security interest in Yemen.  
15 At the same time, we fully support U.N. efforts to bring all  
16 relevant parties of the civil war to the negotiating table.  
17 The \$750-billion top line for national defense enables DOD  
18 to maintain irregular warfare as a core competency, yet  
19 prioritize modernization and readiness to compete, deter,  
20 and win in any possible high-end fight of the future.

21 The budget is critical for continued execution of our  
22 strategy, and reflects difficult but necessary choices that  
23 align finite resources with our strategic priorities. To  
24 highlight some of those choices, this is the largest  
25 research, development, training, and evaluation budget in 70

1 years. The budget includes double-digit increases to our  
2 investments in both space and cyber, modernization of our  
3 nuclear triad and missile defense capabilities, and our  
4 largest shipbuilding request in 20 years, when adjusted for  
5 inflation. It also increases our total end strength by  
6 roughly 7,700 servicemembers and provides a 3.1-percent pay  
7 increase to our military, the largest in a decade.

8 Now to the specifics. The top line slates \$718 billion  
9 for the Department of Defense. Of that total, the budget  
10 includes 545 billion for base funding and 164 billion for  
11 the overseas contingency operations. Of the overseas  
12 contingency operation funds, 66 billion will go to direct  
13 war and enduring requirements, and 98 billion will fund base  
14 requirements. To round out the numbers, 9.2 billion will  
15 fund emergency construction. That includes an estimated 2  
16 billion to rebuild facilities damaged by Hurricanes Florence  
17 and Michael; up to 3.6 billion to support military  
18 construction projects that will award in fiscal year 2020  
19 instead of fiscal year 2019 so we can resource border  
20 barrier projects under emergency declaration this year; and  
21 3.6 billion in case additional emergency funding is needed  
22 for the border. Military construction on the border will  
23 not come at the expense of our people, our readiness, or our  
24 modernization. I caution that no adversary can be as  
25 damaging to our military readiness as budget instability.

1           We built this budget to implement the National Defense  
2 Strategy, and I look forward to working with you to ensure  
3 predictability, on-time funding at our requested top line so  
4 our military can remain the most lethal, adaptable, and  
5 resilient fighting force in the world.

6           I close with the words of William Jennings Bryan etched  
7 into the walls of our Capitol so we may never forget their  
8 meaning, "Our government, conceived in freedom and purchased  
9 with blood, can be preserved only by constant vigilance."

10          Senators, I appreciate the critical role Congress plays  
11 to ensure our warfighters can succeed on the battlefields of  
12 both today and tomorrow. And I thank our servicemembers,  
13 their families, and all those in the Department of Defense  
14 for maintaining the constant vigilance as they stand always  
15 ready to protect freedoms.

16          [The prepared statement of Mr. Shanahan follows:]

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1 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Secretary Shanahan.  
2 General Dunford.

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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL JOSEPH F. DUNFORD, JR., USMC,  
2 CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

3           General Dunford: Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed,  
4 distinguished members of the committee, thank you for  
5 opportunity to join Secretary Shanahan and Under Secretary  
6 Norquist here today. It remains my privilege to represent  
7 your soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines.

8           While much of the discussion this morning is going to  
9 focus on the challenges we face, it's important I begin by  
10 assuring you that your Armed Forces can deter a nuclear  
11 attack, defend the homeland, meet our alliance commitments,  
12 and effectively respond, should deterrence fail. I believe  
13 we have a competitive advantage against any potential  
14 adversary, defined as the ability to project power to fight  
15 and win at the time and place of our choosing.

16           But, as members of this committee know, 17 years of  
17 continuous combat and fiscal instability have affected our  
18 readiness and eroded our competitive advantage. As the  
19 Secretary highlighted, China and Russia have capitalized on  
20 our distraction and restraints by investing in capabilities  
21 specifically designed to challenge our traditional sources  
22 of strength. After careful study, the deployed capabilities  
23 intended to contest our freedom of movement across all  
24 domains and disrupt our ability to project power. With the  
25 help of Congress, starting in 2017, we began to restore our

1 competitive advantage. Recent budgets have allowed us to  
2 build readiness and invest in new capabilities while meeting  
3 our current operational commitments. But, I think we all  
4 know we can't reverse decades of erosion in just a few  
5 years. This year's budget submission would allow us to  
6 continue restoring our competitive advantage by improving  
7 readiness and developing capabilities to enhance the  
8 lethality. It proposes investments in advanced capabilities  
9 across all domains -- sea, air, land, space, and cyberspace.  
10 This year's budget also sustains investments in our nuclear  
11 enterprise to ensure a safe, secure, and effective strategic  
12 deterrent, the highest priority of the Department of  
13 Defense. We've also taken steps to more effectively employ  
14 the force we have today and build the force we have  
15 tomorrow. We've implemented fundamental changes in our  
16 global force management processes to prioritize and allocate  
17 resources in accordance with the National Defense Strategy  
18 while building readiness and the flexibility to respond to  
19 unforeseen contingencies. We've also refined our processes  
20 for developing and designing our future force. A joint,  
21 concept-driven, threat-informed approach, which leverages a  
22 wide body of analytic work, will allow us to deliberately  
23 evaluate and prioritize warfighting requirements. This also  
24 enables us to pair emerging technologies with innovative  
25 operating concepts.

1           In closing, I'd like thank the committee for all you've  
2 done to support our men and women in uniform and their  
3 families. Together, we've honored our solemn obligation to  
4 never send our sons and daughters into a fair fight. And,  
5 with your continued support, we never will.

6           [The prepared statement of General Dunford follows:]

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1 Chairman Inhofe: Yeah. Thank you, General.

2 What we're going to do is have a round of 5-minute  
3 questions. And we are very well attended this morning, so I  
4 ask people to try to keep within their time. I will do the  
5 same thing.

6 To kick it off, we talked about the -- our blueprint  
7 that we're using. And I'd like to ask each witness a  
8 question about this.

9 Secretary Shanahan, you said that the Department of  
10 Defense would realign the resources in the budget to  
11 implement this program. Now, in order to do that, can you  
12 quickly run over any of the programs or systems or missions  
13 that have been either reduced or accelerated to accommodate  
14 this?

15 Mr. Shanahan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would  
16 highlight, in this year's budget, three major structural  
17 changes, in terms of being able to accelerate. The first is  
18 space. The Space Force, itself, is intended to accelerate,  
19 dramatically, our capabilities to defend. Second, missiles.  
20 Probably the best characterization of that is our efforts on  
21 hypersonics. And third, a significant investment in cyber  
22 capabilities. When we think about reductions, I think the  
23 Army is the best illustration of that in their modernization  
24 plans as they look to make reductions across their portfolio  
25 to, I'll say, about 100 different programs.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Okay. I appreciate that.

2 General Dunford, similar question. The National  
3 Defense Strategy Commission listed several capability gaps,  
4 vis-a-vis China and Russia, such as long-range fires,  
5 additional air defense units, and others that I mentioned in  
6 my over statement. Which of these capabilities --  
7 capability gaps do you think the 2020 budget addresses?

8 General Dunford: Chairman, thank you.

9 The budget actually addresses all the challenges you  
10 identified. And what I can assure is that the National  
11 Defense Strategy really has been the basis for our  
12 prioritization for capability development. So, we did  
13 careful analysis of China and Russia, in particular, the  
14 capabilities developed over the last few years to limit our  
15 ability to operate freely in space, cyberspace, land, sea,  
16 and air. And the capabilities that we have identified in  
17 this year's budget are really designed to allow us to  
18 project power when and where necessary to advance our  
19 interests in that context of that emerging threat for China  
20 and Russia.

21 Chairman Inhofe: All right. I appreciate that.

22 Now, I am concerned about one other area. And neither  
23 one of you is personally responsible for this, but I'm a  
24 little disturbed by the idea that we're going to be taking  
25 the USS Truman out of the system that -- and I wonder how

1 this is going to work in just our sheer numbers. Now, we  
2 have a law that says we have to maintain 11 carriers. And  
3 we would also look at this and realize that 10 would equal  
4 what's necessary to conduct a major war. And how do we get  
5 to the number we're supposed to have if we don't follow  
6 through with the midlife of the Truman? Now, recognizing  
7 that would take up to, I think, 2024. But, nonetheless,  
8 it's going to take longer if we start -- depending upon the  
9 multiple buy that we're talking about, particularly of a  
10 vehicle that still -- the elevator still doesn't work and  
11 carry the ordinance.

12 So, what's your thought about that? How are we going  
13 to, number one, comply with the law that we have -- in fact,  
14 Mr. Norquist, this might be a good question for you, because  
15 you're into these issues, also -- and still not follow  
16 through with our original plans with the Harry Truman?

17 Anybody.

18 Mr. Shanahan: Why don't I lead off?

19 First of all, I think the Truman decision represents  
20 some of the strategic choices we've made in this year's  
21 budget. It was a very difficult decision for us. Carriers  
22 represent, now and in the future, critical force structure  
23 for the Navy. The Truman decision was made in concert -- it  
24 was an integrated decision with our two-carrier buy. Let me  
25 walk through the benefits of the decision and then potential

1 off-ramps so that we don't find ourselves in a difficult  
2 situation.

3         So, the first is that, with this decision of the two-  
4 carrier buy and to not refuel the Truman, our lethality of  
5 our carriers and capability increases with the new carriers.  
6 The second is, until mid-'20s, we maintain the level of 11  
7 carriers. The third is -- and part of the calculus here was  
8 to maintain employment. In fact, with this decision, we  
9 grow employment in the industrial base. We needed to make  
10 sure, not only that our shipyards maintained their  
11 employment -- there's actually growth -- but also the supply  
12 chain. And the last is that the funds that we freed up from  
13 making these decisions are invested in the future force.  
14 The decision for two carriers saved \$4 billion.

15         Chairman Inhofe: Yeah.

16         Mr. Shanahan: Not refueling the Truman saves \$3.4  
17 billion over the FYDP --

18         Chairman Inhofe: Okay. Yeah, we're going to run out  
19 of time, and I'm going to set the example of not allowing us  
20 to run out of time. But, I still am not happy with the  
21 results of that. And my mental numbers don't agree with  
22 that. And I think it's a very important thing. I  
23 personally brought this up before Wicker gets here.

24         [Laughter.]

25         Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

1 Chairman Inhofe: All right.

2 Senator Reed.

3 Senator Reed: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 Thank you all, gentlemen, for your testimony.

5 Mr. Secretary, I -- on February 18th, you sent a letter  
6 to Secretary Nielsen stating that you had, in your words,  
7 "not yet decided whether the use of Section 2808 is  
8 necessary." That would be the section under the emergency  
9 that would authorize access to MILCON funds. And you've  
10 asked for information from the Secretary, to include a list  
11 of proposed border construction projects that would improve  
12 the -- again, your words -- "effectiveness and efficiency of  
13 DOD personnel supporting these Customs and Border Patrol."  
14 Have you received a response yet from Secretary Nielsen?

15 Mr. Shanahan: No, I have not. I expect it this week.

16 Senator Reed: Again, I -- in the context of something  
17 that is supposed to be an emergency, this seems to be a  
18 pretty casual sort of approach to the issue. But, beside  
19 that, at this point, then, you don't know what projects DAS  
20 is requesting, and whether or not those projects would be  
21 appropriate under 2808.

22 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah, the projects we've received, or  
23 the updates from DHS to date, are on -- with regards to  
24 their 2019 appropriations, they're for the expenditure of  
25 forfeiture of Treasury funds and then needs as they --



1           Senator Reed: Those are all programs that are  
2 automatic. You've already put those -- do -- I'm talking  
3 about the 2808, which would require not only the emergency  
4 declaration, but also a judgment whether -- of their  
5 military utility.

6           And, Mr. Chairman -- General Dunford, you have the  
7 obligation to advise the Secretary on the military utility  
8 of these projects with -- if they're being incorporated.  
9 What criteria do you intend to use?

10          General Dunford: Thanks, Senator Reed.

11          The criteria I intend to use is, we'll look carefully  
12 at the mission that our soldiers, sailors, marines have been  
13 assigned, some -- and some airmen, as well. And we'll look  
14 at how these projects support, directly, the mission of  
15 those individuals.

16          Senator Reed: Thank you. And the Secretary will make  
17 the ultimate decision, but based upon your recommendation.

18          General Dunford: Senator, I'll be one of the inputs,  
19 and I'll provide military advice to the Secretary on the  
20 relationship between the resources, the projects, and the  
21 mission.

22          Senator Reed: If it comes to pass, then, you'll have  
23 to delay certain military construction projects we've  
24 authorized and appropriated. Do you have a list of those  
25 projects yet, Mr. Secretary?

1           Mr. Shanahan: Senator, I don't have a final list of  
2 those projects.

3           Senator Reed: Well, obviously, I think it would be  
4 important to all of us to understand which projects would be  
5 sacrificed, even in the short run. So, I would encourage  
6 you to get that list.

7           [The information referred to follows:]

8           Senator Reed: In the emergency request, there's \$3.6  
9 billion for, essentially, backfilling those projects which  
10 have already been authorized and appropriated, which is, I  
11 think, an unusual way to fund military construction  
12 projects. But, then there's an additional \$3.6 billion  
13 that's just been set aside for "the wall," competing with  
14 other potential military projects. That's emergency  
15 funding. Do you think that's appropriate?

16          Mr. Shanahan: It was appropriate, given the planning,  
17 when we were putting together, to provision for the next  
18 year. And I'll ask Secretary Norquist to comment about how  
19 we came up with the planning.

20          Mr. Norquist: Sure. One of the things we wanted to be  
21 certain to do is to not disrupt future military construction  
22 projects. So, if 2808 extends, which it will, into fiscal  
23 year '20, it just gets -- at least it's a 12 months. If  
24 it's longer, we don't want that to disrupt other projects.  
25 So, we put in funding so that it would be available and not

1 to be able to -- in order to be able to protect the other  
2 military construction projects.

3 Senator Reed: But, essentially, what you're doing is  
4 creating a -- appropriations dedicated, at this point, to  
5 building a wall, which has not, I think, been authorized or  
6 appropriated by the Congress. That 3.6 extra funding, you  
7 know is going to the wall. It might be a backfill or a --  
8 or a circuitous way, but it's essentially for the wall. Is  
9 that correct?

10 Mr. Norquist: Right. It's in the request. And  
11 therefore, would need to be both authorized and appropriated  
12 to --

13 Senator Reed: Okay. So --

14 Mr. Norquist: -- take effect. Absolutely, sir.

15 Senator Reed: So, that, in our process, we are  
16 authorizing -- you're asking us literally to authorize  
17 funding for the wall.

18 Mr. Norquist: Yeah.

19 Senator Reed: Thank you.

20 Just a quick question, because I want to follow the  
21 Chairman's guidelines. You mentioned \$2 billion in the  
22 emergency request for hurricane reconstruction. The Marine  
23 Corps has indicated to me, as late as yesterday, that it's  
24 about \$3.7 billion. Tyndall Air Force Base is -- \$5  
25 billion. So, it would seem to me, if our -- you're trying

1 to address the real needs of the Department of Defense,  
2 that, instead of using 3.6 or \$7 billion for the wall, that  
3 could be used immediately for repairs at Camp Lejeune and  
4 Tyndall Air Force Base.

