

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATION OF:
GENERAL MARK A. MILLEY, USA
FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND
TO BE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

Thursday, July 11, 2019

Washington, D.C.

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(202) 289-2260
www.aldersonreporting.com

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8 U.S. Senate
9 Committee on Armed Services
10 Washington, D.C.
11

12 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 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, Tillis,
17 Sullivan, Perdue, Cramer, McSally, Scott, Blackburn, Hawley,
18 Reed, Shaheen, Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King, Warren,
19 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: Our meeting will come to order,
4 consistent with our policy of starting on time. I say good
5 morning.

6 The committee meets today to consider the nomination of
7 General Mark Milley to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of
8 Staff. And we thank you for being here today and are
9 grateful for your decades of distinguished service to our
10 nation. We also welcome your family and friends and invite
11 you, at the appropriate time, to introduce those that you
12 feel are appropriate.

13 It is standard for the committee to ask certain
14 questions. These are the required questions. We will ask
15 them fast. And if you would audibly respond to them, I
16 would appreciate it very much.

17 First, have you adhered to applicable laws and
18 regulations governing conflicts of interest?

19 General Milley: Yes.

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

22 General Milley: Yes, Chairman.

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

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

3 General Milley: Yes.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Do you agree, when asked, to give
5 your personal views even if those are different from the
6 administration?

7 General Milley: Yes.

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

12 General Milley: Yes.

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

16 General Milley: Yes.

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

19 General Milley: Yes.

20 Chairman Inhofe: Have you assumed any duties or
21 undertaken any actions which would appear to presume the
22 outcome of the confirmation process?

23 General Milley: No.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Very good.

25 I have heard you say and we have all said I think

1 individually in different forums that we are in a threatened
2 world I believe is the most threatened we have ever been in
3 before. Our main focus is counterterrorism, but today
4 America's security challenges have grown to become more
5 dangerous.

6 The National Defense Strategy, which is this document
7 that we have adopted for our guideline to be used and we
8 have it here too, is an excellent one. We are trying to
9 maintain the integrity of that and to follow it closely.
10 The National Defense Strategy makes it clear that strategic
11 competition with China and Russia, not terrorism, is now our
12 primary national security concern. China and Russia have
13 passed us in key areas and are catching up with others. I
14 will outline some of these areas. That is something that
15 most Americans are not aware of and it is one that we have
16 to be aware of and have to communicate that to the public.

17 And years of budget cuts have left our military in a
18 crisis that will take some years to fix.

19 General Milley, you have been nominated to be the
20 principal military advisor to the President, the National
21 Security Council, the Secretary of Defense, and to Congress.
22 The Chairman plays a unique and influential role in U.S.
23 national security policy, and so the Chairman has an
24 outsized impact on the state of civil-military relations.
25 Appropriate civil-military relations are essential for a

1 healthy democracy. We look forward to your views on this
2 critical subject.

3 The committee believes that the 2018 National Defense
4 Strategy and the recommendations made by the National
5 Defense Strategy Commission provide a solid foundation for
6 how to prioritize our modernization efforts and how to
7 position our global force effectively. We need a Chairman
8 who can advise civilian leaders on an integrated strategic
9 approach to the wide array of global threats and the
10 tradeoffs between our strategic priorities.

11 For example, more U.S. troops in the Middle East might
12 help stabilize the region, but at what cost to the U.S.
13 interests in Europe and the Indo-Pacific region? How do we
14 sustain focus on the most important theaters, not just the
15 ones that are most recently in the headlines?

16 Our civilian leaders are going to have to decide the
17 answers to these difficult questions, and the Chairman's
18 best military advice is critical input to those decisions.
19 That is you.

20 The committee looks forward to your views on balancing
21 our global force posture and modernization efforts as the
22 Department continues to focus on competition with China and
23 Russia.

24 President Trump has supported the new National Defense
25 Strategy with defense budgets that give our troops the

1 resources they need, and the National Defense Authorization
2 Act, which has been passed by this committee with an
3 overwhelming bipartisan support of 86-8 at the end of June,
4 continues the positive trajectory. We are now prepared for
5 readiness and to restore our military advantage.

6 But hard work remains. Most importantly, we need a
7 budget agreement. The NDS and the \$750 billion budget
8 request will be useless without a budget agreement. I think
9 we all understand that. It is not your problem. It is your
10 problem to advise us as to the significance of that.

11 Senator Reed?

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

3 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
4 Let me also join you in welcoming General Mark Milley this
5 morning and thank him for his outstanding service to the
6 nation. Also let me acknowledge your wife Hollyanne and
7 your family for their tremendous service they have rendered
8 to the United States.

9 General Milley has a long and distinguished career as
10 an Army officer, most recently serving as the 39th Chief of
11 Staff of the United States Army where he prioritized
12 rebuilding readiness and transforming the Army's
13 modernization process. General Milley's professionalism and
14 commitment to duty served him well, and I commend him for
15 his willingness to take on another critical assignment.

16 General Milley, if confirmed, you will serve as the
17 Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during a time of
18 transition within the Department of Defense. Currently, the
19 Department is in the midst of implementing the National
20 Defense Strategy, or NDS, which will enable the U.S. to
21 posture for competition with a near peer competitor like
22 China and Russia. This strategy requires new investments
23 for high-end capabilities and new training for our troops.
24 At the same time, the threat posed by violent extremist
25 organizations is not diminishing, and Iran and North Korea

1 remain extremely dangerous. In addition to these broad
2 strategic challenges, the Department continues efforts to
3 restore readiness, while recruiting and retaining high
4 caliber individuals to serve in our armed services.

5 As the Department has grappled with these challenges,
6 it has also been hamstrung by the fact that there has not
7 been a permanent Senate-confirmed Secretary of Defense for
8 nearly 7 months, and during this time, two different
9 political appointees have helmed the Department in an acting
10 capacity. In addition, vacancies are pervasive across the
11 most senior level, particularly in the civilian positions.

12 Steady leadership at the highest echelons of our
13 military is a necessity now more than ever. But I am
14 concerned that the constant turnover of senior civilian
15 leadership within the Department has created uncertainty and
16 disarray, and as a result, it may have unintentionally
17 created a situation that could weaken civilian control of
18 the military within the Department. I first raised concerns
19 about civilian-military relations in the context of
20 Secretary Mattis' confirmation to be Secretary of Defense.
21 Most recently, the National Defense Strategy Commission also
22 raised significant concerns about the current state of
23 civil-military relations and encouraged the Department to
24 take action to ensure decision-making remains in the hands
25 of civilian leaders.

1 General Milley, this morning, I hope that you will
2 provide us with your views on the current state of civilian-
3 military relations within the Department and, if confirmed
4 as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, what actions you
5 intend to take to ensure this relationship remains robust
6 and strong.

7 The role of the Chairman is to serve as the principal
8 military advisor to the President and the Secretary of
9 Defense. As I previously mentioned, if confirmed, you will
10 serve as the Chairman at a time in which our country is
11 facing multiple threats from abroad. It had been my hope
12 that as the President became more accustomed to the gravity
13 of the office, he would, over time, become more
14 conscientious and thoughtful with his comments.
15 Unfortunately, that has not been the case. Instead our
16 foreign policy continues to discount the value of longtime
17 alliances and careens from one crisis to the next,
18 oftentimes driven by the President's personality and an
19 apparent affinity for world leaders who do not share our
20 core American values such as liberty, due process, and
21 freedom of the press.

22 General Milley, if confirmed, I am confident that your
23 deep understanding of the national security threats facing
24 our nation will be an asset to the President, and hopefully,
25 the military advice you will provide to him will alleviate

1 the risks of miscalculation and unintended consequences.
2 Furthermore, if you are confirmed, I expect that you will
3 continue to make it a priority to keep this committee fully
4 informed on policy decisions impacting our armed forces and
5 changes to our military strategy to counter the risks posed
6 by our adversaries.

7 Thank you again, General Milley, for your willingness
8 to serve our nation.

9 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

10 General Milley, we would like to hear from you and your
11 opening statement and any introductions you would like to
12 perform.

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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL MARK A. MILLEY, USA, FOR
2 REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE CHAIRMAN OF
3 THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

4 General Milley: Thanks, Chairman Inhofe. Appreciate
5 that. And Ranking Member Reed, thank you. And
6 distinguished members of the committee, good morning and
7 thank you all for the opportunity to appear before you
8 today.

9 It is a distinct honor and privilege to be nominated as
10 the 20th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I
11 appreciate the time and support this committee provides to
12 the men and women and the families of the total joint force.

13 I would like to thank the President of the United
14 States for the trust and confidence he has placed in me, and
15 if confirmed, I pledge to you and to the American people and
16 to the President that I will always provide my best military
17 advice to him, the Secretary of Defense, the National
18 Security Council, and the Congress to ensure America's
19 global national security interests are assured.

20 I would like to take a moment to acknowledge the
21 extraordinary service of the current Chairman of the Joint
22 Chiefs of Staff, General Joe Dunford, who has been a
23 longtime friend of mine, and his wife Ellen. Chairman
24 Dunford has inspired the men and women of our armed forces
25 in conducting themselves with utmost professionalism and

1 honor. If confirmed, I intend to use General Dunford's
2 example and steadfast approach as a personal example for me
3 to follow.

4 On a personal note, I would also like to thank my wife,
5 who is here to my left, Hollyanne for her love and support
6 during our 35 years of marriage, multiple moves, and so much
7 time as a single mom. Without her, I would not be here
8 today. She, along with our daughter, Mary Margaret, and our
9 son Peter, have given so much to this nation, and I am
10 forever thankful for their love and support throughout my
11 career. They, like so many military families, have
12 demonstrated incredible resilience, service, and sacrifice,
13 enabling the men and women in uniform to continue to serve
14 and protect this great nation.