5 Mr. Norquist: So, what you have is -- yes, there are  
6 significant requirements for both of those two bases. One  
7 of the things we're looking at is, particularly, the  
8 military construction projects. The planning and design  
9 lead means that some of them can be executed in '20, so we  
10 have 2 billion in for that, some of them won't be able to be  
11 executed till '21 or later. And so, we're trying to balance  
12 that and address those. But, we're happy to work with you  
13 on those requirements.

14 Senator Reed: Respecting the Chairman, I --

15 Chairman Inhofe: Okay, thank you, Senator Reed.

16 Senator Fischer.

17 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 General Dunford, do you believe a "no first use" policy  
19 improves our ability to deter conflict? And would it be  
20 your best military advice to adopt such a policy?

21 General Dunford: Well, thank you, Senator. I think  
22 the current policy is one that complicates an adversary's  
23 decisionmaking process, and I wouldn't recommend any change  
24 to simplify an adversary's decisionmaking calculus. I also  
25 can envision several circumstances where we would not want

1 to remove that option from the President in the future. And  
2 I could certainly talk about that in a classified venue.  
3 But, I absolutely believe the current policy is the right  
4 policy.

5 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

6 As you know, those who favor reducing the size of our  
7 nuclear forces, they often argue that a non-nuclear  
8 capability can be substituted for nuclear weapons without  
9 diminishing our ability to credibly hold targets at risk,  
10 deter adversaries, and assure our allies. A report released  
11 last September by the Global Zero Group repeatedly makes  
12 this argument and claims that cyberweapons, in particular,  
13 can be substituted for nuclear weapons. Do you think cyber  
14 operations, their effects and their ability to deter hostile  
15 activity, is comparable to nuclear weapons, or are these  
16 extremely different capabilities? And is this idea of  
17 direct substitution unwise?

18 General Dunford: Senator, I don't believe that cyber  
19 capabilities can be substituted for nuclear capabilities.  
20 And I think we need to be very careful to maintain a safe,  
21 effective, and credible nuclear deterrent on its own.

22 We, as you know, have looked at this through more than  
23 three or four administrations in a row. We've carefully  
24 looked at, What does the Nation need to do what I described  
25 in my opening statement as the most important mission in the

1 Department of Defense, and that is to deter a nuclear war?

2 And we've concluded that the current construct of a triad

3 with a robust nuclear command-and-control capability is the

4 most effective way to deter a nuclear war. And it is also

5 the most effective way to raise the threshold for the use of

6 nuclear weapons by any potential adversary.

7 Senator Fischer: And you mentioned that, in order to

8 maintain that safe deterrent, we must follow the advice of

9 all previous administrations, both Republican and Democrat,

10 all previous military leaders, that we maintain that triad?

11 General Dunford: Yes, Senator. And I have

12 participated in two Nuclear Posture Reviews since I've been

13 in this assignment and been exposed to the wide body of

14 analytic work that was behind those two Nuclear Posture

15 Reviews that came to the very same conclusion in two

16 different administrations. And it's very consistent with

17 the military advice that I provided on both occasions.

18 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

19 Moving to a different topic. Late last year, General,

20 you characterized the situation in Afghanistan as a

21 stalemate. In the time since, we've seen some indications

22 that negotiations with the Taliban are showing signs of

23 progress. Do you believe the South Asia Strategy is

24 working? And what is your view of the current security

25 situation?

1           General Dunford:  Oh, thanks, Senator.

2           First, I think we're all cautiously optimistic that  
3 there is, for the first time, serious inroads made into  
4 reconciliation.  And Ambassador Zal Khalilzad just completed  
5 a round of negotiations with the Taliban.  He's back in  
6 Washington, D.C.  I'll have an opportunity to speak to him  
7 later today, and I think we'll see him tomorrow morning.  
8 And we're encouraged.  And I can tell you, on behalf of  
9 Secretary Shanahan, everything that we are doing now in the  
10 military space, led by General Miller on the ground, is in  
11 support of Ambassador Khalilzad's efforts.

12           I think, on the ground, by and large, the general  
13 strategic situation has not changed, but General Miller has  
14 incorporated elements of the strategy to increase the  
15 pressure on Taliban leadership.  And we do believe that some  
16 of that pressure has been -- has contributed to the fact  
17 that the Taliban are now at the peace table for the first  
18 time since the war began.

19           Senator Fischer:  What conditions on the ground do you  
20 believe are necessary if we're going to be able to see any  
21 kind of progress in discussions that we have with the  
22 Taliban?  Can you be specific in this setting?

23           General Dunford:  You know, first, to put pressure on  
24 the Taliban, we need to continue to provide enabling  
25 capability to the Afghan forces.  That's been in the form of

1 train, advise, and assist. We have the right leaders at the  
2 right place to assist the Afghans. And we're also providing  
3 combat-enabling capability -- aviation, intelligence,  
4 logistics support -- as well. And then, most importantly,  
5 though, Senator, on the ground is a counterterrorism  
6 capability, remembering that the reason why we're in  
7 Afghanistan is to prevent attacks against the American  
8 people in the homeland. And so, the combination of support  
9 for the Afghans to allow them to put pressure on the Taliban  
10 also creates the conditions for us to have an effective  
11 counterterrorism presence in South Asia to secure the  
12 American people.

13 Senator Fischer: Thank you. I think it's important to  
14 always consider conditions on the ground and always keep in  
15 mind what our goal and mission is.

16 Thank you, sir.

17 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Fischer.

18 Senator Shanahan -- I'm sorry --

19 Senator Shaheen: Shaheen.

20 Chairman Inhofe: -- Shaheen.

21 [Laughter.]

22 Chairman Inhofe: There we go.

23 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have been  
24 on this committee for about 8 years now.

25 [Laughter.]



1 Chairman Inhofe: That's right.

2 Senator Reed: His Irish --

3 Senator Shaheen: Yeah, actually -- that's right. It's

4 --

5 Senator Reed: His Irish --

6 Senator Shaheen: -- St. Patrick's Day is coming up, so

7 for that I'll be "Shan."

8 Thank you, gentlemen, for being here.

9 Secretary Shanahan, I must say I was quite concerned  
10 this morning when I read the New York Times story that the  
11 Department of Defense is pushing back against the  
12 Environmental Protection Agency, which is trying to set  
13 tougher standards for PFAS chemicals. And I will just show  
14 you. The article was in the Times, and the headline here  
15 says, "Pentagon Pushes for Weaker Standards on Chemicals  
16 Contaminating Drinking Water." You and I first had a chance  
17 to talk about PFAS chemicals and how they're affecting the  
18 former Pease Air Force Base in 2017. And I told you about  
19 the hundreds of people, children, who had been drinking  
20 water, and those chemicals now have shown up. And no one  
21 knows what the long-term health impacts of drinking that  
22 water is.

23 There are 401 known military facilities in the United  
24 States that the Pentagon has admitted have PFAS  
25 contamination. This committee worked, 2 years ago, to

1 authorize the first-ever health study on PFAS chemicals.  
2 And I'm just -- I'm very concerned about the fact that the  
3 Department of Defense would be trying to reduce the standard  
4 that the EPA is setting to try and ensure that drinking  
5 water is safe, not just for the civilians around our  
6 military installations, for our members of the military. I  
7 must say, the Air Force has been very responsive at Pease  
8 and Portsmouth. Under the previous Secretary, Deborah  
9 James, and the current Secretary, Heather Wilson, they have  
10 come up, they have put in remediation efforts. And I think  
11 this health study that the -- has been started is going to  
12 be critical in answering questions for people. But, I don't  
13 understand how you and the Department of Defense could be  
14 trying to reduce the standards that affect drinking water  
15 for literally millions of people around the country.

16 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, I'm not familiar with the  
17 article this morning. And you have my assurance that I'll  
18 take a look at what the actual situation is, in terms of the  
19 standards.

20 What I am is accountable and responsible for the safety  
21 and security of our men and women. You have my assurance  
22 that we will continue to do that. I will look into this  
23 matter. I take these matters personally, very, very  
24 seriously, just as we had talked before. I am the advocate  
25 to take care of those matters, so let me take that for the

1 record, and I will follow up with you directly to explain  
2 the situation and what we're doing to take responsibility.

3 [The information referred to follows:]

4 Senator Shaheen: Well, I appreciate that. Can you  
5 confirm or deny whether DOD has urged a lowering of the  
6 standard that the EPA is trying to put in place?

7 Mr. Shanahan: I can't speak to that specific. I will,  
8 very quickly, find -- get an answer back to you.

9 Senator Shaheen: I appreciate that. I think that's  
10 something that is important for the entire committee to  
11 know, because, as you know, installations across the country  
12 are affected, and a lot of people's -- and we don't yet  
13 really know what the long-term health impacts are. So,  
14 getting those answers is very important.

15 Can I ask -- and I'm not sure who, quite, to direct  
16 this question to, but, General Dunford, you said that you  
17 were going to be weighing in on any projects that were put  
18 on a list -- any MILCON projects put on the list to consider  
19 delaying because of the President's effort to put more money  
20 into a border wall. Can you tell me what objective criteria  
21 that you're looking at in trying to come up with those  
22 projects?

23 General Dunford: Senator, the Secretary will get  
24 inputs on the impact of the projects from the service  
25 secretaries and the service chiefs. What I will do is talk

1 about the appropriateness of those projects and how they  
2 relate to the performance of our mission along the border so  
3 the Secretary will get a wide variety of inputs. And each  
4 of the service secretaries, I know, will share their  
5 assessment of those impact of those projects to the  
6 Secretary.

7 Senator Shaheen: But, a number of those projects would  
8 not affect the border, would they?

9 General Dunford: No --

10 Senator Shaheen: I mean, we have a -- MILCON projects  
11 at the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard that are very important, I  
12 think, to our national security, that don't affect the  
13 border directly.

14 General Dunford: Yeah, sorry, Senator, if I conflated  
15 two issues. There is the list of projects, and then the  
16 service -- that may be used to free money up for projects  
17 along the border -- the service secretaries and the service  
18 chiefs will provide input to the Secretary on the impact of  
19 those projects to the services and, as you point out, bases  
20 and installations, maybe, where those projects would have  
21 been executed. What I will do, when the decision is made to  
22 support the border with infrastructure, is assess the  
23 relationship of that infrastructure to the DOD mission.  
24 There's two separate processes that affect --

25 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

1 General Dunford: -- infrastructure and projects.

2 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

3 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

4 Senator Cotton.

5 Senator Cotton: General Dunford, how many troops,  
6 roughly, do we have on the border today?

7 General Dunford: Senator, we have approximately 4,000  
8 in a Title 10 status, and we have approximately 2,000 in a  
9 Title 32 status.

10 Senator Cotton: How many do we have in the DMZ on the  
11 Korean Peninsula?

12 General Dunford: We have a total of 28,500 in Korea.

13 Senator Cotton: And they're all pretty close to the  
14 DMZ, but we have a lot that are right up on the DMZ, too,  
15 correct?

16 General Dunford: We do, Senator.

17 Senator Cotton: How many do we have today in the  
18 Baltics and the Poland -- and Poland, nations that border  
19 Russia?

20 General Dunford: We have several hundred. And then,  
21 of course, in Poland we have a constant rotational presence  
22 that can be up in the thousands. We have brigade combat  
23 teams that rotate into Poland for training. I was there  
24 visiting them in December, and, at that point, we had  
25 probably about 3,000 forces inside of Poland at that time.

1           Senator Cotton: Okay. So, we have lots of troops  
2 around the world on other countries' borders. Does it cause  
3 you any disquiet that we have troops on our own border?

4           General Dunford: It does not cause me disquiet that we  
5 have troops on the border, Senator.

6           Senator Cotton: Thank you.

7           Let's turn to the budget. The budget has a very large  
8 request for the overseas contingency fund, 174 billion. I  
9 think that's probably about a hundred-billion more now than  
10 what we've spent this year. That, obviously, is a big patch  
11 to try to get around the Budget Control Act of 2011.  
12 There's a lot of people on Capitol Hill who are not going to  
13 like that. But, let's think about it, first, from a  
14 military standpoint.

15           General Dunford, what does it mean for modernization if  
16 the opposition to such a large overseas contingency fund  
17 results in a 1-year continuing resolution?

18           General Dunford: Well, Senator, my understanding this  
19 year would be that we would not have a continuing  
20 resolution, that we would go back to BCA levels. And I'm  
21 not given to hyperbole --

22           Senator Cotton: So, let's say it's a continuing  
23 resolution that suspends the BCA levels. So, because of the  
24 dispute over the overseas contingencies fund, the Congress  
25 can't reach a budget-cap agreement, and therefore, we have

1 to have a 1-year continuing resolution that suspends the  
2 caps.

3 General Dunford: Yeah, one of the challenges that  
4 we've had, Senator, over the last few years is, the fact  
5 that we have not had a budget -- last year, we did, but the  
6 fact that we have routinely not had a budget at the  
7 beginning of the year has delayed new-starts, and it's been  
8 incredibly inefficient in how we prioritize and allocate  
9 resources throughout the year. And the three adjectives I  
10 use -- and I think they're all important -- is, predictable,  
11 sustained, and adequate levels of funding. And if we had  
12 the entire fiscal year, we can be the good stewards that you  
13 should hold us accountable for being.

14 Senator Cotton: And, Secretary Shanahan, is a dollar  
15 of spending in the overseas contingency fund equal to a  
16 dollar of spending in the base budget?

17 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, yes, it is.

18 Senator Cotton: Could you elaborate on that a little  
19 bit more?

20 Mr. Shanahan: When I think about the top line and how  
21 we built the top line, it was a requirements-built budget.  
22 So, every dollar in the budget is based off a derived  
23 requirement. So, how we package the money doesn't change  
24 how we built the budget. So, the color is indifferent to  
25 what it is we would put the money towards.

1           Senator Cotton:  If the Congress could reach a budget-  
2   cap deal, though, and have that money in the base budget,  
3   would that be better off for the Department of Defense?

4           Mr. Shanahan:  Be much better off.

5           Senator Cotton:  Can you explain why that would be  
6   better off?

7           Mr. Shanahan:  Well, for a number of reasons.  I think  
8   the -- and I'll ask David to comment on this, but it's in  
9   the out years.  When the base budget gives us the  
10   predictability and the stability the Chairman just spoke to,  
11   that not only gives us, internally, the stability to do our  
12   planning, but also our partners in the industrial base,  
13   their investment and their planning and their sizing, they  
14   have confidence that that continuity of money will continue.  
15   It --

16          Senator Cotton:  Yeah, if we could -- that's probably a  
17   good question for the Comptroller.  Could you just explain  
18   the efficiency of spending a dollar in the base budget  
19   versus a dollar in the OCO budget, especially in the out  
20   years?

21          Mr. Norquist:  So, in the regular year, they follow the  
22   same congressional oversight, they get spent the same way.  
23   It's a presentation difference.  And, to be clear to the  
24   members, we have presented the budget so that that which has  
25   historically been OCO is distinctly presented from the OCO



1 for base, because we want to understand -- to be able to do  
2 analysis, you need to be able to comparison. But, when you  
3 go to the out years, what people look at is, What numbers  
4 can we expect in the out years? It is easier to project,  
5 and we have done that in the past. And you'll see, in some  
6 of our presentations, a different base-and-OCO mix in the  
7 out years when you get to the point where all that is OCO is  
8 the contingency versus the OCO for base and others. But,  
9 it's a -- it helps with planning.