15 I am also eternally grateful for the example set by
16 mother and father, who are no longer with us, but the
17 strength that they instilled in me will last a lifetime.
18 During World War II, my mother served in a military hospital
19 in the Navy in Seattle, Washington, tending to the medical
20 needs of troops from the Pacific. And my father served with
21 the 4th Marine Division in the Central Pacific making the
22 assault landings on Kwajalein, Saipan, Tinian, and Iwo Jima.
23 The foundation of service and commitment they provided to me
24 throughout my life will continue to be an inspiration for me
25 in the years ahead.

1 Chairman and Senators, as you are all aware and have
2 observed, we are living in a period of great power
3 competition within a very complex and dynamic security
4 environment. My parents' greatest generation -- they fought
5 to establish an international order that has prevented great
6 power war for over 7 decades, and it is currently under the
7 most stress since the end of the Cold War. From East Asia
8 to the Middle East to Eastern Europe, authoritarian actors
9 are testing the limits of the international system and
10 seeking regional dominance while challenging international
11 norms and undermining U.S. interests.

12 Our goal should be to sustain great power peace that
13 has existed since World War II and deal firmly with all
14 those who might challenge us.

15 In addition, the fundamental character of war is
16 changing rapidly. We have witnessed a shift from an
17 industrial age approach to warfare to a new era
18 characterized by high-speed information and disinformation,
19 proliferation of precision weapons, and military operations
20 in highly dense urban areas requiring increasingly dispersed
21 and decentralized operations, all of which are going to
22 demand unprecedented levels of initiative and agility from
23 our forces. We must adapt faster, and if confirmed, I look
24 forward to working with this committee to continue to
25 accelerate the U.S. military's modernization. By having a

1 lethal, ready, and modern force, the United States military
2 will continue to be a vital element of national power to
3 secure peace through strength.

4 If confirmed, I will support our diplomatic efforts to
5 counter destabilizing activities by revisionist powers,
6 rogue regimes, and non-state actors, and I will ensure our
7 joint force is prepared to respond if deterrence fails
8 understanding that alliances and partnerships are critical
9 to advancing our national security interests, and I will
10 work tirelessly with my counterparts from likeminded nations
11 to ensure our collective security responsibilities are met.

12 In order to their freedoms, the American people entrust
13 us with the nation's most valued resource, their sons and
14 daughters. These young men and women are the best military
15 in the world, and our adversaries should not test that
16 proposition.

17 In sum, if confirmed, my priorities are to provide best
18 military advice and maintain steady continuity of military
19 leadership, implement the National Defense Strategy with
20 emphasis on increasing the readiness and modernization of
21 the joint force, maintain and grow our network of allies and
22 partners, sustain great power peace in an era of great power
23 competition, and provide unwavering support, care, and
24 leadership to our troops and their families.

25 And finally, I have a deep sense of personal humility

1 and fully recognize the complexity of the United States
2 military and the world security situation. And I know that
3 I do not know all the answers. Therefore, I will be open to
4 a wide variety of expert opinions in order to form by best
5 military advice.

6 In closing, if confirmed, it would be my honor to serve
7 alongside these remarkable men and women as the 20th
8 Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

9 I thank you again for the opportunity to appear before
10 you, and I look forward to your questions.

11 [The prepared statement of General Milley follows:]

12 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, General Milley.

2 I think what we will do -- Senator Reed and I feel we
3 can start with 5-minute questions, and we are going to try
4 to adhere to that time frame because we have a lot of
5 interest here, as you can see by the presence of these
6 people.

7 I have got three things that I want to make sure that
8 we get out at the very beginning of the meeting.

9 First of all, I wish the entire country could read this
10 article from the "Economist." I know that you have seen it.
11 We talked about it in the office. But in that article, it
12 reports that China's military spending rose by 83 percent in
13 real terms between 2009 and 2018. At the same time frame,
14 between 2010 and 2015, our defense was actually cut just
15 under 25 percent.

16 Now, when you stop and think about that, we had a
17 similar experience a few years ago but not to this extreme.
18 We have seen the impact, as you have said before before this
19 committee last March. Our military advantage has eroded.
20 In some areas, China has passed us up.

21 You know, when you talk to the American people, there
22 is always this assumption that America has the very best of
23 everything. And this is pretty much true since World War
24 II. But it is not true anymore. And we are pulling out of
25 a -- I call it a slump, but we have areas like hypersonics,

1 the modern thing that we are all in competition with, and
2 there is some doubt as to whether or not we have come as far
3 as both China and Russia. We look at the advanced cruise
4 missiles. We look at some areas of our artificial
5 intelligence, and our readiness is devastated as well.

6 When you became Chief of Staff, only 5 percent of the
7 Army brigades were at the highest level of readiness. But
8 now we have improved a lot. We are up to 50 percent. You
9 might correct me if you think this is not accurate. But I
10 think that is significant.

11 So if we do not get a budget, a budget that will
12 support the growth, the growth that we have experienced in
13 fiscal years 2018 and 2019, it would be pretty devastating.

14 So I would like to start off with your sharing with us
15 what would happen in your mind if we are not able to get a
16 budget deal, if we had to go into a CR.

17 General Milley: Thank you, Chairman.

18 I think the impact would be significant. I think a CR
19 is --in the words of the NDS Commission, they said the word
20 "reckless." I think a CR has a very significant negative
21 impact on the training, manning, equipping, the readiness,
22 and modernization of the U.S. military.

23 Chairman Inhofe: You know, we have stressed this. We
24 are using our subcommittees where they are all chaired by --
25 with the ranking members and chairmen -- people with a real

1 interest in these areas. And I am pointing out the areas
2 when you look at the entire joint force across air, sea,
3 land, cyber, and space domains.

4 What current capabilities and emerging technologies are
5 you most concerned about relative to China and Russia?

6 General Milley: Well, candidly I think the number one
7 for me and number one stated for the Department of Defense
8 is the modernization and recapitalization of the nation's
9 nuclear triad. I think that is critical.

10 Secondly I would say is space. It is a new domain of
11 military operations. We have got a considerable amount of
12 both commercial and military capabilities in space. They
13 need to be protected and all of the technologies that go
14 with space.

15 In addition to that, I would say that artificial
16 intelligence and hypersonics -- and there is many, many
17 other technologies, but those two are at the top of my list
18 for putting modernization investment.

19 Chairman Inhofe: Back up to the triad, because there
20 are some with the idea that there is some unnecessary
21 redundance. Would you respond to that observation that some
22 people have made?

23 General Milley: Yes. My view is that the triad has
24 worked. I mean, there are many reasons why there has not
25 been a great power war since 1945. Clearly one of them is

1 nuclear deterrence, and part of that is the capability of
2 the triad. And each leg of the triad gives you a different
3 capability. So you got the bombers, the missiles, and the
4 subs. And the subs are going to give you an assured second
5 strike, and the missiles give you immediate reaction, and
6 the bombers give you a manned controlled delivery system.
7 So all three present different problem sets to any adversary
8 or enemy, and I think it is critically important to keep all
9 three.

10 Chairman Inhofe: Okay. The last thing I want to
11 mention is that we have a lot of vacancies right now. In
12 fact, you and I went over that from Secretary of Defense,
13 Deputy Secretary of Defense, Chief Management Officer. The
14 top 12 positions are vacant now. How much of a hardship is
15 that going to place on you? And do you join most of us up
16 here who feel we need to fill these positions?

17 General Milley: I think it is very important to fill
18 the nominated positions and get them through the system as
19 quickly as we can, properly vetted and confirmed. But
20 having a confirmed person in place I think clearly helps out
21 us in uniform, and it also clearly delineates -- you
22 mentioned civilian control of the military. I think it
23 reinforces that because the civilian oversight is of
24 critical importance, and they interface with Congress and
25 other interagencies. So I think filling those positions is

1 really important.

2 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

3 Senator Reed?

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

5 Again, thank you, General Milley, for your service and
6 for your willingness to serve again.

7 In your professional view, how would a military
8 conflict with Iran impact the priorities outlined in the
9 National Defense Strategy?

10 General Milley: I am sorry. I did not catch the first
11 part of that.

12 Senator Reed: Excuse me. In your professional view,
13 how would a military conflict with Iran impact the
14 priorities outlined in the National Defense Strategy?

15 General Milley: Sure. Well, the priorities in the
16 National Defense Strategy that is written -- and that is an
17 authoritative document for us within the Department of
18 Defense to follow. It clearly states that China and Russia,
19 our great power competition -- China and Russia are what we
20 should be looking at in terms of training, manning,
21 equipping, and preparing. But in addition to that, we have
22 to deal with North Korea and Iran and violent extremists.

23 But you mentioned a war with Iran. I do not know that
24 that would happen. But if it did happen, it would obviously
25 have a significant impact on the distribution of the force

1 relative to those other priorities.

2 Senator Reed: And in fact, almost inevitably we would
3 overtake those priorities because of the many factors, one,
4 the Americans in combat which we owe significant support to.
5 And also it seems almost repetitious of the experience that
6 we saw in Iraq where our resources were so consumed with
7 that fight that in many respects it gave the Russians and
8 Chinese an opportunity to sort of start building up their
9 forces. Is that a fairly accurate summary of what might
10 happen?