10 Senator Cotton: Yeah. I say the reason we're in this  
11 bind is a law against which I have inveighed for many years,  
12 the 2011 Budget Control Act. I hope that we can get  
13 another, and final, 2-year cap deal. I do worry, though,  
14 that we may be heading in the direction of a full-year  
15 continuing resolution. And I would hate to see that for all  
16 our men and women in uniform out on the front lines.

17 Thank you, gentlemen.

18 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Cotton.

19 Senator Hirono.

20 Senator Hirono: I thought Senator Blumenthal was here  
21 before me, so I'll --

22 Chairman Inhofe: Senator --

23 Senator Hirono: -- defer to him first.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Okay.

25 Senator Blumenthal.

1 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Senator Reed: Take the ball and run.

3 Chairman Inhofe: Go.

4 Senator Blumenthal: Good morning, gentlemen. And  
5 thank you very much for your service. Appreciate your being  
6 here, and your candid and forthright answers.

7 President Trump's budget has been criticized in many  
8 ways. And, in my view, it gets a lot wrong, but it got very  
9 right the commitment to undersea warfare and building three  
10 submarines, Virginia-class attack submarines, a year in  
11 fiscal year 2020. And I want to thank you and your entire  
12 team for their commitment to that issue of paramount  
13 importance to our future Navy and our national defense. It  
14 is an area where we have an asymmetric advantage that must  
15 be preserved. There are others that are also important,  
16 cyber and air superiority and space, for all the reasons  
17 that you know. But, I just want to highlight that area.

18 I want to ask a question that is unrelated to the  
19 defense budget, but is very much on the minds of many of us,  
20 relating to the Boeing 737 MAX 8. I know it's not a topic  
21 of interest today before this proceeding, but it is a topic  
22 of interest to work that you've done in the past. And I'd  
23 like to know whether you have spoken about the Boeing 737  
24 MAX 8 to anyone in the administration, in the Department of  
25 Transportation, or in the White House.

1           Mr. Shanahan: Senator, I've not spoken to anyone  
2 regarding the 737 MAX.

3           Senator Blumenthal: Have you been briefed at all on  
4 any of the problems relating to it?

5           Mr. Shanahan: No, sir, I have not.

6           Senator Blumenthal: Let me ask you, Are you in favor  
7 of an investigation that would look into why these defects  
8 that caused crashes were not known earlier or were not acted  
9 upon earlier?

10          Mr. Shanahan: Senator, I firmly believe we should let  
11 the regulators investigate the incidents. And I would just  
12 say, my heart goes out, and my condolences, to the families  
13 and the employees involved in the Lion Air incident and the  
14 Ethiopian Airline incident.

15          Senator Blumenthal: The independent watchdog, Citizens  
16 for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, recently asked  
17 the Department of Defense Inspector General to investigate  
18 whether you have broken any ethics rules by promoting Boeing  
19 while you served as Deputy Secretary of Defense. Do you  
20 support such an investigation?

21          Mr. Shanahan: Yes, I do.

22          Senator Blumenthal: And I welcome your support for  
23 that investigation.

24          Other government watchdog groups have looked at records  
25 indicating that the Department of Defense spent almost

1     \$140,000 at Trump-branded properties in the first 8 months  
2     of the Trump presidency. More than a third of those  
3     payments were made at Mar-a-Lago. Some of the payments  
4     overlapped with presidential trips, but others do not. And  
5     all the payments -- you may be familiar with the emoluments  
6     lawsuit that I and other Members of Congress have brought --  
7     would violate that domestic emoluments clause, potentially,  
8     which prevents the President from receiving money from the  
9     Federal Government, or any other payments and benefits,  
10    without consent of Congress. Are you aware of those  
11    expenditures by the Department of Defense?

12           Mr. Shanahan: No, I'm not, but I'll ask Secretary  
13    Norquist.

14           Mr. Norquist: I'm not aware of those.

15           Senator Blumenthal: Could you give us, in writing, a  
16    -- an accounting of those expenditures by the Department of  
17    Defense at Trump-branded properties?

18           Mr. Norquist: I'll take that for the record, Senator.

19           [The information referred to follows:]

20           Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

21           As the Acting Secretary of the Department of Defense, I  
22    have been alarmed by reports that indicate a pattern of  
23    retaliation against some of the Pentagon reporters, and  
24    restricted press access to some of the top DOD officials.  
25    Are you aware of those restrictions? And do you think

1 they're appropriate?

2 Mr. Shanahan: I'm not aware of any restrictions. In  
3 fact, I think there's probably, since I've assumed these  
4 responsibilities, much more interaction and engagement with  
5 the press.

6 Senator Blumenthal: Well, if you could -- since my  
7 time is expired, if you could let me know of any  
8 restrictions that have been imposed?

9 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

10 Senator Blumenthal: For the record, if you would take  
11 that question.

12 Thank you.

13 Mr. Shanahan: Absolutely.

14 [The information referred to follows:]

15 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Blumenthal.

16 Senator Sullivan.

17 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. President -- or,  
18 thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 [Laughter.]

20 Senator Sullivan: A lot of Irish mistakes going on  
21 here this morning.

22 [Laughter.]

23 Senator Sullivan: Maybe we're getting close to St.  
24 Patrick's Day or something.

25 I want to thank you, all you gentlemen, for your

1 service.

2 Under Secretary Norquist, I know Senator Perdue's going  
3 to ask a lot about the audit, but I think that was really  
4 good work that you were doing.

5 And, General Dunford, I just want to thank you. You  
6 know, I know that there has been an announcement of a new  
7 Chairman, but certainly we view you as the Chairman who's  
8 done an exceptional job, not just as Chairman, but in your  
9 entire career. I know you've got a lot of work to do left,  
10 but I do want to do a shout-out to your exceptional service  
11 to our Nation.

12 Mr. Secretary, I want to ask a couple of questions that  
13 relate to the President's recent visit to Alaska. He was  
14 there, coming back from North Korea. Billy Mitchell, who's  
15 the father of a U.S. Air Force, in a congressional hearing  
16 similar to this right before World War II, called Alaska  
17 "the most strategic place in the world." The President kind  
18 of echoed Billy Mitchell's comments when he was in Alaska  
19 visiting with our troops. He said, "Since the second World  
20 War, our intrepid servicemembers in Alaska have proudly  
21 stood as the top cover for North America. You are a  
22 powerful warning to the world to never strike American soil.  
23 You are a warning that everybody knows about and nobody  
24 wants to mess with." He went on to say -- he was at JBER --  
25 "Next year, the 11th Air Force, headquartered right here at

1 JBER, will receive the first of 54 brand-new F-35 fighters.  
2 You are getting very special planes, and you're getting a  
3 lot of them. That'll make Alaska the home to very 100  
4 fifth-gen fighters. Noplace on the planet Earth will have  
5 that much combat fighter power. And it's because of our  
6 strategic location."

7 The President then went on to talk about Alaska's  
8 critical role in missile defense, "We are also deploying  
9 more than 20 ground-based interceptors at Fort Greely, which  
10 will further strengthen our missile defense system. So  
11 important. Our missile defense system is being rebuilt very  
12 substantially, and we're going to have the latest and  
13 greatest here very soon." So, that was the President, 2  
14 weeks ago, in Alaska.

15 So, do you agree with these statements by the  
16 President, Mr. Secretary?

17 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, I do.

18 Senator Sullivan: You called North Korea a pressing  
19 concern. Like the President indicated by his remarks, do  
20 you believe that the rapid deployment of advanced missile  
21 defense for America is critical to our readiness, defending  
22 from North Korea missile attacks?

23 Mr. Shanahan: Extremely critical.

24 Senator Sullivan: How about the rapid deployment of  
25 100 fifth-gen fighters that can be defending our troops in

1 Korea, because of Alaska's strategic location, within 5  
2 hours?

3 Mr. Shanahan: Deployment and sustainment of them is  
4 vital.

5 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

6 Let me ask, on the issue of allies, Do you agree that  
7 China and Russia have been trying for years to split us from  
8 our traditional allies? NATO, Japan, Korea. Hasn't that  
9 been a strategic goal of them -- of those countries?

10 Mr. Shanahan: Well, China, in particular, but we see  
11 this constantly with Russia and NATO, particularly in the  
12 Balkans. I'd ask the Chairman, maybe, to comment on the  
13 recent activity in the Balkans.

14 Senator Sullivan: Well, let me just --

15 General Dunford, do you see that as a strategic goal of  
16 the Chinese and the Russians, to split us from our allies?

17 General Dunford: It's a -- it's been a very consistent  
18 pattern of behavior to split us from our allies. And, more  
19 specifically, to create doubt, in the minds of our allies,  
20 that we can meet our alliance commitments.

21 Senator Sullivan: So, I appreciate what the  
22 President's been trying to do, particularly get our NATO  
23 allies to 2 percent, but there have been press reports about  
24 a cost-plus-50-percent approach. Mr. Secretary, do you know  
25 how much the Koreans paid for the new Camp Humphreys on the



1 Korean Peninsula?

2 Mr. Shanahan: I do. Slightly less than a billion  
3 dollars.

4 Senator Sullivan: So, they paid 9.8 billion out of a  
5 new facility cost, 10.8 billion. Isn't that correct?

6 Mr. Shanahan: Yes.

7 Senator Sullivan: Ninety-three percent of a U.S. Army  
8 base.

9 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

10 Senator Sullivan: Have you been to Camp Humphreys?

11 Mr. Shanahan: No, I haven't.

12 Senator Sullivan: You should go there. It's an  
13 outstanding facility.

14 I'm sure you've been, General.

15 General Dunford: I have, Senator.

16 Senator Sullivan: So, 93 percent, U.S. Army base on  
17 Korean soil, paid for the Koreans. Do we really think --  
18 and maybe those statements -- maybe the press reports aren't  
19 true -- cost-plus-50 -- are we driving our allies away from  
20 us in the way that Putin and Xi Jinping are probably  
21 cheering right now?

22 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah, Senator, we don't do cost-plus-50  
23 percent.

24 Senator Sullivan: So, those reports in the press, all  
25 over the press --

1 Mr. Shanahan: They're --

2 Senator Sullivan: -- are incorrect?

3 Mr. Shanahan: They're erroneous. We're not going to  
4 run a business and we're not going to run a charity. The  
5 important part is that we've -- people pay their fair share.  
6 And payment comes in lots of different forms. Could be  
7 contributions, like in Afghanistan. But, at the end of the  
8 day, people need to carry their fair share. And not  
9 everyone can contribute. But, it is not about cost-plus-50  
10 percent.

11 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

12 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Sullivan.

14 Senator Hirono.

15 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Secretary Shanahan, the recently released Missile  
17 Defense Review directed a study on operationalizing the  
18 Aegis Ashore site of the Pacific Missile Range Facility,  
19 PMRF, on Kauai. You and I discussed this. We -- I have  
20 some significant concerns about what operationalizing the  
21 site would do to PMR's ability to meet its testing mission,  
22 which I assume you agree is important. You can --

23 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. No, absolutely, Senator. And --

24 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

25 Mr. Shanahan: The --

1 Senator Hirono: I'll get to the question.

2 Mr. Shanahan: All right.

3 Senator Hirono: -- as well as the impact of removing  
4 that testing capacity from PMRF. So, briefly, could you  
5 tell us how operationalizing the Aegis Ashore site in Kauai  
6 would add to our ability to defend Hawaii from missile  
7 threats, especially as the major missile threat to Hawaii  
8 would be an ICBM, and the Aegis Ashore is not set up to  
9 counter ICBMs?

10 Mr. Shanahan: My understanding of the request in the  
11 MDR is that it's a study to assess taking the test assets  
12 and operationalizing them. And, as you well point out, the  
13 ground-based midcourse defense system that is resident in  
14 Alaska defends Hawaii. I believe that the study will look  
15 at what are other threats that may be posed to Hawaii, and  
16 how there might be a layered defense. But, as you pointed  
17 out, the test range there is vital capability and capacity  
18 for developing our missile defense systems.

19 Senator Hirono: So, I want to make sure that my  
20 concerns are in the record. For Secretary Shanahan and  
21 General Dunford, 2 weeks ago before this committee, General  
22 O'Shaughnessy, the North -- Northern Command Commander,  
23 testified that the current situation at our southern border  
24 is, to quote him, "not a military threat." Do you agree,  
25 Secretary Shanahan, that the situation on the southern

1 border is not a military threat?

2 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, you're referring to General  
3 O'Shaughnessy's testimony?

4 Senator Hirono: Yes.

5 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. What I recall from his testimony  
6 is, he said that it is not a military threat. He said  
7 border security is national security.

8 Senator Hirono: I understand that. But, he said  
9 specifically that the -- it's not a military threat. I'm  
10 asking you whether you agree with him that --

11 Mr. Shanahan: I --

12 Senator Hirono: -- it's not a military threat.

13 Mr. Shanahan: I agree with him.

14 Senator Hirono: General Dunford?

15 General Dunford: I agree. It's a security challenge,  
16 not a military threat.

17 Senator Hirono: So, you testified, Secretary -- Mr.  
18 Secretary, that there are 6,000 troops currently deployed at  
19 our southern border. Can you tell us how long they're going  
20 to be there?

21 Mr. Shanahan: The -- I'd say 30 or 40 percent of them  
22 will be departing in the next month or so when they complete  
23 some of their work. And I believe we'll probably draw down  
24 to between 3- and 4,000.

25 Senator Hirono: Is this something that the President

1 is indicating to you, or can he say that, "I want you all to  
2 remain at the border"?

3 Mr. Shanahan: No, this was part of the tasking from  
4 the Department of Homeland Security. And, based on their  
5 request to us --

6 Senator Hirono: From the President.

7 Mr. Shanahan: From the Department.

8 Senator Hirono: Yes.

9 Let me get on to a matter that is of great concern to  
10 some -- to a lot of us, actually. Secretary Shanahan, in  
11 your response to Senator Inhofe's question about refueling  
12 the Truman, you stated that growing the workforce in the  
13 shipyard is a priority, and the move to not refuel the  
14 Truman would save 3.4 billion over 5 years. And how does  
15 canceling 3 years of shipyard work grow the workforce there?

16 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. The workforce -- when we look at  
17 what is in the shipyard, so the combination of submarines,  
18 new carriers, and then maintenance, all that is done in the  
19 same shipyards, and that workforce moves from project to  
20 project. So, when we look at the total employment, the  
21 actual total employment goes up over the period of time in  
22 which we're building the two carriers.

23 Senator Hirono: Frankly, as I talk with some of the  
24 people from the shipyards, I'm not so sure that that is the  
25 case. And it'll cost about 3.4 billion to refuel the

1 Truman, which, by the way, by not refueling, we're only  
2 getting about 50 percent of the Truman's service life. So,  
3 at the same time, there's 3.6 billion in the emergency fund  
4 which you acknowledge is going to be set aside -- you want  
5 us to authorize setting that aside for the wall. So,  
6 doesn't it make sense -- maybe I should ask this of General  
7 Dunford -- that we should use the money from the emergency  
8 funding that you're requesting us to set aside for the wall  
9 for something -- i.e., the refueling of the Truman -- that  
10 actually fits with the NDS and that your combatant  
11 commanders want?

12 General Dunford, would you like to respond?

13 General Dunford: Senator, I would. And I'm not trying  
14 to be evasive, but I think my responsibility is to identify  
15 for the Secretary the priorities within our top line, not to  
16 identify what the top line is, and not to identify how the  
17 money within the total top line ought to be allocated.

18 Senator Hirono: Well, I would say probably if you all  
19 had your druthers, if you could get some money to refuel the  
20 Truman, you would do so, wouldn't you?

21 General Dunford: Again, if I look at it through the  
22 military dimension alone, that would be true, but I have to  
23 acknowledge that the Secretary and the President have  
24 broader responsibilities than I do.

25 Senator Hirono: Yes, like building a vanity wall.

1 Thank you.

2 Chairman Inhofe: Okay. Senator Perdue.

3 Senator Perdue: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

4 And thank you, gentlemen, for being with us today.

5 Mr. Secretary Shanahan, in 1990, Congress passed a law  
6 that required the administration to produce an audit of the  
7 Department of Defense. I want to give you guys kudos for  
8 producing the first-ever audit of the Department of Defense  
9 last year, in November. Thank you for that. Can you give  
10 us an update on that? Give us a little idea of what the  
11 Department is learning from that audit. I know we don't  
12 have a clean audit yet. Secretary Norquist may want to  
13 comment on that. But, I'd like to get a brief update about  
14 what we're learning, what kind of opportunities we have for  
15 efficiencies and a better use of capital in the military.

16 Mr. Shanahan: Thank you, Senator.

17 First of all, the audit was to look at \$2.7 trillion  
18 worth of assets. So, this was the largest audit ever  
19 conducted, probably in the history of mankind. We were  
20 asked, Would we ever do this? Because it had never been  
21 done. We made the commitment to this committee that it  
22 would be accomplished. We always knew that there would be  
23 discoveries. But, audits really aren't about doing the  
24 audits, it's finding the problems, as you've pointed out.  
25 And we specifically focused on identifying certain problems

1 that are vital to operating the Department. Some of them  
2 are financial in benefit, as you described, efficiencies,  
3 but others are identifying cyber shortfalls. So, we used  
4 the audit to find efficiencies, vulnerabilities from cyber,  
5 as well as where there is noncompliance.

6 The best part of the audit is, we've identified those  
7 items, and now we're incorporating all the corrective  
8 actions, we're building the muscle movement and the habits  
9 to continuously close those -- address those findings and  
10 make ourselves better.

11 Dave, would you like to talk about the efficiencies?

12 Mr. Norquist: Sure. So, I think one of the things you  
13 point is, before we started the audit, there was sort of two  
14 potential misconceptions. One is, it was going to be a  
15 paperwork exercise, and we'd learn nothing. Or the other  
16 is, we'd open the floors and discover pots of gold hidden  
17 underneath. And, of course, part of the value of getting  
18 through is, you move past those to discover the tangible  
19 value. And let me just give a couple of specific examples:

20 The first is inventory. We discovered there are  
21 certain facilities where what they thought they had in  
22 inventory did not match what they had in inventory. And if  
23 your responsibility is spare parts for airplanes, the  
24 accuracy of that inventory matters. And so, for example, at  
25 Hill Air Force Base, uninstalled missile motors, they don't



1 just check the quantity, they check the condition. They  
2 were labeled as unserviceable. When you visit them and look  
3 at them, they're actually usable. And so, you wouldn't have  
4 needed to order more. That saved us \$53 million.

5 Other places, you go to Osan and Kadina, 14,000  
6 munitions, \$2.2 billion, 100 percent accounted for, not a  
7 single exception.

8 And so, what we learned is, there are some places that  
9 are doing this quite well, and there are others where we  
10 need to either help them fix their process or give them  
11 better attention. But, the commanders in the field  
12 recognize the direct correct -- connection to mission and  
13 readiness. And so, I had expected a lot of pushback once  
14 the audit findings came in, that this was just paperwork,  
15 but they saw the tangible value. And, I think, as we move  
16 forward, the accuracy of the data, adopting more  
17 businesslike practices, will be tremendously helpful for the  
18 Department.

19 Senator Perdue: Thank you. And how long will it take  
20 us to get a clean audit, in your estimate?

21 Mr. Norquist: I don't know how long the Department,  
22 because the Department's opinion will be the last of the  
23 organizations. But, I think, over the next couple of years,  
24 you'll see either the working capital fund of the Army or  
25 the Marine Corps start to get to clean opinions, and then

1 you'll be able to differentiate between which of the  
2 organizations missing progress and who needs an extra  
3 hearing.

4 Senator Perdue: Thank you.

5 Chairman Dunford, today we have about 5,000 troops, I  
6 think, directly in Iraq. Is that correct?

7 General Dunford: That's correct, Senator.

8 Senator Perdue: And so, General Thomas recently before  
9 this committee -- the combatant commander of SOCOM -- said,  
10 and I quote, "Our Iraqi partners have embraced their  
11 sovereign responsibility in terms of defending their  
12 terrain." What are we doing -- and also, we hear about this  
13 potential vote in the Parliament in Iraq about asking U.S.  
14 forces to leave Iraq. And then, just this week, we had  
15 President Rouhani visiting Prime Minister Modi. Can you  
16 talk to us a little bit about what assumptions we have in  
17 this budget with regard to our presence in Iraq? And how do  
18 you see our continuing role there in Iraq?

19 General Dunford: Senator, this budget includes an  
20 enduring presence in Iraq, slightly less than the forces  
21 that are on the ground right now. But, what's important is  
22 that we do that in partnership with the Iraqi government.  
23 So, as the Iraqi government settles, and they're prepared to  
24 enter into a conversation about it -- what our reliable  
25 partnership will be moved forward, then our Secretary of

1 State and Secretary of Defense will work out the exact  
2 numbers to meet the requirements that the Iraqi Security  
3 Forces will still have to ensure the lasting defeat of ISIS,  
4 which is -- of course, is our collective focus.

5 Senator Perdue: Thank you, sir.

6 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Perdue.

8 Senator King.

9 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 I'm somewhat saddened to have the -- so much of this  
11 hearing taken up with issues about the wall, because I and  
12 all members of this committee have been very bipartisan.  
13 We've always been very supportive of the military. But,  
14 there are some questions I feel that I have to ask.

15 Secretary Shanahan, you testified earlier, in answer to  
16 Senator Reed's question, that you don't know which military  
17 construction expenditures are going to be canceled in favor  
18 of this 3.6 billion. Is that correct?

19 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, that's correct.

20 Senator King: Why is that correct? You've had a  
21 month. I find it very hard to believe that there's not a  
22 list.

23 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

24 Senator King: Are you testifying there's no list,  
25 there's no information you can give us about which

1 construction projects are on the chopping block?

2 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. So, what I can tell you are what  
3 projects aren't on the chopping block. So, for example --

4 Senator King: Have you assured members of the Senate  
5 -- individual members, that there are not projects in their  
6 States that are under consideration?

7 Mr. Shanahan: No, I have not.

8 Senator King: You have not made any assurances to  
9 those -- to any member of the Senate.

10 Mr. Shanahan: I have had questions as to whether  
11 projects -- this has been a blanket statement that's been  
12 made. There are no projects in this fiscal year that will  
13 be canceled. That has been a -- and anything associated  
14 with family housing or barracks.

15 Senator King: But, wasn't the appropriations, the 3.6  
16 billion -- I mean, that's part of a larger appropriation for  
17 military construction that's been through this Congress,  
18 been through the Appropriation Committee -- didn't it list  
19 projects?

20 Mr. Shanahan: No, it doesn't.

21 David?

22 Mr. Norquist: So, what he's talking about is -- the  
23 projects, when we go to prioritize, when we have the  
24 guidance from DHS's request, and the Secretary makes a  
25 decision -- we'll look at those that are unobligated,

1 meaning the contracts haven't been awarded. And if you look  
2 at the --

3 Senator King: But, those are projects that have been  
4 identified. This is --

5 Mr. Norquist: Absolutely.

6 Senator King: You weren't just say, "We'll give you 50  
7 billion for military construction."

8 Mr. Norquist: Correct. The projects individually  
9 identified by the Congress and the committees, correct.

10 Senator King: And -- but, you're telling me that the  
11 Department has not identified which of those projects are  
12 going to be canceled in -- or deferred in order to spend  
13 this 3.6 billion on a wall.

14 Mr. Norquist: We don't know which projects will be  
15 deferred. I don't know if the Secretary's decision will be  
16 3.6 billion. He has to determine that it's relevant --

17 Senator King: And it's your testimony, Mr. Secretary,  
18 that you have not had conversations with members of the  
19 Senate to assure them about the safety of projects in their  
20 States.

21 Mr. Shanahan: Well, let me be clear on this so it's --  
22 I have told members there are projects in -- and this writ  
23 large -- there are no projects scheduled to be obligated in  
24 FY- -- F- -- this fiscal year that will be canceled. That's  
25 the only information I've shared.

1           Senator King: Well, I'm confused. I mean, either  
2 projects are going to be canceled to find 3.6, or they're  
3 not. I -- please explain, Mr. Norquist.

4           Mr. Norquist: Sure. The projects in military  
5 construction have up to 5 years to be awarded. And so, if  
6 you receive funding for a project in '18 or '19, it might  
7 not get awarded till '20 or '21.

8           Senator King: So, you're focusing on the word  
9 "awarded," but I'm focusing on the fact that these are  
10 identified projects in the appropriation. Are they not?

11          Mr. Norquist: Correct. But, if --

12          Senator King: And, Mr. Chair -- Secretary, are you  
13 saying that there are no identified projects in the  
14 appropriation for this year that are going to be defunded or  
15 deferred because of this 3.6? I mean, this 3.6 is coming  
16 from somewhere.

17          Mr. Norquist: So, okay -- so, I think you're talking  
18 past each other. There's a difference between in the '19  
19 appropriations bill versus projects that are scheduled to be  
20 awarded, meaning the contract is going to be funded and the  
21 construction would begin in '19. Those projects have up  
22 until the year '23 or so to be awarded. And the reason we  
23 put the 3.6 billion in the request is so that money would be  
24 available and allow those projects to continue. In many  
25 cases --

1           Senator King: All right. Let me put it another way.  
2 I know of projects in New England that are on -- that were  
3 funded in this bill. Can I be assured that they're safe,  
4 they're not going to be deferred or canceled in a -- to find  
5 this 3.6? I mean, it sounds -- something's not computing  
6 here. Are you -- the 3.6 is coming from somewhere. And  
7 it's coming from projects that were authorized and  
8 appropriated by this Congress. And you won't tell me what  
9 they are.

10           Mr. Norquist: The 3.6 will come from project -- well,  
11 assuming the Secretary signs off -- I don't know the number  
12 of the requirement yet -- but, assuming the Secretary signs  
13 off, the 3.6 would, in fact, come from projects previously  
14 authorized and appropriated by Congress. We would look to  
15 not -- we would not touch those that dealt with family  
16 housing or military construction. And we would prioritize  
17 --

18           Senator King: I'm going to ask my question once, Mr.  
19 --

20           Mr. Norquist: Sure.

21           Senator King: -- Secretary. Have you spoken to any  
22 members of the Senate to assure them that projects in their  
23 State are not going to be affected by this policy?

24           Mr. Shanahan: No, I have not, Senator.

25           Senator King: Thank you.

1           Mr. Chairman, I'm very concerned about this. I don't  
2 think we're getting full information. I intend to follow  
3 up.

4           Thank you.

5           Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator King.

6           Senator McSally.

7           Senator McSally: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

8           I do want to follow up on that, as we did have a  
9 conversation, and there are four projects in Arizona that  
10 are appropriated in FY19, and you broadly said those FY19  
11 projects, across all the country, will not be impacted by  
12 this, just to be clear. Correct, Mr. Secretary?

13          Mr. Shanahan: That is correct.

14          Senator McSally: Thank you.

15          Senator King: How --

16          Senator McSally: I just wanted to clear that up.

17          Senator King: How does that square with what he just  
18 told me?

19          Senator McSally: Well, you rebound if you get more  
20 time, sir, but I've got some other questions to ask. I just  
21 wanted to clear that up, since it seemed that may cause some  
22 confusion about some conversations that we had.

23          I want to get to a different topic. In 2017, there  
24 were 6,769 sexual assaults reported across our entire  
25 military, likely thousands of others that were not reported.



1 These blue-on-blue crimes are unacceptable. They're harming  
2 our warriors, and they're degrading good order and  
3 discipline and military readiness. Many steps have been  
4 taken by the military over the last years, and this body.  
5 Over 100 legislative actions. But, it's not enough.  
6 There's thousands of our warriors in military readiness  
7 that's been harmed by these crimes. I believe commanders  
8 must be educated, equipped, and held accountable, and still  
9 be responsible for the decisions, the culture, and the  
10 discipline regarding sexual assault. However, something  
11 needs to change. "Insanity" is doing the same thing over  
12 and over again, expecting a different result. Perhaps we  
13 need to take a fresh look at this issue.

14 I've spent a lot of time thinking about this, and more  
15 so over the last week. We have weeks, now, before the NDAA  
16 will be marked up before this committee. I am fully locked  
17 on, like a missile, on this target. And I want to be  
18 working with you and the military services to take a fresh  
19 look at this. I've asked the Secretary of the Air Force and  
20 the Chief of Staff to start with a summit with the Air  
21 Force. But, it's not just the Air Force, it's across our  
22 military services.

23 So, can I get your commitment that we are going to  
24 partner on this, and we're going to take a fresh look and  
25 tackle this over the next 45 days together, which includes

1 being responsive to my questions, maybe forming a team of  
2 experts and resources to be able to really dial in as to  
3 what's working, what's not working, across the spectrum of  
4 prevention and response and prosecution? And we can tackle  
5 this together, come up with some ideas, impact on the NDAA,  
6 culminating with a tank meeting with all the leaders there,  
7 with myself, and solve this thing together. Can I get your  
8 commitment you'll work me -- with me on that?

9 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, you have my commitment.

10 Senator McSally: Thank you.

11 Chairman Dunford?

12 General Dunford: Absolutely, Senator.

13 Senator McSally: Okay, great. Let's follow up  
14 immediately on that. I appreciate it.

15 I want to shift to a different topic. I was over in --  
16 on the Korean Peninsula, less than a year ago, visiting the  
17 troops, and I will tell you, I am so proud of them and their  
18 ability to fight tonight, and everything that's been done by  
19 our military and the services to make sure that we were  
20 using all elements of national power to crank up the  
21 pressure with a deterrent capability to keep the pressure on  
22 North Korea for the negotiations and to thwart the threat  
23 that they are.

24 I want to get some clarity, Secretary Shanahan, on  
25 exercises. As we know, military exercises, every single

1 day. I mean, every day, you -- you're going out with your  
2 squadron, your unit, and you are making sure that you're  
3 ready to fight tonight. But, people rotate in and out over  
4 there every year. And so, large-scale crisis-response  
5 exercises are critical for us to have that decisionmaking  
6 process for key leaders at the highest level. So, can you  
7 just clarify where we are with military exercises on the  
8 Peninsula, and what the decisionmaking process was on that?