11 General Milley: That is a possible outcome absolutely.
12 Yes, Senator.

13 Senator Reed: Since the withdrawal from the JCPOA, has
14 Iran behaved in more or less a destabilizing manner?

15 General Milley: Iran has behaved -- they have always
16 been a malign actor. The Iranian terrorist organizations,
17 terrorist-supported organizations, killed my soldiers when I
18 was in Iraq. So they have been a malign actor for many,
19 many years not just since the withdrawal from the JCPOA.
20 But their intensity of malign activity I think has increased
21 since that event.

22 Senator Reed: And General Dunford commented in public
23 testimony that the withdrawal from JCPOA has damaged
24 cooperation with our allies and complicated our ability to
25 build a coalition necessary to counter Iranian malign

1 behavior, which you point out spans many decades. Is that
2 your view also?

3 General Milley: I would align myself with General
4 Dunford. That is correct.

5 Senator Reed: As I mentioned in my opening comments,
6 there is an issue of civilian military control which is
7 perennial within the Department of Defense. As I indicated,
8 as the chairman indicated, these vacancies have left really
9 some gaping holes in terms of just civilian presence in the
10 Department. The presumption -- we will fill these quickly.
11 We need the President to nominate qualified individuals.
12 Then we can fill them.

13 But even after that situation takes place, there is the
14 dynamic of making sure that civilian leadership are truly in
15 charge of the Department of Defense. Can you give us your
16 comments and thoughts about that, General Milley?

17 General Milley: Well, from the perspective of the
18 Chief of Staff of the Army, I did not -- I read the NDS
19 Commission comment on that. I did not see it in the Army.
20 I think we have very firm civilian control of the military
21 without question, and it has been a longstanding principle
22 since George Washington at Newburgh, New York established
23 that many, many decades ago. So no issue in terms of
24 civilian control of the military and a real sense of like we
25 would not do what we were told to do sort of thing.

1 But in terms of the effectiveness and the efficiency of
2 the Department, it would be much better to have the nominees
3 fully vetted and confirmed because that gives us much more
4 effectiveness in terms of dealing with our adversaries, our
5 allies, on the Hill, the American people, and so on and so
6 forth. So I am very much in favor of getting them through
7 the process and getting them confirmed.

8 Senator Reed: Invariably when we talk about any of the
9 issues that confront us, the serious issues, we talk about a
10 whole-of-government response, which reinforces the need,
11 first, as you have just indicated, to fill vacancies in the
12 Department of Defense, but also I will note that there seems
13 to be a significant number of vacancies in the State
14 Department and other areas which you work with on a day-to-
15 day basis. And in addition to filling vacancies, there also
16 has to be the appropriate allocation of responsibilities and
17 cooperation. And with the deficiency of personnel on both
18 sides, both State and other agencies and DOD, and with in
19 some cases a vacuum, if you will, of civilian leadership, do
20 you think there has to be kind of a conscious realignment of
21 the responsibilities and appropriate roles?

22 General Milley: I do not know if there needs to. I
23 would have to give that a considerable amount of thought to
24 think if there needs to be a roles and responsibilities
25 realignment. But I do think that across the board in the

1 interagency, it would help if we had a full-up bench of
2 confirmed nominees. That would definitely help.

3 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, sir.

4 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Wicker?

5 Senator Wicker: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 General Milley, thank you for your service. I think
7 you are the man for the job. You are signing on at a
8 pivotal moment in the history of our country, and I
9 appreciate you doing that.

10 Let me refer back to the article from the June 29th
11 issue of the "Economist." And, Mr. Chairman, if it is all
12 right, I would like unanimous consent to insert into the
13 record at this point the article that you mentioned too
14 called "Army Dreamers" on page 36 and page 37.

15 Chairman Inhofe: Without objection.

16 [The information referred to follows:]

17 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Wicker: In addition to what the chair
2 mentioned, General Milley, this article -- in referring to
3 the 83 percent increase in military spending in China, the
4 article said the splurge had enabled China to deploy
5 precision missiles and anti-satellite weapons that challenge
6 American supremacy in the Western Pacific. Do you agree
7 with that statement?

8 General Milley: I do.

9 Senator Wicker: So it is not an overstatement made by
10 the press.

11 General Milley: No, I do not think so. I think China
12 has, for going on 30-35 years now, embarked upon to what
13 they refer to openly in the media in their speeches is the
14 China dream, and that is to be at least a peer competitor, a
15 world-class military, with the United States military by the
16 mid-2030s. And they will have the capability to defeat us
17 by mid-century. So they are moving out on that in all the
18 domains and all the different capabilities.

19 Senator Wicker: And, indeed, the article says what you
20 have just said about mid-century.

21 And I want to commend the chairman and the ranking
22 member for repeatedly emphasizing that we are guided by this
23 national assessment and recommendations to the National
24 Defense Strategy Commission. And let me quote to you from
25 page 30 of that statement. The contrast between Chinese and

1 American investments in technology and manufacturing is
2 stark. Since the enactment of the BCA in 2011, the United
3 States has lost roughly 17,000 prime defense vendors because
4 of a lack of sufficient and predictable funding for defense.
5 That is a correct statement. Is it not, General?

6 General Milley: I believe it is. I have faith in that
7 report's data.

8 Senator Wicker: More broadly, an estimated 60,000
9 factories have closed as China's own national security
10 innovation base has grown markedly. The cumulative result
11 has been to significantly diminish the superiority in
12 innovation manufacturing that has been long been critical to
13 America's military edge. So this is not some alarmist.
14 This is a bunch of our top defense and national security
15 strategists. And I am again heartened by the fact that the
16 chair and the ranking member are guided by this.

17 We passed a National Defense Authorization Act, and we
18 did so by 86 to 7. If we get through a conference and send
19 that to the President's desk but do not pass a defense
20 appropriation bill, what will be the effect of that, General
21 Milley?

22 General Milley: I believe it will have very negative
23 and significant effect in terms of training, manning, and
24 equipping. I think you are going to have issues with
25 procurement, new starts, and delays of acceleration of

1 programs that are already there. I think your research,
2 development, science, technology, the modernization we are
3 talking about to face the challenge of China in the future
4 or any other country in the future -- I think all of those
5 will be negatively impacted unless we get the full budget
6 passed.

7 Senator Wicker: All of those things stop in their
8 tracks November the 1st because it is against the law.

9 General Milley: That is right.

10 Senator Wicker: Now, say, let us have a 1-month CR.
11 Some people might feel that is just a continuation of level
12 funding for a 30-day period so we can get things worked out.
13 There is way more to it than that. Is that correct, General
14 Milley?

15 General Milley: There is more to it than that. And in
16 addition to the tangible effects, things like training,
17 manning, and equipping, there are intangible effects like
18 the message it sends not only to adversaries and allies but
19 also to the soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines that are
20 out there. Those are also negative impacts.

21 Senator Wicker: And when we then finally get an
22 appropriation bill -- and I certainly hope this does not
23 happen. I hope we can be the governing bipartisan adults
24 that we need to be. We get back to finally an appropriation
25 bill. There is a cost to getting back to normal. Is there

1 not?

2 General Milley: That is correct. We are not going to
3 dig ourselves out of a hole after 2 or 3 years of healthy
4 budgets after 10 or 15 years of decline. So this has to be
5 a sustained, predictable, adequate, and timely funding over
6 time. And it is very difficult. It is very expensive. I
7 recognize that. But the cost of not doing it is much more
8 expensive.

9 Senator Wicker: Thank you, sir.

10 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Shaheen?

11 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 And thank you, General Milley, to you and your family
13 for being willing to consider taking on this difficult
14 challenge at a time when there is so much going on in the
15 world and the role of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs is so
16 important.

17 I want to just pick up on what Senator Wicker said
18 because I think the understanding that all of us have is
19 that it is very important that we get a budget agreement.
20 So I hope the message goes out to the leadership of the
21 House and Senate and to the White House that we need a
22 budget agreement and that means compromising and that
23 everybody has got to give a little in order to do that. So
24 I want to share the concern that Senator Wicker is raising.

25 I also want to go back to the comments of both the

1 chair and ranking member about the openings that currently
2 exist within the Department of Defense. As you and I have
3 discussed, that sends a very negative message to the men and
4 women who are serving in our military and a message to our
5 adversaries about the commitment we have and about the
6 opportunities that might exist for them given the vacancies
7 within the Department of Defense. So I am pleased to hear
8 your commitment to doing everything you can to make sure
9 that those vacancies are filled in as timely a fashion as
10 possible.

11 When you and I met in my office last month, one of the
12 things that we discussed was the issue of ISIS detainees in
13 Syria. This is something that I am concerned about for two
14 reasons, one, because as you may remember, James Foley who
15 was murdered by ISIS terrorists who are suspected to be
16 called the Beatles now. He was a constituent of mine, and
17 so I have followed very closely what has gone with these two
18 detainees who are currently in Syria.

19 But I think it is also a broader issue because we have
20 hundreds and thousands of ISIS fighters who are being
21 detained, many of them foreign fighters whose future is
22 unclear and it is not clear who is going to be responsible
23 for detaining them and what happens to them and what
24 potential threat they could pose to Europe, to the United
25 States, and to the Middle East if they are released.

1 One of the things that is included in the Senate-passed
2 defense bill is an interagency ISIS detainee coordination
3 position to help focus on the situation with detainees. If
4 confirmed, will you commit to doing everything you can to
5 ensure that this new position is properly resourced and that
6 it gets the attention that this issue needs?

7 General Milley: I will do that. And I do want to just
8 take a moment. James Foley was a -- that was a horrible,
9 brutal act, and the people who did it were -- many of them--
10 held accountable, but that is not complete yet. But he is
11 close to our heart. And yes, I will commit absolutely to
12 make sure that that is fully resourced.

13 Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you very much, General
14 Milley, for your comments. I think one of the things that
15 we have heard from the families loud and clear is that they
16 would like to see those people responsible for the murders
17 not just of James Foley but of Steven Sotloff, Peter Kassig,
18 and Kayla Mueller brought back to the United States, tried
19 and see justice for their loved ones. So I think one of the
20 things that hopefully this coordinator position can do is to
21 help make that happen.

22 I want to switch to another topic. As you may be
23 aware, at this point there have been no on-camera briefings
24 at the Pentagon for more than 300 days. I think the
25 American public is very supportive of our men and women in

1 uniform. I think they believe in our military and in its
2 mission, but I think they also need to better understand and
3 know what is happening at the Pentagon. And to the extent
4 that there is no opportunity to provide that information, to
5 provide some transparency, the public is not able to get the
6 information they need.

7 So I do not know if you can tell us why it has been so
8 long since we have had any on-camera briefings. So I would
9 ask you that first and then ask you if you will do
10 everything you can to try and ensure that there are regular
11 opportunities for the public to engage and members of the
12 press to engage with someone from the Pentagon who can
13 answer questions for the public.

14 General Milley: I do not know why, and I did not even
15 realize it was that many days. But I would commit to you
16 that if I am confirmed, I commit to transparency within the
17 bounds of classification and will do media on-the-record,
18 off-the-record briefings and so on. The American people
19 have a right to know what their military is doing within the
20 bounds of classification, and the media is the means by
21 which they do that.

22 Senator Shaheen: Thank you very much.

23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

25 Senator Fischer?

1 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Welcome, General Milley. Good to see you.

3 I appreciated your statement that you gave in response
4 to the committee's advance policy questions that you view
5 nuclear modernization as the Department's top modernization
6 priority, as well as the support that you expressed for
7 maintaining the triad, which you reiterated to the chairman
8 today, and also pursuing supplemental capabilities such as
9 the low-yield ballistic missile warhead.

10 Despite the significant amount of testimony that this
11 committee has received on the need for the low-yield
12 warhead, critics continue to assert that our current arsenal
13 of low-yield options is sufficient, and the supplemental
14 capability is not necessary. How would you respond to that
15 argument?

16 General Milley: The Department of Defense did a
17 detailed NPR, Nuclear Posture Review, and in there the
18 recommendation put in the budget is the development of low-
19 yield nuclear capabilities. I think it is an important
20 capability to have in our arsenal in order to deal with any
21 potential adversaries or contingency operations.

22 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

23 Opponents of nuclear modernization often argue that
24 when we go through this modernization process, it diverts
25 resources away from other requirements and that we cannot

1 afford to modernize both our conventional forces and also
2 our nuclear forces at the same time. I think this is a
3 false choice and that, as former Secretary Mattis put it,
4 America can afford survival.

5 Do you share those views?

6 General Milley: 110 percent, absolutely.

7 Senator Fischer: With Secretary Mattis?

8 General Milley: Yes. We can afford survival and we
9 have to. It is imperative that we modernize and maintain
10 the readiness and modernize both the conventional and the
11 strategic forces. No question about it.

12 Senator Fischer: And in his last appearance before
13 this committee, General Dunford and I discussed the argument
14 that we can rely on non-nuclear capabilities in place of
15 nuclear weapons without diminishing our ability to deter
16 adversaries or to assure our allies. And he dismissed that
17 idea.

18 Do you agree with him that nuclear and non-nuclear
19 capabilities are not comparable and this notion of
20 substituting one for the other is unwise?

21 General Milley: They are absolutely not comparable.
22 They are complementary but not comparable and they cannot
23 substitute each other.

24 Senator Fischer: You and I visited about some of the
25 disasters that Nebraska has gone through recently due to

1 flooding that we saw in March, also with blizzards in the
2 western part of the State. Right now we are seeing more
3 flooding in the central part of Nebraska as well.

4 As you know, Offutt Air Force Base is in Nebraska.
5 Also Camp Ashland is in Nebraska. That is a National Guard
6 camp that serves as a training facility for the guard
7 throughout the country. We were able to come together to
8 pass a disaster supplemental to begin the process of
9 rebuilding. This did not cover, obviously, all the costs
10 associated with repairing these facilities and much still
11 needs to be done. There is also damage to other facilities
12 like Tindall Air Force Base, also Camp Lejeune. This is
13 going to be a long process to be able to get through and
14 rebuild this military infrastructure.

15 I would ask you, do I have your commitment that you
16 will work with me so that we can continue this process of
17 rebuilding these facilities in a timely manner?

18 General Milley: Absolutely. And you and all of the
19 Senators in the various States have had impact of very
20 severe weather conditions. You absolutely have my
21 commitment to help rebuild those facilities.

22 Senator Fischer: I think we need to always keep that
23 in mind. I appreciate your focus on that. Once we put
24 things off, as I have learned in my time here in the Senate,
25 you put it off and it deteriorates pretty quickly. We need

1 to make a commitment. Thank you, General.

2 General Milley: Thank you, Senator.

3 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

4 Senator Hirono?

5 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 General Milley, thank you for your 39 years of service
7 to our country and your willingness to continue in this very
8 important position for which you are nominated.

9 As part of my responsibilities as a member of all the
10 committees that I sit on, I ask all nominees the following
11 two questions.

12 Since you became a legal adult, have you ever made
13 unwanted requests for sexual favors or committed any verbal
14 or physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature?

15 General Milley: No.

16 Senator Hirono: Have you ever faced discipline or
17 entered into a settlement related to this kind of conduct?

18 General Milley: No.

19 Senator Hirono: As Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of
20 Staff, it is your role to be the principal military advisor
21 to the President, assisting the President and the Secretary
22 of Defense and providing for the strategic direction of the
23 armed services. As you know, this is a critical role with
24 the turmoil that we are experiencing throughout the world.
25 Under what conditions would you resign from your position if

1 your advice and counsel on major policy issues were not
2 being heeded?

3 General Milley: I think it would be a function of
4 something that was illegal, unethical, or immoral. That is
5 what I have been brought up with since I was a second
6 lieutenant, and that would probably be cause for
7 resignation.

8 Senator Hirono: Illegal, unethical, or?

9 General Milley: Immoral.

10 Senator Hirono: Immoral.

11 Illegal is relatively clear, but unethical or immoral
12 requires you to make some kind of a personal judgment as to
13 how you can best serve.

14 General Milley: Absolutely.

15 Senator Hirono: Some military conflicts face known as
16 a gray zone. It refers to the conceptual space in which
17 countries take actions that lie somewhere on the continuum
18 between warfare and peaceful relations. It is a space that
19 Russia and China appreciate and exploit.

20 How should the U.S. counteract Russian gray zone
21 activities across the globe, and what capabilities does the
22 U.S. need to effectively respond to these types of
23 activities in the gray zone?

24 General Milley: The term "gray zone," of course, is
25 referring to asymmetric capabilities that are operating

1 below the level of outright armed conflict. And that
2 happens every single day actually. And the capabilities
3 that we are going to need to develop and maintain and
4 sustain, many of which we already have, are cyber
5 capabilities, our intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance
6 capabilities, our information operations capabilities, and
7 our special operations capabilities. There are many
8 conventional capabilities in the Navy, Air Force, Marines,
9 Army that are also useful in those capacities, but those are
10 the principal ones that I would want to make sure that we
11 sustain and invest in.

12 Senator Hirono: And are we putting enough resources
13 into these tools?

14 General Milley: I think in the proposed budget, it is
15 balanced, but I would like to see more in terms of some of
16 the higher technologies for the research and development and
17 to set the conditions for the 2030s and beyond. Things like
18 artificial intelligence I think will become critical in that
19 particular area.

20 Senator Hirono: In January 2019, the Supreme Court
21 issued an order allowing DOD to implement this
22 administration's policy prohibiting some transgender persons
23 from joining the military, and this new DOD policy took
24 effect on April 13, 2019.

25 Are you implementing this policy?

1 General Milley: We are.

2 Senator Hirono: If so, how? How are you identifying
3 those persons to whom this policy should apply?

4 General Milley: Well, there are two categories. One
5 is if they are in service and the other is if they want to
6 come in service, accessions.

7 So, first of all, it is not a ban because a person from
8 civil society can try to come into the military and become a
9 soldier, sailor, airman, or marine, and when they enter into
10 the process, they will go through medical and physical
11 exams, et cetera. If they identify as transgender, then
12 they can apply for a waiver if they have gender dysphoria,
13 which is a medical condition. And that waiver, like all the
14 other medical waivers that we grant, will be evaluated by
15 medical professionals to determine if they meet the
16 standards to come in.

17 And if you are in service, same thing. If you are in
18 service and identified and had your gender markers changed
19 prior to 12 April, then you have been grandfathered and you
20 can continue to serve.

21 Senator Hirono: So basically it is already hard enough
22 to recruit people since so many of the young people do not--
23 some 75 percent of our young people do not even qualify to
24 join any of our services. So I would think that the major
25 concern would be whether they meet the medical standards and

1 the other criteria.

2 Were it not for the fact that the President imposed
3 this policy, would you be implementing such a policy?

4 General Milley: I think that in my view, we are a
5 standards-based military, as you point out. And we are
6 concerned about the deployability and the effectiveness of
7 any of the service members. And so if you meet the medical,
8 behavioral health, the conduct standards and the physical
9 standards, et cetera, then it is my view that you should be
10 welcomed in and --

11 Senator Hirono: So that sounds like a yes because as
12 long as -- there is nothing inherent in a person who is
13 transgender that would prohibit this person from being able
14 to serve in the military.