9 Mr. Shanahan: Right. So, Senator, the exercises that  
10 we have on the Peninsula, which are ongoing as we speak, and  
11 the Minister of Defense for South Korea, the ROKs, will come  
12 see me at the end of this month, and we'll discuss progress  
13 and the findings of those exercises. But, they're -- they  
14 were redesigned this year for three things: support the  
15 peace process, the expanded responsibilities of the South  
16 Koreans, in terms of operational control, and to --

17 Senator McSally: Okay.

18 Mr. Shanahan: -- maintain foundational readiness. And  
19 I -- underlying all of this is maintaining the readiness we  
20 need if we're called to fight tonight.

21 Senator McSally: Right.

22 Mr. Shanahan: We've sustained that readiness.

23 Senator McSally: Okay. So, are you -- can you say  
24 that, with the adjustment -- I understand turning the volume  
25 down so it's not being so provocative, but those higher-

1 level operational crisis exercises, the command-post level  
2 and beyond, decisionmaking for new leaders, is really  
3 important --

4 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

5 Senator McSally: -- especially as they rotate so  
6 quickly over there. Are -- can you assure us that there  
7 will be no degradation in the readiness --

8 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

9 Senator McSally: -- to fight tonight, based on  
10 adjustments to the exercises?

11 Mr. Shanahan: I have had personal conversations with  
12 General Abrams, and I can assure you there will not be  
13 degradation. We will have the capability we need.

14 Senator McSally: Okay. Thank you.

15 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

16 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Peters.

17 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Thank you, to our witnesses today.

19 Before -- Assistant -- or Secretary Shanahan, before I  
20 ask you a few questions, I just want to go back and get a  
21 little bit more clarification from some of the answers that  
22 I've heard to Senator King and Senator Hirono.

23 I noticed, in the budget, there is a line for \$9.2  
24 billion for emergency --

25 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

1           Senator Peters:  -- for FY20.  Is that 9.2 billion that  
2  you're asking Congress to appropriate related to the  
3  emergency declaration that the President has made?

4           Mr. Shanahan:  7.2 billion of it is, and 2 billion is  
5  for hurricane.

6           Senator Peters:  So, you're asking Congress to appoint  
7  -- or to appropriate \$7 billion to deal with what the  
8  President has declared an emergency.  I want to be clear  
9  about that.

10          Mr. Shanahan:  Correct.

11          Senator Peters:  So, the Senate, as you know, will be  
12  voting later today on a resolution of disapproval relating  
13  to this emergency declaration.  Is it safe to say you would  
14  revise the request for national emergency funding if a  
15  majority of the House and the Senate disapproves of the  
16  emergency declaration?

17          Mr. Shanahan:  I will stick to the budget that we've  
18  submitted.

19          Senator Peters:  But, if there's not an -- if we don't  
20  approve an emergency declaration, why would you come and ask  
21  us for money for an emergency declaration?

22          Mr. Shanahan:  I will work with this Congress to get  
23  the right top line.

24          Senator Peters:  So, you will look at that and revise  
25  it, if necessary, if we disapprove it.

1           Mr. Shanahan: I'll work with the committee and I'll  
2 work with the Congress to get the right top line.

3           Senator Peters: Could you describe the Department's  
4 response to the request for assistance that DHS sent a few  
5 weeks ago, and perhaps provide some characterization of the  
6 specifics in that request for us? I also serve on the  
7 Homeland Security Committee. I think it would be helpful to  
8 know.

9           Mr. Shanahan: Right. Which request for assistance is  
10 this?

11          Senator Peters: On the southern border.

12          Mr. Shanahan: It's just -- is this -- yeah, there's  
13 been a number of them.

14          Senator Peters: Could you give me -- could you  
15 characterize what the -- what they have been asking for and  
16 what -- your response?

17          Mr. Shanahan: Right. I'll -- do you want to --

18          General Dunford: Sure.

19          Mr. Shanahan: Okay.

20          General Dunford: Senator, I'll take that, if you don't  
21 mind. The --

22          Senator Peters: Yes.

23          General Dunford: -- the most recent request requested  
24 our engineers to reinforce some of the infrastructure along  
25 the border. And we also have some soldiers that are

1 supporting the detect-and-monitor mission by manning cameras  
2 that allow Customs and Border Protection to see what  
3 activity is ongoing around the border. Those are the two  
4 primary tasks. And that's, of course, in addition to the  
5 National Guard sustain mission, which provides rotary-wing  
6 aircraft for surveillance, some logistics support, some  
7 planning support, and some intelligence along the border.

8 Senator Peters: Thank you.

9 Secretary Shanahan, at your confirmation hearing for  
10 the position of Deputy Secretary, I asked you about what was  
11 previously known as the "third offset" that essentially was  
12 using technology to improve military tactics and strategy.  
13 We had a further conversation about that in my office, and I  
14 appreciate that. Your predecessor as Deputy Secretary, Bob  
15 Work, championed the initiative and sought out ways to use  
16 technology to create and maintain an advantage over our  
17 competitors, very similar to what was envisioned in the  
18 National Defense Strategy.

19 Well, now that you've been inside the Department, I'm  
20 going to ask this question again. Now, as an insider --  
21 before, I asked that, prior to your appointment -- what is  
22 your view on how technology's going to impact warfare? And,  
23 in particular, give me a sense of how you view the most  
24 disruptive technologies to some of our legacy weapon systems  
25 that are pretty much ingrained in DOD culture, also tend to

1 be incredibly expensive. But, as we're thinking about this  
2 budget going forward, that could change very dramatically.  
3 Give me your sense and how that is reflected in this budget.

4 Mr. Shanahan: Absolutely. And, to Bob Work's credit  
5 on the third offset, that was the underpinning for many of  
6 the concepts that we're requesting funding for this year.  
7 So, in terms of the four major disruptive capabilities, they  
8 are space, missiles, cyber, and autonomy. So, take, for  
9 example, missiles on -- in answering your question: low  
10 cost, cost-imposing, and attritable versus very expensive,  
11 manned assets. Same can be said -- spoken for cyber, all  
12 the effects that you can create with cyber. When we think  
13 about the trade in cost, terms of being able to deploy  
14 forces, versus effects -- significant cost imposition.  
15 Space, you know, when we think about having unfettered  
16 access to the world, outer space provides us that  
17 environment.

18 Senator Peters: So, when you're talking about some --  
19 I -- my time is running low, but you're talking about some  
20 of this disruptive and autonomy. So, when you think about  
21 legacy systems of pilots and airplanes and aircraft  
22 carriers, things of that nature, all of those things we  
23 should be looking at --

24 Mr. Shanahan: Absolutely. I mean, when we think about  
25 the challenge to find pilots, that challenge goes away.



1 When we think about surface/subsurface and the capability to  
2 build for lower cost, hide and suspend for longer periods of  
3 time, these are real enablers. And the cost to support them  
4 is significantly less.

5 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Peters.

7 Senator Blackburn.

8 Senator Blackburn: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 And thank you all for being with us today.

10 Mr. Shanahan, I want to move a little bit of a  
11 different direction as we talk about budget and priorities.  
12 I'm from Tennessee. I spent 16 years in the House and  
13 represented a district that was home to Fort Campbell and  
14 many of the enlisted men and women that are there, the  
15 101st, 160th, 5th Division, and have really developed a good  
16 working relationship with those families and the enlisted,  
17 and also with command teams that have been there that have  
18 done such a terrific job. We have some of those that have  
19 served at Fort Campbell that are members of our team. So,  
20 we hear a good bit from them, and hear about their concerns.  
21 And I join Senator Cotton in being tremendously concerned  
22 about the Budget Control Act from 2011, with the sequester  
23 that was placed on our military. That has not served us  
24 well. And my hope is that we're going to be able to solve  
25 that situation and address some of the problems that it has

1 brought forward.

2 But, one of the things I hear from, especially, our  
3 Special Operations guys is their desire to make certain that  
4 5G technologies are available to them, and that those  
5 networks are secure. And I appreciate that in your  
6 testimony you mentioned three of your priorities as cyber,  
7 hypersonics, and space. And we have had our COCOM hearings  
8 and have talked some about the placement of these  
9 technologies so that we're fighting 21st-century warfare and  
10 that we're not just focused on today.

11 And I'll tell you, one of the things that I've heard a  
12 little bit of scuttlebutt about that causes me some concern  
13 is that maybe some of the fighter pilots from Air Force are  
14 not that excited about having a Space Force that would  
15 function there as Air Force. So, I want to give you a  
16 couple of minutes to talk about Space Force, how you see it  
17 standing up, how you expect to deploy it, how you intend to  
18 protect the funding for that so that we are looking forward  
19 as well as tending to today.

20 Mr. Shanahan: Thank you, Senator.

21 The -- with 2 minutes, I'll go as quickly as I can.

22 Senator Blackburn: Good.

23 Mr. Shanahan: I'll summarize it this way. Our Nation,  
24 our \$19 trillion economy, and our military, we're carrying  
25 too much risk, given the vulnerability we have in space now

1 that space is a contested domain. The Space Force  
2 represents a chance to accelerate our ability to respond to  
3 that threat environment. The Space Force really gets after  
4 three items in order for us to be -- to reduce that risk:

5 The first is, the assets that are on space -- in space  
6 were never designed to be resilient and deal with the  
7 threats that exist today. It's a bit like, "You can't pick  
8 your parents." We need to design new capability and put it  
9 up on orbit as quickly as possible. Space Force recommends  
10 a Space Development Agency, which really gets at cutting the  
11 redtape to do development and tapping into commercial space  
12 technology, save costs, save time.

13 The second is, stand up the Space Command, much like  
14 we've done Cyber Command, so that we can focus, have  
15 dedicated focus to provide the rules of engagement,  
16 authorities, and the tools to defend our assets.

17 And the third is, bring together and train. Make space  
18 a dedicated profession, where we can provide this cadre of  
19 professionals the right training so that they have the  
20 ability to have a career that leads to --

21 Senator Blackburn: Well done in a summary. And now  
22 give me 15 seconds on great-power competitiveness with China  
23 in this arena.

24 Mr. Shanahan: I think we've been ignoring the problem  
25 too long.

1 Senator Blackburn: Well done.

2 Yield back.

3 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Blackburn.

4 Senator Warren.

5 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 And thank you, to our witnesses, for being here.

7 So, the administration has submitted a national defense  
8 budget request for \$750 billion for next year. That is a  
9 pretty big number even by the Department's own standards.  
10 In fact, the budget rules govern how much money is available  
11 for defense spending, is set at \$576 billion, which is still  
12 a huge sum. But, you're requesting \$174 billion more than  
13 the amount that is allowed by law; 165 billion for the  
14 overseas contingency operations, OCO, and another 9 billion  
15 for emergency funds for the wall. Now, some of the things  
16 in the DOD budget request seem to me to point in the right  
17 direction -- more investments in research, for example. And  
18 we need to have a much larger conversation about whether  
19 these budget caps make sense, and how defense and nondefense  
20 priorities should stack up. But, right now, I just want to  
21 dig into how you got your numbers so all of the nondefense  
22 budget experts out there can understand the tricks the  
23 administration is using to justify skyrocketing defense  
24 spending.

25 Secretary Shanahan, the Department proposes to get

1 around the budget rules by requesting that 165 billion extra  
2 dollars in the OCO account. The amount in the OCO account  
3 is not counted toward statutory budget caps. Is that  
4 correct?

5 Mr. Shanahan: Yes.

6 Senator Warren: Okay. So, let's dig in a bit, then,  
7 on OCO. As the cost to fight the war in Iraq and  
8 Afghanistan began to increase in the early 2000s, Congress  
9 had to pass emergency supplemental appropriations every  
10 year. So, in 2009, President Obama established OCO so that  
11 they can set aside funds for this and other related  
12 operations. And because those funds are for emergencies,  
13 they don't count toward the overall limits in defense  
14 spending, as you just said. This year's OCO request is a  
15 140-percent increase from the 69 billion you requested for  
16 OCO in last year's budget. So, tell me, did the cost of  
17 supporting our overseas operations suddenly increase by 140  
18 percent last year?

19 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, they did not.

20 Senator Warren: They did not. Okay. In fact, the  
21 last time OCO account was even close to the amount you've  
22 proposed for next year was in 2010, when we had  
23 approximately 100,000 troops deployed in Afghanistan and  
24 another 50- to 100,000 troops in Iraq. Today, we have about  
25 21,000 troops in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, combined, a

1 number that's largely unchanged from last year. So, let me  
2 ask another question. Since last year, has the Department  
3 deployed a large number of troops to fight a war someplace  
4 other than Iraq, Syria, or Afghanistan?

5 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, no, we have not.

6 Senator Warren: Okay. So, the actual cost of  
7 supporting operations overseas did not increase by 140  
8 percent, and we haven't launched a war someplace else,  
9 triggering that kind of emergency. And yet, you're asking  
10 for \$165 billion for, quote, "overseas contingency  
11 operations." I just want to be absolutely clear so the  
12 taxpayer understands. You're requesting funding in OCO to  
13 fund activities that have nothing to do with the reason that  
14 OCO was established. Is that correct?

15 Mr. Shanahan: What we've done this year is, we've  
16 taken our base budget from last year, per the Chairman's  
17 blueprint, grown our budget 3 percent in real growth.

18 Senator Warren: Okay. I appreciate it. But, you can  
19 just answer my question.

20 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

21 Senator Warren: And that is --

22 Mr. Shanahan: The --

23 Senator Warren: You're requesting funding in OCO to  
24 fund activities that have nothing to do with the reason that  
25 OCO was established. Is that right?

1           Mr. Norquist: So, Senator, to make it transparent, if  
2 you go through the budget material, we've got it in two  
3 groups. One is what you think of as traditional OCO, and  
4 the other is clearly labeled "OCO for base." And that's the  
5 distinction you're --

6           Senator Warren: So, I --

7           Mr. Norquist: -- looking for.

8           Senator Warren: You can call it whatever you want. We  
9 know why OCO was established. And my question is, Are you  
10 asking for this increase for the reasons that OCO was  
11 originally established? It's an easy question.

12          Mr. Shanahan: No --

13          Senator Warren: Secretary Shanahan?

14          Mr. Shanahan: No, we're asking for a \$750 billion top  
15 line, and we want to work with this committee to get the  
16 appropriation and authorizations proper.

17          Senator Warren: You're asking for an increase in OCO  
18 for purposes that OCO was not established. In fact, your  
19 own staff said so yesterday. They said you're asking at  
20 least for 98 billion for things that have nothing to do with  
21 contingency operations. And I'm not quite sure why you  
22 can't say that.

23                 What we're really talking about here is the  
24 establishment of a slush fund to hide what's happening with  
25 defense spending and get it out from underneath the

1 statutory caps. I think it's time to stop this business of  
2 more, more, more --

3 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

4 Senator Warren: -- for the military.

5 Mr. Shanahan: Sure.

6 Senator Warren: And establishing a slush fund like  
7 this, and saying, "Oh, because we put it in two different  
8 accounts" --

9 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

10 Senator Warren: -- somehow changes the fact is just  
11 not true. And we just need to be honest with the American  
12 people about how much we're spending here.

13 Mr. Shanahan: Senator, we have provided, in our  
14 justification books, 100-percent transparency. There is no  
15 slush fund. We can take the money and tie it back to the  
16 National Defense Strategy and what we need to defend  
17 America.

18 Senator Warren: I have --

19 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator --

20 Senator Warren: -- no doubt that you see this --

21 Chairman Inhofe: -- Warren.

22 Senator Warren: -- is more, more, more.

23 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Hawley.