15 General Milley: I do not believe there is anything
16 inherent in anyone's identity to prevent them from serving
17 in the military. It is about standards, not an identity.

18 Senator Hirono: Thank you for that.

19 I have some other questions to add that relate to
20 sexual assault and what you are going to do to continue to
21 address the scourge of sexual assault in the military and
22 our academies. And I just would like to have your
23 commitment that you will continue to focus on what we need
24 to do in this area.

25 General Milley: It is an incredibly difficult and

1 complex problem. You have a 110 percent commitment. And I
2 believe that the solution ultimately resides with the
3 commanders and the commanders applying and enforcing good
4 order and discipline standards and being held accountable to
5 those.

6 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

7 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Cotton?

8 Senator Cotton: Thank you, General Milley. Thank you,
9 Mrs. Milley, for your service to our nation.

10 Let us continue along this line of questioning about
11 standards for senior officers. You said you would be
12 compelled to resign if you were asked to do something
13 illegal, unethical, or immoral. That is consistent probably
14 with the oath you took as a second lieutenant not to obey
15 orders that were illegal. Correct?

16 General Milley: That is absolutely correct.

17 Senator Cotton: Those are the standards we expect for
18 every officer in contrast to our enlisted who do take an
19 oath to obey orders of those appointed above them, unlike
20 officers who we expect to have a higher standard.

21 General Milley: Frankly, I would expect any soldier,
22 sailor, airman, and marine regardless of rank not to obey an
23 illegal, immoral, or unethical order, even at the risk of
24 their own life.

25 Senator Cotton: That is different from an unwise or

1 ill-advised order. Correct?

2 General Milley: Very much different than ill-advised,
3 absolutely. It is the Nuremberg standard. You cannot hide
4 behind "I was ordered to do it."

5 Senator Cotton: So what the President should expect
6 from you, what the Secretary of Defense should expect from
7 you, what the nation expects from you is you always give
8 your best professional military judgment.

9 General Milley: That is correct. Always.

10 Senator Cotton: And that you will then implement
11 lawful orders even if you disagree with them personally or
12 think they might be ill-advised.

13 General Milley: Absolutely.

14 Senator Cotton: Is there any Department in the
15 government where that is more important that it be done?

16 General Milley: I will render best military advice,
17 and there is no Department more important I think than the
18 Department of Defense to execute orders if they are legal,
19 moral, and ethical. The American people elected civilian
20 control of the military. We will provide our advice. We
21 will provide course of action. We will talk about risk and
22 consequences and so on and so forth. When the decision-
23 maker makes a decision, it is our job to execute.

24 Senator Cotton: Probably a little more room for debate
25 at the USDA than there is at the Department of Defense.

1 Let us move back to what Senator Reed said earlier
2 about Iran. He is worried about any kind of military action
3 against Iran distracting from our peer competitors, with
4 Russia and China. And he compared that to the war in Iraq
5 for the last 16 years where we had, I think, at the height
6 150,000 troops on the ground occupying that nation.

7 Are you aware of anyone in the government who is
8 recommending 150,000 troops in Iran?

9 General Milley: I would prefer not to discuss
10 contingency operations in an open session. But, no, I do
11 not think anyone is seriously considering anything
12 approaching what you just discussed.

13 Senator Cotton: And you said that theoretically any
14 kind of military action against Iran if, say, they struck a
15 manned American aircraft or U.S. Navy ship or even impeded
16 American shipping the way they tried to impede British
17 shipping yesterday could in theory distract.

18 Did the operations we conducted against Syria in 2017
19 or 2018 distract against our efforts in Russia and China?

20 General Milley: I think it is always a question of
21 balance and supply and demand and the amount of forces that
22 you have and the distribution of those forces around the
23 world relative to the priorities you set.

24 Specific to Syria, the numbers were relatively low in
25 Syria. So, no, I do not think they had a significant

1 negative impact for operations.

2 Senator Cotton: Or what about the kind of operation we
3 conducted against Libya in 1986 for a terrorist bombing
4 against American troops or even conducting against Iran for
5 striking an American frigate? Operations on those scales --
6 are they likely to distract against our efforts from --

7 General Milley: Those were very limited single-strike
8 type operations, and those would not have a significant
9 impact on the main effort of China or Russia or --

10 Senator Cotton: Yes, I would tend to agree with that.
11 And the suggestion that anyone is calling for 150,000 troops
12 in Iran and it is going to distract from Russia and China is
13 a straw man.

14 Let us move to nuclear arms control. New START is
15 going to be coming up on your tenure. Do you think it is
16 wise to continue bilateral nuclear arms control agreements
17 with Russia when China in many ways is a greater strategic
18 threat than Russia is? Should China be involved in the next
19 round of New START negotiations if we are going to extend
20 New START?

21 General Milley: As a general matter of principle, I am
22 in favor of arms control agreements or anything that lessens
23 the threats and hazard to the international environment.
24 But having said that, you have to have reliable partners to
25 have any kind of arms control agreement.

1 Specific to the New START agreement, that does not run
2 out, I think, until 2021, 2022. And frankly, if I am
3 confirmed, I need to get with the State Department and the
4 negotiators and the various people in the Department of
5 Defense, et cetera to make sure that I understand all the
6 nuances of that particular agreement and to determine
7 whether or not there should be a 5-year extension or not.
8 So a little bit more study, and I will have to get back to
9 you on it.

10 Senator Cotton: And I would simply add for the record
11 as well to consider Russia's more than 10-to-1 advantage in
12 non-strategic nuclear weapons being a part of the next round
13 of those negotiations too.

14 Thank you, General.

15 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Peters?

16 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

17 And, General Milley, thank you for being here. Thank
18 you for your service, as well as for your family's shared
19 commitment to service over many years. It is very much
20 appreciated.

21 General Milley, I am the ranking member of the Emerging
22 Threats and Capabilities Subcommittee, and earlier this
23 week, we held a hearing on Russia and China's expanding
24 influence in the SOUTHCOM AOR. At the hearing, SOUTHCOM
25 Commander Admiral Faller stressed the importance of

1 interagency collaboration with international development
2 resources like USAID.

3 It was clear in the hearing, as well as what we know
4 generally, that poverty, corruption, and violence are among
5 the leading drivers of migration that we see here in the
6 western hemisphere and also that these factors are also
7 contributing to creating a space by which China and Russia
8 can start engaging in influence operations in Latin America
9 as well.

10 My question for you, as the principal military advisor
11 to the President, how would you recommend we utilize
12 international development programs to strengthen U.S.
13 security issues, particularly in the western hemisphere?

14 General Milley: I have traveled many, many times
15 throughout Central America and South America, et cetera.
16 Regardless of region, I think the U.S. foreign assistance
17 programs are important to achieve U.S. interests but also to
18 help nations establish some sense of stability within the
19 confines of their country.

20 Specific to the area you are talking about, these
21 countries are plagued with significant poverty, significant
22 violence, corruption, and so on and so forth. And that
23 drives in many ways the push factors for people to immigrate
24 that we see at the southwest border.

25 So I think it is a security imperative, and I agree

1 with Admiral Faller that we probably need to do a little bit
2 more with respect to some of the countries down there and
3 help them and their internal security situation.

4 Senator Peters: So the fact that the Trump
5 administration has decided to cut foreign aid to the
6 Northern Triangle countries is something that you would
7 advise that he should reconsider?

8 General Milley: Well, I have to take a look at the
9 type of foreign aid and exactly what we are talking about
10 specific to those countries and its measures of
11 effectiveness, and then make my recommendation to the
12 President at that time.

13 Senator Peters: General, in your opening comments, you
14 stressed the importance of allies and how important that is
15 to our national security. I am concerned about the current
16 relationship that we have with many of our allies, and that
17 concern is, I think, warranted given what we have seen from
18 this administration. And I agree with you. I think we have
19 to build strong coalitions in order to be strong. We cannot
20 go into activities alone. We are strong together. And any
21 actions that we take in the Middle East, for example, to
22 deter Iranian aggression, whether it is diplomatic or it is
23 military, will require a strong coalition.

24 And with Iran recently breaching the limits of its
25 stockpile of uranium that was set by an international accord

1 that you are very aware of which the United States decided
2 to abandon and now that Iran is raising the enrichment level
3 of some of its stockpiles above the purity required for
4 civilian use, I think it is probably more imperative than
5 ever that we have a united front and we work to do that.

6 Given what has been happening in the Straits of Hormuz,
7 I have a specific question for you, General. A recent "New
8 York Times" article stated the current Chairman, General
9 Dunford, is proceeding with plans to assemble a coalition of
10 nations aimed at deterring what he called Iranian threats to
11 shipping in the Persian Gulf, which of course are very
12 evident.

13 Have you been participating in this process to build
14 this coalition, and could you provide us an update on what
15 is happening? And if confirmed, what would you do to
16 strengthen those coalitions in the region?

17 General Milley: I am aware of the developments in the
18 negotiations. I have not been a personal participant in
19 those as the Chief of Staff of the Army, but I am aware as a
20 member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. That primarily is
21 being done by the Chairman and the Joint Staff, along with
22 the State Department and the Department of Defense in
23 coordination with Central Command.

24 Senator Peters: I would like to, in the remaining time
25 here, hear some thoughts on how you would continue to

1 prepare for multi-domain operations. Under your leadership,
2 you authorized the development of MDO for the U.S. Army's
3 multi-domain operations. I know the Army has stood up a
4 multi-domain task force pilot program and will bring this
5 forward.

6 Could you share some lessons learned from your efforts
7 of the Army and how you intend to incorporate some of that
8 across all of the services, if confirmed?

9 General Milley: I will. The multi-domain operations
10 is really a concept at this point. It is not yet doctrine.
11 I expect it to be doctrine within perhaps a year or 2 for
12 the Army. And what it fundamentally is saying is that
13 ground forces, air and naval forces, all of us, are going to
14 have to operate in what we think are now the five domains of
15 space, cyber, ground, air, and maritime all at the same time
16 in order to achieve advantage over an enemy. And it is
17 very, very complicated and very difficult and a challenge
18 for commanders to do that. So we are looking at both not
19 only the doctrine but the organization and the equipment
20 that is going to be needed to operate in all those five
21 domains of warfare.

22 We have got an experimental unit called the multi-
23 domain task force operating in the Pacific right now. We
24 stood up another one that is going to operate in Europe. So
25 these are experiments, prototypes that we are trying to draw

1 some lessons learned. So the key lessons learned we have
2 got so far is the likelihood, the probability of a much
3 greater increase in dispersion and decentralized operations
4 in the event of a war against a near-peer competitor.
5 Another one is the vulnerability of a network, the
6 communications command and control, communication network.
7 We have got to do a lot more to make those more resilient,
8 and there are many, many other lessons learned. I can give
9 you a detailed briefing on that if you would like at a later
10 time.

11 Senator Peters: I would look forward to that. Thank
12 you, General.

13 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

14 Senator Sullivan?

15 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 And, General, congratulations and thank you for your
17 service and your wife and family. And I also appreciate
18 your acknowledgement of General Dunford's service. I agree
19 with you on the exceptional job that he has done. You have
20 big shoes to fill, but I certainly believe you are the
21 officer to do so.

22 I just want to comment very quickly. I was not going
23 to do it, but my colleagues on the other side of the aisle
24 have talked about these vacancies. I agree we need to fill
25 the vacancies, but none of them have mentioned the

1 unprecedented obstruction that they have undertaken under
2 Senator Schumer's leadership to block and put 30 hours of
3 debate on almost every Trump administration nominee. So let
4 us do this. Let us get the vacancies filled, but let us
5 quit the obstruction. I think that is a good way to work
6 through this. But it is an issue that does not get enough
7 attention.

8 The issue that Chairman Inhofe also raised, which I
9 think is an important one, with regard to readiness, he
10 mentioned 5 percent of the brigade combat teams -- I think
11 it was 3 out of 58 -- were at the highest level of readiness
12 in 2015 when you took over. You have done an outstanding
13 job of digging out of that hole by the Obama administration
14 and sequestration when we cut defense spending by 25 percent
15 from 2010 to 2015.

16 General, I know you have read this book, "This Kind of
17 War," by T.R. Fehrenbach. Can you talk to me about just
18 what you see with regard to what was in this book
19 highlighting how thousands of American soldiers were killed
20 and wounded in the summer of 1950 because of the lack of
21 readiness and training? And if confirmed, will you commit
22 to this committee to make sure we never get near that level
23 of a lack of readiness that killed so many of our soldiers
24 that summer?

25 General Milley: Thanks, Senator.

1 That book is a wonderful book to read and there are
2 many others on the Korean War. And you may or may not know
3 it, but General Dunford's father fought in the Korean War
4 and was a Marine veteran at the Chosin Reservoir. And that
5 first summer was a horrible experience as we came out of
6 World War II in 1945, and between 1945 and 1950, we went
7 from the greatest military in the world of something like 8
8 million to 10 million soldiers and 50,000 aircraft and so on
9 and so forth and then ripped ourselves apart in a very short
10 period of time, in 5 years, so that when the summer of 1950
11 comes around, we deployed forces. And of course, the first
12 force was an Army Task Force Smith. And it is tragic. It
13 is horrific from July all the way to December.

14 Senator Sullivan: Lack of training, lack of funding.

15 General Milley: Lack of training, lack of funding,
16 lack of readiness, equipment, ammunition, and all of that
17 stuff led to the deaths of tens of thousands of American
18 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines. It should never
19 happen again. It has been drilled into all of us since we
20 were lieutenants never to let that happen.

21 Senator Sullivan: Well, I commend you for your focus
22 on that and ask you to make sure all your civilian and
23 military counterparts have read this book when they come
24 under your command. But I do want to get your commitment
25 with regard to training -- there is sometimes pressure for

1 you to reduce the levels of training -- that you will commit
2 to this committee to keep the highest standards of training
3 for our military. Can I get your commitment on that, if
4 confirmed?

5 General Milley: Yes, sir.

6 Senator Sullivan: As you and I have discussed, there
7 are two areas where I believe the Pentagon has not focused
8 enough of its attention to key strategic areas: our force
9 posture in the Asia-Pacific and the strategic great power
10 competition taking place in the Arctic. If confirmed, will
11 you work with this committee? We have a provision in this
12 year's NDAA to look at our force posture in the Asia-Pacific
13 to make it fit with the great power competition, the
14 National Defense Strategy, and the rise of China.

15 General Milley: I will. If confirmed, I will
16 absolutely take a look at it. It is a critical region. The
17 same thing with the Arctic, by the way. I think we need to
18 really take a hard look at the Arctic as to what is
19 happening.

20 Senator Sullivan: Let me just talk about that for a
21 minute. You know, there is almost daily headlines. Mr.
22 Chairman, I would like to submit this for the record.

23 [The information referred to follows:]

24 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

25

1 Senator Sullivan: Just in the last 3 months, there
2 have been several articles about the expanding Russian and
3 China influence in the Arctic. Secretary Pompeo gave an
4 excellent speech recently at the Arctic Council about the
5 great power competition. Even as you and I just briefly
6 talked about in today's "Defense One," Admiral Foggo puts an
7 article in that paper on the Arctic about the Russian
8 buildup of ports, airfields. And yet, a provision in this
9 year's NDAA to simply have a port in the Arctic in America
10 that could handle a destroyer -- pretty simple -- was
11 opposed by the Pentagon.

12 Can I get your commitment, if confirmed, to work with
13 us to make sure we are not lacking from a strategic military
14 perspective in the Arctic?

15 General Milley: You have my commitment, Senator.

16 Senator Sullivan: Let me ask one final question,
17 General. By next year, Alaska is going to have over 100
18 fifth generation fighters. This is in part because of what
19 Billy Mitchell said many years ago when he was an Army
20 general that Alaska is the most strategic place in the
21 world.

22 Despite this build up of 100 fifth gen fighters, we
23 have tanker fleets there that are over 50 years old. The
24 Air Force is looking at their OCONUS deployment of KC-46's.
25 If confirmed, will you work with this committee to look at

1 what I think is a very obvious place to put new KC-46's is
2 in the place that is the most strategic in the world with
3 100 fifth gen fighters? That would be Eileson Air Force
4 Base. Can I get your commitment to work with the committee
5 on that?

6 General Milley: If confirmed, I will definitely work
7 with that and look at it and make my recommendations.
8 Absolutely.

9 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

10 Chairman Inhofe: Senator King?

11 Senator King: Upholding the legacy of Chairman McCain,
12 I have to point out to the Senator from Alaska that Billy
13 Mitchell was court martialed.

14 [Laughter.]

15 Senator Sullivan: But I think it was rescinded later.

16 Senator King: Also in connection with the question of
17 nominations, I have recently become aware that there are
18 some 16 vacancies in the Department of Defense at senior
19 levels that have not been nominated. There is no
20 obstruction of somebody that has not been nominated. The
21 failure here in terms of the leadership of the Department of
22 Defense is not with the Congress. We have to have nominated
23 candidates. And as you know, we have a series of vacancies.
24 I can understand your frustration on some other areas, but
25 this is not one of them where the Congress is causing any

1 slowdown in terms of the filling of these vacancies.

2 General Milley, given the risks that you have
3 articulated and that the National Defense Strategy
4 articulates, I consider your job the second most important
5 in the United States Government because we are living in a
6 dangerous world. And your position as principal advisor to
7 the President in a time of heightened international tension
8 and risk is incredibly significant and important.

9 You know what my question is going to be. What is it?
10 Guess what my next question will be.

11 General Milley: Probably the same one you asked me
12 when I was nominated to be the Chief. Are you going to be
13 intimidated?

14 Senator King: That is the question. What is the
15 answer?

16 General Milley: Absolutely not by no one ever. I will
17 give my best military advice. It will be candid. It will
18 be honest. It will be rigorous. It will be thorough. And
19 that is what I will do every single time.

20 Senator King: And I believe that. But I think it is
21 very important to emphasize the Oval Office is an
22 intimidating place. The President of the United States is
23 the most powerful leader in the free world. And to be
24 willing to say, Mr. President, you are wrong about this or
25 this is the consequences, if it is something that he or she

1 does not want to hear is just -- there is no more important
2 responsibility in your career that you will have had to make
3 that statement. I have confidence that you will do that.
4 You said to me 4 years ago no one intimidates you, and I
5 believe that. But I just want to refresh your recollection
6 on that point.

7 General Milley: Senator -- and I would say it applies
8 to General Dunford and most of us who have seen a lot of
9 combat. We have buried these soldiers. Arlington is full
10 of our comrades. And we understand absolutely full well the
11 hazards of our chosen profession, and we know what this is
12 about. And we are not going to be intimidated into making
13 stupid decisions. We will give our best military advice
14 regardless of consequences to ourselves.