24 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 Thank you, gentlemen, for being here.



1           Let me start by saying that -- first, a note just about  
2 Fort Leonard Wood. I'm looking forward to seeing the budget  
3 justification books next week so we can see the details here  
4 about the budget, itself. I'm anticipating it will include  
5 an increase for the Army's Chemical School at Fort Leonard  
6 Wood, in Missouri, my home State. And these are  
7 professional soldiers, of course, who train and respond to  
8 an adversary's use of chemical weapons on the battlefield.  
9 Four of the five threats, I'm struck, called out in the  
10 National Defense Strategy have a chemical weapons  
11 capability. And by investing in places like Fort Leonard  
12 Wood, we ultimately, of course, save lives on the  
13 battlefield. So, I'm very proud of the work that they do,  
14 and look forward to the continuing support -- the  
15 Department's continuing support for their important mission.

16           Let me just shift and ask about our challenge in  
17 emerging technologies, cyber, and space; in particular,  
18 China's investment in those areas, and our eroding  
19 advantage. I was struck, Mr. Secretary, by a comment that  
20 you make in your written testimony. You say, "Some U.S.  
21 companies have voiced ethical qualms about working with DOD  
22 to develop advanced technology. In some cases, even  
23 terminating relationships, often while continuing to work  
24 with China." What are we talking about, here?

25           Mr. Shanahan: I think we're talking about Google and

1 their support to China, and their lack of support to the  
2 Department of Defense.

3 Senator Hawley: So, Google has refused to work with  
4 the Department of Defense, actually was under contract,  
5 weren't they, with the Department of Defense? Tell us about  
6 that.

7 Mr. Shanahan: Well, they haven't refused, they just  
8 have said they're not going to continue to do business with  
9 the Department of Defense on certain contracts.

10 Senator Hawley: But, they are doing business in China  
11 in a way that benefits, you're saying, our Chinese  
12 competitors.

13 Mr. Shanahan: Correct.

14 Senator Hawley: Say more about that.

15 Mr. Shanahan: Well, the interesting thing -- and this  
16 is why China is -- this is such an important issue for our  
17 country. You have this -- the fusion of commercial business  
18 with military is significant. \$5 billion of -- \$5 trillion  
19 of their economy is state-owned enterprises, so the  
20 technology that is developed in the civil world transfers to  
21 the military world. It's a direct pipeline. Not only is  
22 there a transfer, there's also systemic theft of U.S.  
23 technology that also -- that facilitates even faster  
24 development of emerging technology.

25 Senator Hawley: So, I just want to make sure that I

1 understand exactly what you're saying. You're telling me  
2 that Google, an American company, supposedly, is refusing to  
3 work with the Department of Defense, but is doing work in --  
4 with China, in China, in a way that at least indirectly  
5 benefits the Chinese government. Is that correct?

6 Mr. Shanahan: I haven't heard the word "refuse," but  
7 there's a lack of willingness to support DOD programs.

8 Senator Hawley: General, you're nodding your head. Do  
9 you want to weigh in on this?

10 General Dunford: No, Senator. I'm nodding a head on  
11 exactly the point that you made, that the work that Google  
12 is doing in China is direct -- is indirectly benefiting the  
13 Chinese military. And I've been very public on this issue,  
14 as well. In fact, the way I described it to our industry  
15 partners is, "Look, we're the good guys, and the values that  
16 we represent, in the system that we represent, is the one  
17 that will allow, and has allowed, you to thrive." And  
18 that's the way I've characterized it. So, I was just  
19 nodding that what the Secretary was articulating is the  
20 general sense of all of us as leaders. And we watch with  
21 great concern when industry partners work in China, knowing  
22 that there is that indirect benefit. And, frankly, indirect  
23 may be not a full characterization of the way it really is.  
24 It's more of a direct benefit to the Chinese military.

25 Senator Hawley: I just want to underscore this for the

1 record so that we are absolutely, perfectly, 100-percent  
2 clear, here, that Google, an American company based in this  
3 country -- again, supposedly an American company -- is doing  
4 work in China that directly or indirectly benefits the  
5 Chinese government at a time of increased peer competition  
6 with this country. We are in a struggle with the Chinese  
7 government over whether or not they're going to become a  
8 regional, and maybe global, hegemon with values very  
9 different from ours, certainly values that do not favor  
10 freedom in the world, and we have an American company that  
11 does not want to do work with our Defense Department, which  
12 is, you know, one thing, but they are happy to help the  
13 Chinese, at least -- the Chinese government, that is -- the  
14 Chinese military -- at least indirectly. I think that's  
15 just extraordinary.

16 What are we -- in my time remaining, Mr. Secretary,  
17 tell us what, from your perspective, we need to do to  
18 maintain our competitive advantage on AI and these emerging  
19 technologies. What do we need to see, going forward?

20 Mr. Shanahan: We need to -- well, two things. One, we  
21 need to continue to invest. And this year's budget doubles  
22 our investment in artificial intelligence. And then the  
23 string that you're really pulling on, the talent is in this  
24 country. We need to use the talent in this country. The  
25 talent in this country needs to support our great-power

1 competition.

2 Senator Hawley: Thank you.

3 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Hawley.

5 Senator Duckworth.

6 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Mr. Shanahan, I'd like to follow up with the line of  
8 questioning from my colleague from Arizona, Senator McSally.  
9 You know, I think there's no doubt we'll continue to see  
10 tensions in North Korea, on the Korean Peninsula, after the  
11 latest breakdown in talks between the President and Chairman  
12 Kim. How do you plan to use your position as Acting  
13 Secretary of Defense to reassure our allies in the region?  
14 We know our great friends, the Republic of Korea and Japan,  
15 have a much more tense and complicated relationship with  
16 each other. For example, there were questions about them  
17 sharing NEO plans with one another. What do you plan to do  
18 to work on bridging that gap?

19 Mr. Shanahan: Thank you for that question, Senator.

20 That gap could be bridged at -- well, I'll say, at  
21 three different levels. There's a relationship level. And  
22 I have relationships with the Defense Minister for Japan as  
23 well as the Republic of Korea. So, it's important that I  
24 play a role in keeping the two countries together there.  
25 Exercises that we'll do together. Technology that we'll

1 develop together, particularly in the area of missile  
2 defense. As you well know, a sizable investment by the  
3 Government of Japan is to put Aegis Ashore as well as  
4 develop other, I'll say, defensive capabilities in the event  
5 of an escalating situation on the Peninsula.

6 Senator Duckworth: So, you had answered Senator  
7 McSally, saying that there would be -- not be any  
8 degradation of our relationship and readiness as it pertains  
9 to military exercises. But, are you changing the nature of  
10 those exercises to, for example, simply being tabletop  
11 exercises or just computer exercises, as opposed to how  
12 they've been conducted in the past?

13 General Dunford: Senator, if you don't me taking that  
14 question.

15 Senator Duckworth: Yes, of course.

16 General Dunford: The way I would describe it -- and  
17 you're quite familiar with this -- what we have changed --  
18 and I want to be clear -- is, we've changed the method of  
19 training to focus on the mission-essential tasks that each  
20 of the levels of command needs to be proficient in. What we  
21 haven't changed is the outcome and the readiness to fight  
22 tonight. So, the way you characterize it is, in part, true,  
23 that some of our large-scale exercises are done, now, with  
24 simulation CPX -- Command Post Exercise -- and so forth.  
25 But, what's really important to highlight is that, at the

1   battalion and the squadron level and below, there's been no  
2   changes to training and the ability of our men and women on  
3   the Peninsula to train in the integration of combined arms.  
4   We've made adjustments to our large-scale exercises.  And  
5   what we've done is -- very quickly, I'll just try to  
6   highlight -- we've shifted from certifying our readiness,  
7   based on the conduct of an exercise, to a much more complex  
8   system, that General Abrams and Admiral Davidson have  
9   developed, which identified all the mission-essential tasks  
10  for every level of command in making sure that we have a  
11  proven method of developing proficiency.

12           And other thing I can assure you is that, as soon as  
13  General Abrams and Admiral Davidson have any concerns about  
14  their ability to maintain readiness -- and right now we're  
15  executing their plan -- they know that they come right back  
16  to the Secretary and I, and we will work with the Koreans to  
17  make adjustments.  But, I can assure you, from a military  
18  perspective right now, I am quite confident in our 2019  
19  training plan, and confident that that will deliver the  
20  level of readiness that we have historically done --  
21  accomplished in large-scale exercises.

22           Senator Duckworth:  So, you're saying that, for brigade  
23  and below, or battalion and below, there's no change as far  
24  as the leaders that see what's happening?

25           General Dunford:  That is correct.  That's an important

1 point, Senator. That is correct.

2 Senator Duckworth: So, above brigade, that's where the  
3 changes --

4 General Dunford: That's where the --

5 Senator Duckworth: -- have taken place.

6 General Dunford: -- changes are. And, in some cases,  
7 it's dialing down the volume of the exercises. As you know  
8 well, those exercises had two purposes; one was deterrence,  
9 one was proficiency. I'm confident right now that our  
10 exercise program does deliver the latter, proficiency in our  
11 mission-essential tasks.

12 Senator Duckworth: Have those exercises taken to --  
13 into account the role of logistics in sustaining any type of  
14 a fight that we would have to engage in? I do think that we  
15 focus on what's happening on the Peninsula, but sustaining  
16 that fight long-term and then getting whatever we need,  
17 resources, there is a real challenge. The Pacific, as many  
18 people -- I don't think people realize how vast the Pacific  
19 Ocean is.

20 General Dunford: Right.

21 Senator Duckworth: Can you speak a little bit to the  
22 logistical challenges?

23 General Dunford: Senator, I can. In fact, this past  
24 year, we did what we call a Korea Readiness Review, and we  
25 played out the first 60 days of a Korean conflict, to



1 include the detailed logistics planning that was necessary  
2 to support operations for the first 60 days. We, needless  
3 to say, learned a lot during that exercise, but our  
4 exercises absolutely include the logistics factors  
5 associated with our ability to conduct operations.

6 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

7 Our National Defense Strategy outlines a shift in  
8 primary focus from countering violent extremism to great-  
9 power competition. As Acting Secretary, Mr. Shanahan,  
10 what's, specifically, do you plan to do in areas perhaps  
11 less obviously impacted by either of these priorities? For  
12 example, SOUTHCOM or AFRICOM.

13 Mr. Shanahan: SOUTHCOM and AFRICOM are critical, in  
14 terms of defeating ISIS, dealing with regional threats. The  
15 Chairman, in his role as the integrated global campaign  
16 planner, we make sure that the risk in those areas, and the  
17 resources required to manage, are properly delivered, both  
18 to SOUTHCOM and AFRICOM.

19 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

21 Senator Cramer.

22 Senator Cramer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 Thanks, to all of you, for your service and for your  
24 candor today.

25 Now, as I listened to Senator Fischer talk about and

1 ask about nuclear modernization, I wanted to follow up on  
2 that. And then I heard Senator Blackburn talk about Space  
3 Force, and I wanted to follow up on that. So, I'm going to  
4 try to combine the two as quickly as I can, because I think  
5 there are some similarities.

6 And I'll start with you, Secretary Shanahan. You know,  
7 many of the critics of nuclear modernization imply or state  
8 emphatically that we can't afford that, that it's  
9 unaffordable, that, in fact, we have to choose, in essence,  
10 between nuclear or conventional modernization. And yet, as  
11 I look at the budget, historically, and as I look at the  
12 budget, going forward, I see, for the most part, a peaking  
13 of modernization costs for the nuclear force at under 6 and  
14 a half percent in year 2029. Can we afford not to do it? I  
15 mean, the -- it seems to me that that's a pretty efficient  
16 use of deterrence dollars, and I would just like to hear you  
17 elaborate a little bit on whether we can afford it.

18 Mr. Shanahan: I'll ask David to talk about the  
19 affordability, but, as our competitors are building up their  
20 nuclear capabilities -- this is setting aside budget -- as  
21 our competitors are building up their nuclear capability, or  
22 modernizing, we should not unilaterally disarm. I think we  
23 have to start there.

24 Terms of timing of the budget, David, maybe you could  
25 speak to that.

1           Mr. Norquist:  Sir, the -- Senator, the numbers you  
2   used are correct.  The peak is about 6 and a half percent.  
3   When you realize that in -- normal maintenance runs 3  
4   percent.  Right?  That's -- that increase, for the amount of  
5   peace and stability that that deterrent provides us against  
6   what is probably the most catastrophic threat we can face, I  
7   think is a reasonable and sound approach, and something that  
8   you'd want to be very careful about changing, because of the  
9   stability that it provides globally and for the safety of  
10  the American people.

11          Senator Cramer:  Okay.  So, then let's move to space,  
12  because I think I have a similar line of questioning as it  
13  relates to the affordability of it.  I understand concerns.  
14  I could -- it's easy to see why somebody that has a  
15  particular system within the Air Force might feel threatened  
16  by a competing -- you know, competing for limited dollars.  
17  And, Secretary Shanahan, I think you've referenced it, at  
18  least to some degree, and I'd like to have you elaborate  
19  even a little more on the efficiencies that can be found.  
20  Clearly, space is a realm that we're competing in.  Clearly,  
21  you're -- we need to probably ramp up some of our  
22  capabilities there.  As you pointed out earlier, you know,  
23  we need -- we don't -- we can't pick our parents.  The  
24  resiliency isn't what it needs to be.  And yet, maybe you  
25  could speak to -- and maybe this would be a good one for the

1 Comptroller, as well -- to the efficiencies that will be  
2 found in the process of creating a Space Force as a sixth  
3 branch.

4 Mr. Shanahan: I think, on the efficiency side -- and  
5 I've had conversations with Senator Reed on this subject,  
6 and many in Congress are experts in this area -- we can't  
7 build a bureaucracy. In standing up the Space Force, we  
8 have a chance to build it from the bottom up. I think we'll  
9 build a bureaucracy if we build it from the top down. So,  
10 it's an opportunity to build it correctly.

11 The biggest effort needs to be at retiring the risk.  
12 We're too vulnerable. And, you know, it's a little bit like  
13 the nuclear conversation. I actually think it's going to  
14 cost us less. I mean, we've -- I've had lots of arguments  
15 about whether that's true or not. I think, in -- at the end  
16 of the day -- I mean, what we hear quite a bit is, "This is  
17 change versus the status quo." This is a fundamental  
18 structural change. But, in that structural change, we'll  
19 get after reducing our vulnerability, and I really believe,  
20 the end of the day, have more capability and more money,  
21 terms of, we won't have spent as much.

22 Senator Cramer: Well, and maybe speak a little bit to  
23 the realigning of existing space programs as part of that  
24 efficiency, if that makes sense.

25 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. No, absolutely.

1           The -- you know, when we talk about standing up a new  
2 service -- this is a very small service. You know, you  
3 think about 15- to, you know, 18,000 people, so it's really  
4 not about a large group being consolidated. This is really  
5 talking about, How do you consolidate development efforts  
6 within the Department? So, how do we take what's being done  
7 -- you know, the Army's going to undertake a brand-new  
8 modernization program. How do we combine that with work  
9 going on in the Air Force, with what's going on in the Navy,  
10 and then integrate it into all the combatant commands? This  
11 is really about doing it at a DOD level. And these are,  
12 like, once-in-a-generation opportunities. Since we must  
13 address the contested environment, and we're going to make  
14 significant changes, why not do it at an integrated level  
15 for the Department instead of, you know, in each service?

16           Senator Cramer: Well, your answers were as efficient  
17 as I expect the Space Force to be. Thank you very much.

18           Mr. Shanahan: Thank you.

19           Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

20           The Minority Leader had a question, and has a  
21 scheduling problem, so let's go ahead and recognize him --

22           Senator Reed: Thank you.

23           Chairman Inhofe: -- and then we'll get to the rest of  
24 them, if that's acceptable.

25           Senator Reed: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You're very

1 gracious. I appreciate it.

2 I'm trying to clarify the debate that Senator King  
3 initiated about projects at risk. And I'm going to take the  
4 really, really dangerous path for a social scientist to try  
5 to break it down into simple numbers, particularly dealing  
6 with an engineer and a numbers person. And bear with me.

7 Let's say X equals the authorized MILCON for the last 5  
8 years. That's the universe. Y equals the unobligated  
9 MILCON projects after September 30th of this year. X minus  
10 Y, or Z, equals those projects that are at risk of being  
11 captured for the wall, with some limited exceptions. No  
12 public housing, et cetera. You know what that Z is right  
13 now. You have the list. Is that correct, Mr. Shanahan?  
14 You have the ability to create the list.

15 Mr. Shanahan: Let me make sure I understand what Z is.  
16 I'm going to look at my friend, here.

17 Senator Reed: Okay.

18 [Laughter.]

19 Mr. Shanahan: So, Z is --

20 Senator Reed: Z --

21 Mr. Shanahan: We know what that universe of projects  
22 is.

23 Mr. Norquist: The -- if the question is, What is the  
24 universe of either unobligated projects or unobligated  
25 projects after a certain date? Those are things that can be

1 generated, yes.

2 Senator Reed: Exactly. And those projects, with the  
3 exceptions you've mentioned -- family housing and some  
4 others -- are all subject to being taken away to fund this  
5 wall. They might not all be taken, but they are the  
6 projects at risk, correct?

7 Mr. Shanahan: That's the pool.

8 Senator Reed: I would like that list today, Mr.  
9 Secretary.

10 [The information referred to follows:]

11 Mr. Shanahan: Sure.

12 Senator Reed: Thank you very much.

13 Mr. Shanahan: Absolutely.

14 Senator Reed: So, we'll be waiting. I'll be -- my  
15 fingers --

16 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

17 Senator Reed: -- and we'll have that list. So we'll  
18 -- everyone will know is at -- what project they have to  
19 worry about --

20 Mr. Shanahan: Sure.

21 Senator Reed: -- going forward.

22 Mr. Shanahan: Okay.

23 Senator Reed: Is that it?

24 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. Thank you for the clarification.

25 Senator Reed: That's a deal?

1 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. That's a deal.

2 Senator Reed: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator.

4 Senator Heinrich.

5 Senator Heinrich: Can I assume that there are  
6 congressionally appropriated FY19 projects that received  
7 military construction funding that are going to be in that  
8 list?

9 Mr. Norquist: Because of 5-year monies, yes.

10 Senator Heinrich: Yeah. I can't tell you, Mr.  
11 Chairman, how inappropriate I think that is. Congress has  
12 the power of the purse. This is wrong. This is abusive.  
13 And we should do something about it, all of us, because I  
14 guarantee you, if you let this happen, it will happen under  
15 the next President and the next President, and you won't  
16 always like how this money gets spent.

17 Acting Secretary, how much do you know about PFAS?

18 Mr. Shanahan: Well, I understand the nature of the  
19 chemical. So, when we talk about it being a fire retardant  
20 and being used over -- extensively and militarily and  
21 commercially, and the issue of it being in the water supply.

22 Senator Heinrich: So, have you had a chance to read  
23 the article in the New York Times this morning with the  
24 headline, "Pentagon Pushes for Weaker Standards on Chemicals  
25 Contaminating Drinking Water"?



1 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah, I haven't had a --

2 Senator Heinrich: Okay.

3 Mr. Shanahan: -- chance to read the paper.

4 Senator Heinrich: I would ask that you read that.

5 Mr. Shanahan: Sure.

6 Senator Heinrich: I hope it's highly inaccurate.

7 Mr. Shanahan: Okay.

8 Senator Heinrich: The second clause in the first  
9 sentence says that the Pentagon is pushing the Trump  
10 administration to adopt a weaker standard for groundwater  
11 pollution.

12 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

13 Senator Heinrich: Are you aware of any conversations  
14 going on in the Pentagon that would push for a standard that  
15 was not set by the best-available science?

16 Mr. Shanahan: Right. I -- I'm not aware of any  
17 conversation. And I shared with Senator Shaheen that I  
18 would follow up with her, also, on this matter after I have  
19 a chance to investigate. And I'll do the same with you.

20 Senator Heinrich: I would deeply appreciate that.

21 The right way to do this is to follow the science.

22 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

23 Senator Heinrich: The right way to do this is not to  
24 set a standard based on trying to limit liability.

25 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

1           Senator Heinrich: I know that there is -- we're going  
2 to have a big pricetag attached to this. There is no  
3 question about that. But, we're also going to have a very  
4 big human cost associated with this. And I'll just give you  
5 one example.

6           Highland Dairy Farm was forced to close its doors in  
7 New Mexico after 25 years. That's a local business. For  
8 months, because of this contamination, they had to dump  
9 12,000 to 15,000 gallons of milk per day. That's enough to  
10 give a carton at lunch to 240,000 kids. That is one example  
11 of how this is impacting the communities that have been  
12 enthusiastic about hosting our Air Force and other military  
13 establishments.

14           We are going to need to get in front of this. And I  
15 don't think it has received adequate attention from the  
16 Pentagon. And so, I look forward to working with you on  
17 that. But, we're at the front end of this, and there's  
18 going to be a lot of work that's going to have to go into  
19 trying to make this right for these communities.

20           I very much agree that our competitors are rapidly  
21 fielding new capabilities in the space domain, and that we  
22 need to move with a greater sense of urgency. I welcome the  
23 increased prioritization the Department has put on this  
24 area, and your focus on that. And, in terms of R&D as we  
25 stand up a Space Development Agency, one of the things I

1 want to make sure we're not doing is reorganizing the  
2 existing pieces or reinventing the wheel. Things like the  
3 Space Rapid Capabilities Office, the Space Vehicles  
4 Directorate, the Advanced Systems Directorate, and many  
5 others, all are -- play a critical role in researching,  
6 developing, and fielding our Nation's space systems. So, I  
7 would just urge you, as you look at that, and urge Secretary  
8 Wilson, Dr. Fred Kennedy, Dr. Mike Griffin, all to fully  
9 utilize the existing R&D assets as you stand up SDA so that  
10 we're not losing a few years of reorganization to make the  
11 whole system work better.

12 And if you have any thoughts on that, I'd love to hear  
13 them.

14 Mr. Shanahan: No, I -- when I think of the Space  
15 Development Agency, what I don't want it to be is a  
16 reorganization. The number-one element of the Space  
17 Development Agency that we need to take advantage of is  
18 large-scale systems engineering. How do we put together a  
19 national team so that we can do this at scale? There is  
20 incredible technology in the Air Force. We don't lack for  
21 talent. That is not our issue. We don't lack for money.  
22 The architecture that's required to be able to do this  
23 quickly so that we don't have to do it three or four times  
24 is really the problem we have to get after.

25 Senator Heinrich: Thank you, Chair.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Heinrich.

2 Senator Jones.

3 Senator Jones: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4 And thank you all for being here today, and for the  
5 service provided to this country, and, to all those behind  
6 you, for their service, as well.

7 You know, as we approach these hearings, we hear a lot  
8 about the threat assessments and our nuclear capabilities  
9 and our hardware. Often, we overlook, sometimes, the very  
10 human element of this. And, as you probably are aware, this  
11 committee's had a couple of hearings about some serious -- I  
12 think, very serious ongoing health and safety problems with  
13 privatized housing on our military bases. Some of those  
14 have occurred in my State, at Maxwell Air Force Base and at  
15 Fort Rucker. And I did not notice any language in either of  
16 your statements on this particular topic. Not surprising.  
17 I'm not criticizing that. But, I would be interested in  
18 hearing your thoughts on these issues and whether or not any  
19 of these issues are going to be resolved through the budget  
20 that you're proposing this year. And I'll ask the --  
21 Secretary Shanahan and General Dunford --

22 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. So, maybe I'll just start out  
23 with -- it's an embarrassment where we are, so I'm not going  
24 to defend anything. It's a leadership failure. Once we get  
25 past that, it's, What are we going to do about it? I've had

1 considerable interactions with the service secretaries, and  
2 they've assured me, for the time being, they'd like to run  
3 with the lead to address the problem. But, the  
4 conversations I've had with them are like this, "It's okay  
5 if we identify the problem. Let's make sure we put the  
6 resources that are required to be responsive in place."  
7 That's what I'm -- intend to follow up on. And the second  
8 piece is, we can't fall into this hole again. What is the  
9 enduring issue? But, for the families that are in these --  
10 the servicemembers and their families, we need to rapidly  
11 address the problem. Let's make sure the resources are put  
12 in place.

13 Senator Jones: General?

14 General Dunford: Senator, I -- first, I agree with the  
15 characterization of the problem, the Secretary's comments  
16 about the sense of embarrassment about the conditions that  
17 we found recently in family housing. The Secretary talked  
18 about it from a resource perspective. I can assure you that  
19 the leadership in the Department has gripped this issue, and  
20 the services have done things, like make sure that a leader  
21 goes and visits each and every individual's home so that we  
22 have a personal hands-on view of the conditions under which  
23 our men and women are living.

24 And when the Secretary talks about a leadership  
25 challenge, it's very simple what happened. We contracted

1 out for family housing, some years ago, and a gap grew  
2 between leadership and the contractor. And that should not  
3 be the case. Leadership should be decisively engaged in the  
4 overseeing of those contracts, and, more importantly, should  
5 be decisively engaged in the challenges that our men and  
6 women have in family housing.

7 And so, there is a resource issue that you spoke about,  
8 there is a human element to it, which is the men and women  
9 in those houses, but there's also the important leadership  
10 point that the Secretary mentioned, and that is, making sure  
11 that our leaders are, in fact, decisively engaged in all  
12 aspects of our men and women's lives; in particular, the  
13 housing.

14 Senator Jones: Great. Thank you both.

15 And the resources -- I'm assuming you're talking about  
16 our military and the various leaders on the bases getting to  
17 the bottom of this and trying to correct it. But, I'm  
18 hoping that the resources to actually correct these problems  
19 are going to be borne by these companies who are making the  
20 profits.

21 Mr. Shanahan: And that's my concern, is -- we'll  
22 identify the issues, and then we'll say we'll fix them, and  
23 it'll take too long. We need to fix them quickly. And if  
24 it means getting extra resources, these companies, they need  
25 to find a way to do that.

1           Senator Jones: All right. Thank you. There's nothing  
2 in the budget, though, that we -- that we're looking at to  
3 budget to actually fix the resources, as opposed to first  
4 looking to the contractors. Is that -- would that be fair?

5           Mr. Norquist: We are, first, looking to the  
6 contractors to do it. We have resources in the budget,  
7 should the committee want to address additional things, but  
8 the contractors are the one responsible for delivering the  
9 service at the rate they were funded.

10          Senator Jones: All right, great.

11          Secretary Shanahan, I'm really interested in additional  
12 funding in the budget for hypersonics and directed-energy  
13 programs. A lot of that work is going on in my State, up in  
14 Huntsville. Are you anticipating any new programs or more  
15 funding for existing programs in those areas?

16          Mr. Shanahan: Well, this budget has a sizable increase  
17 in hypersonics, and then we continue to double down on  
18 directed energy. Most of the focus in directed energy is to  
19 get a form factor so we can operationally deploy these  
20 concepts. But, you'll continue to see more and more funding  
21 going towards these technologies.

22          Senator Jones: Great. Well, thank you very much.

23          Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for the time.

24          Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Jones.

25          Senator Wicker.

1           Senator Wicker: Thank you very much.

2           General Dunford, thank you so much for being here, and  
3 thanks for dropping by and chatting with us the other day at  
4 my office.

5           Let me ask you about LHAs and LPDs. There's pressure  
6 to build a fleet better able to face Chinese and Russian  
7 precision missiles. The Navy, therefore, appears to be  
8 reducing its investment in warships, like LPDs, big-deck  
9 amphibians, and aircraft carriers, to free up money for more  
10 offensive weaponry on smaller surface ships, submarines, and  
11 aircraft. Additionally, moving the build of the new  
12 amphibious ships into the future would likely delay the  
13 Navy's ability to reach its goal of 38 amphibious ships from  
14 the current level of 32.

15          General, does the Marine Corps still have a stated need  
16 for 38 amphibious ships, as indicated in the Navy's force-  
17 structure assessment? How many amphibians do we have in the  
18 inventory today? And do you foresee eliminating Marine  
19 Corps core mission of amphibious operations at any point in  
20 the near future?

21          General Dunford: Senator, the requirement you  
22 identified, of 38, is still the requirement. I went back,  
23 after our conversation, to just check to make sure what the  
24 facts were. The requirement is 38. The 355-ship program of  
25 record that was submitted last year, I think they're working



1 minor adjustments, but there's still a cardinal direction of  
2 the Navy. And the issue with the amphib ships inside of  
3 this program was an issue of sequencing. They -- the Navy  
4 put a higher priority on other platforms during this period  
5 of time, but did not walk away from the requirement or the  
6 long-term plan to have those ships in place.

7 Senator Wicker: Now, in terms of facing the Chinese  
8 and Russian threat, just inform the public, through the  
9 mechanism of this hearing, how the amphibs fit into that.

10 General Dunford: Senator, it's critical for us to be  
11 able to project power in the context of China, and to seize  
12 -- one of the traditional missions of the Marine Corps is  
13 seizing advanced naval bases. And if you look at the island  
14 chains and so forth in the Pacific as platforms from which  
15 we can project power, that would be a -- an historical  
16 mission the Marine Corps has, and one that is very relevant  
17 in the China scenario.

18 Senator Wicker: Projecting power with marines being  
19 transported by these amphibs.

20 General Dunford: That is correct, Senator.

21 Senator Wicker: Right.

22 Secretary Shanahan, last year Congress appropriated  
23 considerable funds toward both LHA-9 and LPD-31, yet those  
24 two ships were not funded in this year's budget request. We  
25 just heard General Dunford's answer. So, why did the

1 Department withhold funding for LHA-9 and LPD-31 in this  
2 year's budget? If both these ships are going to be built at  
3 some point, wouldn't you agree that we should fund them in  
4 the most cost-effective manner? And were both the Navy and  
5 Marine Corps in agreement with this decision to delay  
6 funding of the LHA-9 and LPD-31?

7 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah. Senator, what I recall, in the  
8 development of the plan, there was a -- it was a sequencing,  
9 not a requirement, issue, in terms of -- General, you know  
10 the -- in terms of the -- providing the availability. Yeah.

11 General Dunford: You know, Senator, the issue -- when  
12 they looked at all the money that was available to the Navy,  
13 and they looked at the shipbuilding plan, they prioritized  
14 other platforms within this program over those two  
15 amphibious ships, and they moved those two amphibious ships  
16 outside the program without adjusting the requirement.