15 Senator King: Thank you, General. That is reassuring,
16 and I have confidence that that is the case.

17 Let us move to a more specific question about
18 Afghanistan. I have been hearing for years on this
19 committee -- for a while, there was a debate about a
20 calendar-based withdrawal and conditions-based withdrawal.
21 What conditions do you see that would justify a withdrawal
22 from Afghanistan? When do we call it enough is enough?

23 General Milley: I think that the war in Afghanistan,
24 at least the American participation in the war in
25 Afghanistan, comes to an end when our interests are met, and

1 I think that will be met through a negotiated settlement
2 with the Taliban. And I think we are seeing some progress.
3 I think some of that was reported just recently from
4 Ambassador Khalilzad. So I think it is slow. It is
5 painful. It is hard. I spent a lot of my life in
6 Afghanistan. But I also think it is necessary. We went to
7 Afghanistan for a single purpose, to make sure it never
8 again becomes a platform for a terrorist strike in the
9 United States of America like 9/11. There has not been one,
10 and we have been successful to date. It is hard, though,
11 but I think the conditions at the end of the day will be a
12 negotiated settlement with the Taliban.

13 Senator King: Do you believe that the continued
14 presence of American forces is a predicate to those
15 successful negotiations?

16 General Milley: Absolutely. I think it underwrites
17 those.

18 Senator King: So if we pulled out prematurely, it
19 would undermine the possibility of a successful negotiation.

20 General Milley: I think pulling out prematurely would
21 be a strategic mistake.

22 Senator King: Similar opinion in Iraq and Syria?

23 General Milley: Different conditions, different
24 situation. In Syria, we have been very successful and
25 destroyed the geography of the physical entity of the

1 caliphate, the proto-state. But the organization of ISIS,
2 the ideology of ISIS is not yet fully --

3 Senator King: It is still there.

4 General Milley: So there is a modest amount of
5 capability that needs to remain there. And the same thing
6 with Iraq in order to maintain stability in Iraq.

7 Senator King: General, thank you for your testimony.
8 Thank you for your service. I do not think there is anyone
9 that I have met in my work here that I have more confidence
10 in in the position that you are about to embark upon.
11 Congratulations and thank you.

12 General Milley: Thank you, Senator.

13 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Purdue?

14 Senator Purdue: General, thank you for being willing
15 to do this, and thank you for your career.

16 I would like to go back to something the chairman
17 mentioned right up front and you and I have talked about
18 privately both in this confirmation and in your prior one.
19 General Mattis said the greatest threat to national security
20 is the federal debt. And you talk about that a consistent
21 funding of the military and the dependence upon that could
22 make a dramatic improvement not only in readiness but in
23 moving to a new National Defense Strategy.

24 Yet, there are some who are talking about a 1-year CR
25 right now for next year. And it looks to me like there are

1 several ramifications. I would like to add a little more
2 color to this. First of all, a 1-year CR would delay the
3 pay raise for our women and men that the President has asked
4 for and I think even the House proposal is considering. It
5 would delay 1 full year the implementation of the new
6 defense strategy, which would mean that next year we would
7 be operating under a defense strategy that was developed 3
8 years ago by the prior administration. It would slow down
9 and reverse a lot of the benefits that you guys have gained
10 over the last 2 years in readiness. It would absolutely
11 slow down for 1 full year a lot of the new programs that you
12 have already approved and we have already approved for
13 recapping and modernization that you just talked about.

14 The thing we have not talked about is rationalization.
15 You guys have already found at least \$4 billion of programs
16 that you do not want to spend money on that a 1-year CR
17 would require you to spend on.

18 Would you add a little more color to exactly how
19 draconian this is to the long-term effectiveness of our
20 defense? And realize that last year was the first year in a
21 decade that we have not asked the military to start the
22 fiscal year under a continuing resolution. The supply chain
23 got consistent. That is one contributor to how you guys
24 have improved readiness over the last year or so. I would
25 love you to add a little more color to that for this

1 committee.

2 General Milley: Just briefly, Senator. A 1-year CR,
3 at least to my knowledge, has never actually been done.

4 Senator Purdue: That is true.

5 General Milley: So I think we would be in uncharted
6 territory if we went there.

7 And CRs in general I think are a very ineffective and
8 inefficient use of the taxpayers' dollars, and we are all
9 supposed to be stewards of the taxpayers' dollars. We are
10 keenly aware of that. But with CRs, what ends up happening--
11 - at least my experience has been as the Chief of Staff of
12 the Army -- is the price points of products and services go
13 up because you cannot guarantee your cash flow to the
14 industrial partner that you are working with, the commercial
15 partner that you are working with. So I think a CR in
16 general, 1 year or 1 month, is a poor way to do business.

17 Having said that, I think that the CR would have a
18 negative impact in terms of training, manning, and
19 equipping, procurement, modernization, spare parts,
20 maintenance, end strength, paying benefits, et cetera. I
21 think those are the real tangible pieces, but there is an
22 intangible as well, which is the message it sends to
23 adversaries, allies, and most importantly in my view, the
24 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines of the joint force.
25 I think it sends a terrible message to them. Yes, sir.

1 Senator Purdue: Over the long term, do you agree that
2 China and their rebuilding of their military is probably the
3 largest of the five main threats that we have facing the
4 country going over the long term?

5 General Milley: I think absolutely. I think China is
6 the main challenge to the U.S. national security over the
7 next 50 to 100 years. I think some historian in 2119 is
8 going to look back at this century and write a book, and the
9 central theme of the story is going to be the relationship
10 between the United States and China.

11 Senator Purdue: Do you think we can win the next arms
12 race if it is mano a mano between the United States and
13 China?

14 General Milley: Well, I hope we do not have an arms
15 race, Senator.

16 Senator Purdue: With regard to their Belt and Road
17 Initiative and their Made in China 2025, my experience with
18 that part of the world, having lived over there, is that
19 they generally historically do not tell their adversaries
20 what they are going to do unless they have made a
21 determination that they either do not have the wherewithal
22 or the will to stop them. When they published Made in China
23 2025, do you interpret it that way?

24 General Milley: I do. And they are using trade as
25 leverage to achieve their national security interests, and

1 the One Belt Road is a part of that. It is part of a
2 broader program.

3 Senator Purdue: Specifically with regard to what they
4 are doing with port investments around Africa and the Indian
5 Ocean but also in South America as well, there are over 50
6 port investments that they made with proprietary loans. We
7 now see in Colombo, Sri Lanka and also Karachi in Pakistan
8 where they have actually foreclosed and are now militarizing
9 those two ports, in addition to what they have done in
10 Djibouti.

11 What is your plan as Chairman to address that sort of
12 global expansion with regard to the PLA and their commercial
13 interests as well?

14 General Milley: I think China has expanded throughout
15 all the regions of the globe. And they are in clear
16 competition. They are primarily in competition for
17 resources in order to build and improve their military and
18 in order to fund and fuel their economy.

19 I think that what we need to do is continue to uphold
20 the norms of the international order that has been in place
21 for the last 7 decades and, where those are violated, stand
22 up and be counted against it.

23 Senator Purdue: Well, you have my full support, sir.
24 Thank you for being willing to do this. Thank you.

25 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Blumenthal?

2 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 General Milley, thank you for your service to our
4 nation and your family's as well. It has been extraordinary
5 over many, many years. And thanks for your conversation
6 with me in my office recently. And I am going to proudly
7 and strongly support your nomination not only because of
8 what you said but what you have done throughout your
9 extraordinary career.

10 You identified the nuclear triad and space as two areas
11 that require modernization, but I know that as an infantry
12 leader, you have a deep concern about the families and
13 service men and women who serve in our nation. They are our
14 major resource in my view. Despite all the new forms of
15 hardware and new bright, shiny objects that may be in space
16 or on the battlefield, at the end of the day, it is people
17 who matter most in our military.

18 And so I want to ask you about military housing, not
19 glamorous, not sexy, but essential to the assurance that we
20 recruit and we retain the best because if we do not provide
21 adequate housing to our military and adequate compensation
22 and guarantee of retirement and educational benefits, we are
23 going to be a lesser nation for it.

24 As you know, the NDAA includes some critical and
25 comprehensive reforms to the military housing privatization

1 initiative that will enhance accountability and oversight
2 and prioritize families and ensure long-term quality
3 assurance. These provisions, which were supported and
4 advanced by many of us, require a tenant bill of rights to
5 be developed. I would like your commitment that you will
6 aggressively and actively pursue these goals as you have
7 done already in your present capacity.

8 General Milley: You have absolutely my commitment.
9 And I appreciate the support of the committee over the last
10 year in this housing issue that came up. We are all in.
11 These are our families, and we do have a commitment to make
12 sure that they have the highest quality of life possible.

13 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

14 You mentioned that the rules or the nature of warfare
15 is changing, and certainly that includes an increased
16 emphasis on cyber. You did not mention it among the
17 modernization priorities, unless I misheard you. But would
18 you not agree that in cyber, the best defense is a good
19 offense?

20 General Milley: Cyber is one of the modernization
21 priorities, and if I failed to mention it, that was my
22 mistake.

23 But absolutely, a good offense is critical and that is
24 the best defense. But we also need to improve our network
25 and the resilience and the defensive capabilities of the

1 entire command and control communications systems not only
2 of the military, by the way, but of the United States writ
3 large and the infrastructure. I think those are key
4 vulnerabilities to cyber attack by adversaries. But at the
5 end of the day, we have to have those offensive capabilities
6 too, and in the theory of deterrence, if they know that we
7 have incredible offensive capability, then that should deter
8 them from conducting attacks on us in cyber.