17 Senator Wicker: Okay. So, the requirement's there,  
18 but the sub-part of my question about the efficiency of  
19 building them in the most cost-effective and efficient  
20 manner, would you -- either of you care to comment on that?  
21 Wouldn't it make sense to do it in the most efficient  
22 manner?

23 Mr. Shanahan: It would.

24 Senator Wicker: And what has been proposed is not  
25 necessarily that, is it?

1 Mr. Shanahan: I can't speak to the specific --

2 Senator Wicker: Could you, General Dunford?

3 General Dunford: Not with regard to what the  
4 difference would be in the cost of the ship or the  
5 efficiency within the program, as opposed to outside the  
6 program. I can't talk to that, Senator. But, we can get  
7 back to you on that specific question.

8 [The information referred to follows:]

9 Senator Wicker: Okay.

10 Thank you very much. Appreciate it.

11 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Wicker.

12 Senator -- yeah, Senator Manchin. I believe -- yeah,  
13 he was here first. Yeah. Senator Manchin.

14 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

15 And thank all of you. I'm so sorry. We get --  
16 sometimes we get shortchanged here and we have to go to  
17 different meetings. And I'm handling an Energy meeting now.  
18 But, I just wanted to thank you all so much.

19 And so, Secretary Shanahan, as you know, State-owned  
20 National Guard facilities that cause PFAS contamination do  
21 not have access to defense environmental restoration dollars  
22 like Active Duty bases do. And Senator Gillibrand had a  
23 situation similar to what I had in Martinsburg. And I think  
24 you're familiar with both of those. So, I think my question  
25 would be -- National Guard units use the same firefighting

1 foam that the Active components use. The training is often  
2 the same. It makes no sense for the National Guard to not  
3 have access to these dollars. So, would you be supportive  
4 of a similar amendment this year if we could get access to  
5 them?

6 Mr. Shanahan: Yes, I would.

7 Senator Manchin: Okay. And you've been brought up to  
8 speed on that.

9 Mr. Shanahan: I'm not totally up to speed on that  
10 particular --

11 Senator Manchin: We'd love to -- if we could -- you  
12 tell us who to designate in your -- on your staff, and we'd  
13 love to bring you up to speed, because it would be very  
14 helpful, because it's really been detrimental to the  
15 community.

16 The President's budget request is something I wanted to  
17 go over. A combination of emergency funds as well as other  
18 budget shell games. You gave us an \$8.6 billion -- I think  
19 you all might have touched on this. What we're looking at  
20 is a holistic approach of how we're able to secure our  
21 border and, really, the immigration challenges we have. Do  
22 you all know how many of the -- maybe you have this -- as  
23 far as the DACA -- some DACA children that are involved in  
24 military, do you have a -- do you have any idea? That would  
25 -- it would be helpful to us if we could find out how many

1 of these young people are participating in defending our  
2 country that are asking to be considered as being available  
3 to be a citizen of our country. I think it would be quite  
4 appropriate for us to be able to know that.

5 [The information referred to follows:]

6 Senator Manchin: Again, a big thing with me, when  
7 Senator -- God rest his soul -- Senator McCain was here, is  
8 the audit. And you might have touched on this, and my  
9 question might have been asked. If there's something on the  
10 audit that you can give me an update on where we are and  
11 what your intentions are and how we can get a complete audit  
12 of the Department of Defense, would be very, very, very  
13 helpful.

14 Mr. Norquist: Senator, I'm always happy to give an  
15 update on the audit for you.

16 Senator Manchin: Okay.

17 Mr. Norquist: So, we've started the second. We've  
18 completed the first-year audit. We received over 2,300  
19 findings. We have corrective action plans that each of the  
20 services are developing to address those. The major areas  
21 of focus this year are, particularly, inventory, information  
22 technology, and real property. Those services will be  
23 executing those. The auditors have already started the  
24 second audit. They don't wait. They come right back and  
25 begin the next year. They'll be testing the progress on

1 those and we'll -- I think we do twice-a-year updates to the  
2 committee staff, and we expect the reports to be completed  
3 and delivered to us, on the second-year audit, on November  
4 15th.

5       Senator Manchin: The other thing I need to know and  
6 have more information, whoever would be responsible for, is  
7 the procurement, how we are -- the procurements we handle,  
8 the changes that have been made in procuring, you know, all  
9 the different types of anecdotes and jokes have been made  
10 about how we buy things and what we pay for things, and  
11 things of that sort. I'd like to be able to go back to the  
12 citizens of West Virginia and say that we are investing the  
13 money properly. They have total support -- they have given  
14 total support for the military. They want to make sure that  
15 we're using the resources in the most prudent way.

16       Mr. Shanahan: Senator, we'd be happy to put together  
17 for you to be able to share: here's how we've been saving  
18 money, here's where we've been saving money, here are our  
19 plans to save even more.

20       [The information referred to follows:]

21       Senator Manchin: The other thing, Secretary Shanahan,  
22 is on the F-15X, if you could explain to me a little bit  
23 about that. If the experts in air combat in the Air Force  
24 identify a need for the F-15X, then what does OSD know that  
25 the Air Force doesn't about the future threat environment?

1           Mr. Shanahan: Oh, yeah, let me address that. So, my  
2 responsibility in pulling together the budget is to make  
3 sure we identify what are the threats and campaigns that we  
4 need to structure, develop, do force design and force  
5 development. The services, the joint staff, and the cost  
6 assessment and performance evaluation organizations then do  
7 the analysis. So, I can ask the Chairman on what the  
8 recommendation, in terms of mix of tactical aircraft.

9           General Dunford: Senator, I spoke at length with the  
10 Chief of Staff of the Air Force and others on this issue.  
11 And so, I can give you the framework for making the  
12 decision.

13           Senator Manchin: Sure.

14           General Dunford: First, the primary aircraft of the  
15 future for the Air Force is the F-35. And they're not  
16 walking back off that program or the importance of the F-35  
17 program. But, as they looked over the next several years,  
18 they had two problems. They had, one, capability  
19 represented by the fifth-generation aircraft, the F-35, and  
20 then they had capacity issue, both numbers of aircraft plus  
21 the amount of ordnance that could be carried by those  
22 aircraft. And then they had the F-15C, which was aging out  
23 in the 2027-2028 period. So, within the next 5 or 10 years,  
24 the best solution was to go to the F-15 -- it's called EX --  
25 platform to backfill the F-15. Eventually, we'll get to an

1 all-F-35 program. But, from both a cost perspective and a  
2 capacity perspective, this particular mix of aircraft, for  
3 the near term, was determined to be the right mix of  
4 aircraft. So, again, not walking off the fifth generation,  
5 but the near term, need that combination of a fourth  
6 generation and a fifth generation to generate capacity. And  
7 I would add that the F-15X is slightly less expensive from  
8 -- for procurement than the F-35, but it's more than 50-  
9 percent cheaper to operate over time, and it has twice as  
10 many hours, in terms of how long it lasts.

11 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Manchin.

12 Senator Kaine.

13 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 And thank you, to the witnesses, for your testimony and  
15 service.

16 I was late to the hearing today because Secretary Esper  
17 asked me to accompany him to Fort Belvoir to visit with  
18 military families about the housing issues. And I've got to  
19 tell you, I did a visit on Norfolk Naval Base last Friday,  
20 so my expectations were pretty darn low, but I'm just  
21 stunned after talking to these families. The physical  
22 condition of their units -- mold, water damage; poor, shoddy  
23 construction; poor, shoddy repairs -- the lack of  
24 responsiveness, that they can't get response from the  
25 housing companies, that they're told, when they go to chain



1 of command, "We don't do this anymore. We don't have any  
2 responsibility," that, when they do get a response, the  
3 quality of the repair work done both by the maintenance  
4 connected with the companies or contractors they come up  
5 with is atrocious.

6 But, then what I really heard about today was the  
7 number of people who are getting sick. Hospitalizations,  
8 families being forced to move out of units for significant  
9 amount of time as their units are being repaired so that  
10 they can be habitable, carbon monoxide, CO2 monitors going  
11 off, and people being told, "It's fine, you can move back  
12 in," but not being told what was wrong that was causing  
13 there to be CO2. A 10-year-old girl, mother just told me  
14 this at -- within the last hour, missed 45 days of school  
15 last year -- that's one-quarter of the school year --  
16 because of respiratory problems caused by mold in the unit.

17 And so, I know that you're focused on this, but I just  
18 got to say, as the father of a marine, as somebody who is in  
19 a State that's heavily military, it was just absolutely  
20 depressing, the physical conditions. And we've got to have  
21 both housing companies that will improve and a military that  
22 will fix. I have been pointing out, nobody enlisted to be a  
23 tenant of Lincoln housing. They enlisted to be a marine or  
24 an airman or -woman, or a soldier or a sailor. And so, it's  
25 the military that's got to fix it.

1 I want to focus on the emergency issue. Secretary  
2 Shanahan, my reading of Title 10, Section 2808, is that the  
3 President can continue to use unobligated MILCON dollars for  
4 the duration of the emergency. So, having declared an  
5 emergency, unless Congress rebuts that, as long as the  
6 President says they're in an emergency, we basically are put  
7 -- tapping the spigot into the MILCON budget for this budget  
8 year and future budget years until the emergency is declared  
9 over. Is that your understanding of the section?

10 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah, my understanding is, as long a  
11 there's a declaration of emergency, that is an authority  
12 that goes along with the declaration.

13 Senator Kaine: So, I just want to make plain to  
14 everybody what we're voting on this afternoon. We're voting  
15 on an emergency declaration that, until this President says  
16 there's not an emergency, it is a spigot tapped into the  
17 MILCON budget that can allow not only 2019 funds, but 2020  
18 funds, 2021, future funds, to be pulled out of the MILCON  
19 budget, at the President's discretion -- in my view, counter  
20 to the appropriations powers of Congress.

21 Secretary Shanahan, I wrote you a letter on February 15  
22 asking you for information about MILCON projects --  
23 unobligated MILCON projects that could be affected by the  
24 President's emergency declaration. My understanding is, the  
25 committee staff has been repeatedly in contact with your

1 office on the same thing. I was not here, but I understand  
2 that you committed to Senator Reed that you will get him  
3 that list today. Is that correct?

4 Mr. Shanahan: That is correct.

5 Senator Kaine: Okay. I got to tell you, I feel  
6 completely sandbagged.

7 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

8 Senator Kaine: The service secretaries have had that  
9 list. They've had the list. The service secretaries have  
10 been willing to share the list of their unobligated MILCON  
11 projects. So, you're going to send it to us today, after  
12 the vote on the emergency declaration?

13 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

14 Senator Kaine: Members of the Senate are entitled to  
15 know from where these MILCON monies will be pulled.

16 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

17 Senator Kaine: And the fact that you come here today  
18 and say you'll now give it to us, right after the vote this  
19 afternoon? Your service secretaries and chiefs have had  
20 these lists, and, when we've asked them to send them to the  
21 committee, they've said, "We can't, without the permission  
22 of the SECDEF." So, were they only available in the last  
23 half-hour?

24 Mr. Shanahan: No, the -- well, first of all, Senator,  
25 I think the situation is being misrepresented. There has

1 not been a deliberate attempt to withhold any information to  
2 this committee.

3 Senator Kaine: Let me state this to you. The staff  
4 has been reaching out to the service secretaries and saying,  
5 "Send us the list of unobligated MILCON projects."

6 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

7 Senator Kaine: They have been told that they cannot do  
8 that --

9 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

10 Senator Kaine: -- it has to come through the OSD.

11 Mr. Shanahan: Right. Right.

12 Senator Kaine: And you're now going to produce that  
13 list today, after we have a vote at 1:45? This information  
14 is highly relevant to the Senators who are voting on this  
15 emergency declaration, because the question is, Should a  
16 President be able to declare a nonmilitary emergency --  
17 that's the what the military has testified -- and then  
18 ransack the Pentagon budget for \$6.1 billion? I think we're  
19 entitled to know where the money might come from, especially  
20 since you've just said this is a multiyear declaration that  
21 opens up a spigot into the MILCON budget. I don't think you  
22 giving us that list today, after the vote --

23 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

24 Senator Kaine: -- when we've been asking for it for a  
25 month, is a good-faith response to the requests of this

1 committee.

2 Mr. Shanahan: Yeah.

3 Senator Kaine: Now, tell me if I'm misrepresenting  
4 what's going on.

5 Mr. Shanahan: Throughout this process of the emergency  
6 declaration -- and I just have to say, this is not something  
7 we do every day -- from the very start, we have worked to be  
8 100-percent transparent with Congress. 100 percent.

9 Senator Kaine: I agree you don't do an emergency  
10 declaration every day, but, every day, you have a list of  
11 unobligated MILCON projects, don't you?

12 Mr. Shanahan: Well, I think the list -- we've always  
13 had a list of -- that's how we keep book -- I mean, it's not  
14 like we don't have a list of projects.

15 Senator Kaine: But, why wouldn't you -- why wouldn't  
16 you -- why wouldn't your services share those with the  
17 committee --

18 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

19 Senator Kaine: -- after continuing requests from the  
20 committee?

21 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Kaine, your time is long  
22 expired. And I know the passion that you feel right now,  
23 but we are adjourned.

24 Senator King: Chairman, I had a couple of follow up  
25 questions.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Well, I know you did.

2 Senator King: Are we adjourned?

3 Chairman Inhofe: You know, I have to say this about  
4 Senator King. And I say this in front of all my -- well,  
5 they're gone now. Of all the members, Democrat and  
6 Republican, you are the one who has been the most  
7 responsible, you've been to every single meeting. No one  
8 else can say that. And I -- even though it would be a  
9 violation of what we're going to do, if you want to have --  
10 I'll withdraw that just long enough for you to do one  
11 question. Only because it's you. Got it?

12 [Laughter.]

13 Senator King: All right. One comment and one  
14 question.

15 The comment is, I want to complement Mr. Norquist for  
16 the work that he's done. I failed to do that before. Doing  
17 -- working through the audit process for the Defense  
18 Department is a herculean task, and you were -- embarked on  
19 it well and truly, and I compliment you on that. I qualify  
20 that a little bit by the invention of the phrase today "OCO  
21 for base." That's like "rabbit for bicycle." I mean, those  
22 two things aren't really consistent.

23 My followup question, Mr. Secretary. Based upon all  
24 this discussion -- and I'm honestly confused. My father  
25 used to say, "You -- the Pentagon is the only building in

1 America you can drive straight toward and it keeps getting  
2 further away."

3 [Laughter.]

4 Senator King: And I feel a little bit like that today.

5 Is it your testimony that 2019 military construction  
6 projects that were authorized and appropriated for are off  
7 the table, or are they only off the table if they're  
8 obligated before September 30th?

9 Mr. Shanahan: Right.

10 Senator King: Fairly straightforward question.

11 Mr. Norquist, perhaps you can answer.

12 Mr. Norquist: Senator, it's the award day. What we  
13 are looking at in prioritizing is contracts that award  
14 later. So, if you --

15 Senator King: So, if a -- there's a project in the  
16 2019 bill that hasn't been awarded, it's on the -- it's  
17 potentially on the chopping block. Is that correct?

18 Mr. Norquist: That is correct.

19 Senator King: Thank you.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

21 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you very much.

22 We are adjourned.

23 [Whereupon, at 11:51 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

24

25

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