9 Senator Blumenthal: The "New York Times" recently
10 reported that we have enhanced and stepped up our deterrent
11 activities and efforts, making sure, in particular, that we
12 can hold Russia accountable. There have been reports that
13 Russian hackers have installed malware in critical United
14 States electrical grid infrastructure and other potential
15 sources of essential service.

16 Can you confirm that we are stepping up and enhancing
17 our offensive and deterrent capabilities in the area of
18 cyber, without going into any of the details?

19 General Milley: Yes. Obviously, employment is a very,
20 very high level decision that would be very classified and
21 so on. But, yes, we are increasing and improving across the
22 entire joint force, all of the services, Army, Navy,
23 Marines, and the Air Force. We all have cyber organizations
24 all within USCYBERCOM. They are all component commands of
25 that. And we are increasing our capabilities, our skills,

1 our knowledge, our attributes within that system, all
2 working under General Nakasone. So the short answer is yes.
3 We are increasing our capabilities.

4 Senator Blumenthal: A number of us on this committee,
5 including Chairman McCain when he was with us, believe that
6 we need more defined criteria for what constitutes an act of
7 war in cyber because clearly Russia is attacking us, as are
8 other nations like China. The question is at what point do
9 these activities, these attacks on the homeland and our
10 central services like utilities, constitute an actual act of
11 war. And I believe that the present kinds of rules fail to
12 provide an adequate definition. I am not going to ask you
13 to respond in detail but simply to request that you continue
14 to examine this area and work with us.

15 General Milley: I will do that. It is a great
16 question. It requires a considerable amount of detailed
17 thought and a lot of experts as to what constitutes an act
18 of war with respect to cyber capabilities. And I commit to
19 you that I will get back to you on what my thoughts are.

20 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

21 Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

22 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Hawley?

23 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Let me interrupt for a moment. We
25 are going to have three votes coming up, and it is our

1 intention to go ahead and work through those votes to give
2 everyone an opportunity to be heard.

3 Senator Hawley?

4 Senator Hawley: General Milley, congratulations on
5 your nomination and on your outstanding record of service.
6 Congratulations to your family. I look forward to
7 supporting your nomination.

8 I enjoyed our conversation a week or so ago. We got to
9 talk a lot about the National Defense Strategy. I am going
10 to ask you a few questions about the National Defense
11 Strategy, and I will just put my cards on the table and say
12 why. And you and I talked a bit about this.

13 My own view is that the political leadership of the
14 country has, for a decade, longer, not led us particularly
15 well when it comes to our National Security Strategy, our
16 foreign policy. We have drifted. We have not had a clear
17 strategy. We have not had clear priorities. That has not
18 served the military well, and it has not served our country
19 well. The National Defense Strategy, National Security
20 Strategy is a major step forward in actually defining
21 priorities and helping us focus on what the major security
22 threats are and then prioritize appropriately at DOD and get
23 you the support that you need. So I want to ask you about
24 some of those things.

25 The Department just recently released the Indo-Pacific

1 Strategy report, which builds on the NDS, and says that the
2 Indo-Pacific is the Department's priority theater. You and
3 I have talked about this. You agree with that and with this
4 document's assessment that China and, secondarily, Russia
5 should drive our force management and development decisions.
6 Is that correct?

7 General Milley: Absolutely. That is clear in the NDS
8 and I subscribe to that. It is a very, very worthwhile
9 document. There are flaws in it, of course, but as a
10 baseline document, it is excellent and it is authoritative
11 for us in terms of our force modernization and our force
12 development programs. So, yes, I do subscribe to that.

13 Senator Hawley: Very good. Let me just ask you a
14 little bit more about that.

15 According to the Indo-Pacific Strategy report, the NDS
16 requires DOD to posture ready combat credible forces forward
17 in order to convince adversaries that they cannot quickly,
18 cheaply, or easily advance their aims through military
19 force.

20 I want to ask you for the Indo-Pacific specifically,
21 what would you say makes our forward forces combat credible?

22 General Milley: First, it is the people, the talent,
23 the knowledge, skills, and attributes of all of the people
24 from the youngest soldier, sailor, airman, and marine all
25 the way up to the flag officers and Admiral Davidson. So I

1 think that we have incredible people. There are about
2 370,000 or so troops of all kinds in the Indo-Pacific
3 region. We have got an order of magnitude I think around
4 2,000 aircraft, 200 ships, and so on and so forth.

5 So we have got a significant amount of U.S. military
6 capability and most of that is west of the dateline. So we
7 have very, very good capability that can both deter and
8 respond if deterrence fails.

9 Senator Hawley: Let me ask you about in the event of a
10 conflict in this theater, what do you think these forces
11 should be able to achieve on their own while they await
12 reinforcements?

13 General Milley: Well, the first thing you would want
14 to do -- and the NDS kind of spells all that out, but first,
15 deter. I mean, that is the first thing. But if deterrence
16 were to fail, we would blunt whatever offensive actions the
17 enemy at that point would be conducting.

18 Senator Hawley: Let me ask you about the
19 conventionally armed ground-launched intermediate range
20 missiles. Do you think those would be helpful in the Indo-
21 Pacific for our forward forces to defend against a Chinese
22 fait accompli, as the NDS puts it, the Taiwan scenario, for
23 instance?

24 General Milley: I do.

25 Senator Hawley: In a similar vein, the European

1 Defense Initiative, EDI, has been instrumental I think most
2 folks agree in making sure EUCOM has the resources it needs
3 to posture itself to defeat Russian aggression. Former
4 Secretary Mattis and some members of this committee have
5 both called for an Indo-Pacific equivalent to EDI. We have
6 not seen a lot of progress on that front.

7 Let me just get your views on that. Do you think that
8 having a multiyear resourcing initiative like EDI for the
9 Indo-Pacific would be useful, something worthwhile?

10 General Milley: I think it would be useful, but it is
11 like anything else when we are talking about money and
12 resources. It is a balance. And to do the detailed
13 analytical work, I would have to get back to you on the
14 specifics of that. But, yes, it would be useful.

15 Senator Hawley: Finally, let me just pick up a line of
16 questioning that Senator Cotton mentioned about the balance
17 we have to strike in the different AORs. In your written
18 response to a question of to what extent does achieving U.S.
19 national security interests in the Middle East require a
20 continuous U.S. military presence there, you referenced the
21 National Security Strategy, said that it directs the
22 Department to retain the necessary American military
23 presence in the region to protect the United States and our
24 allies from terrorist attacks and preserve a favorable
25 regional balance of power.

1 Can you elaborate on that? And to the degree you are
2 able to in this setting, tell us more about what you think
3 it takes to do that sustainably while also adhering to NDS
4 priorities.

5 General Milley: Well, I think there is a variety of
6 capabilities that we have there now, and those go up and
7 down depending on the situation at the moment in time. But
8 in general, across the board we are approaching our allies
9 and partners in the region with train, advise, assist,
10 enable and provide various foreign military sales for
11 equipment in order for them to secure themselves and to
12 stabilize the situation within any of their countries. So
13 that is the fundamental strategic approach. And in other
14 cases, naval cases, for example, trying to put a coalition
15 together right now, as we heard earlier -- and General
16 Dunford is on the lead for that to try to escort commercial
17 vessels and so on through the Persian Gulf. So it is
18 different types of capabilities, but train, advise, assist,
19 enable our local partners within the region to try to defend
20 themselves and stabilize the situation.

21 Senator Hawley: Thank you very much, General Milley.

22 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

24 Senator Duckworth? And Senator Reed presiding.

25 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1 Welcome, General Milley. It is good to see you again.

2 When we sat down together, we had a good conversation
3 about the importance of logistics to project and sustain our
4 military power. I would like to touch on that here.

5 How would you advise the President and the White House
6 on what we need to do today to prepare for the fights of
7 tomorrow, whether through funding policy or other
8 prioritization shifts especially when it comes to logistics?

9 General Milley: Well, I think logistics, as we
10 discussed in your office -- and professional militaries look
11 as the long pole in the tent. And the ability for us to
12 project forces overseas by TRANSCOM, for example, the long
13 sea and air lines of communication and keeping those open to
14 sustain both ground, air, and naval forces in an active
15 theater, all of that depends on logistics, the ability to
16 move and shoot and communicate. All of that has got a
17 logistics tail to it. So it is a critical area of
18 warfighting and I want to believe that we pay close
19 attention to it, which we do.

20 And in terms of funding, things like airlift and
21 sealift capabilities oftentimes are overlooked because they
22 are not the leading edge of the warfighting, but those are
23 capabilities that we need to continue to invest in.

24 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

25 We discussed the concerns with great power competition,

1 and some of my colleagues have talked about it here. But
2 one of the things that we talked about was just the need to
3 have an American presence in especially the Asia-Pacific
4 region, not necessarily confronting China directly but just
5 being there and operating there on a local level so that our
6 allies and partners in the region can refer to us and we are
7 just constantly there so that we are not leaving a vacuum
8 for the Chinese to occupy solely.

9 What more can we do to make sure our forces and our
10 partners are treating the concerns of China's presence
11 realistic and to make sure that they are mature and ready
12 for continued friction with China and with respect to our
13 own presence overseas? Can you give us an overview of how
14 you might anticipate using or adjusting our military
15 exercises, for example, so we get the most use out of them?
16 I am talking about our strategic partners in South Korea,
17 Japan, throughout Southeast Asia.

18 When I was in Singapore for the defense summit just
19 earlier, just a couple months ago, one of the things that
20 was very clear was that the nations in the region were very
21 uncomfortable with China being there, but they needed an
22 alternative and they needed a greater presence of the U.S.
23 to be there, not necessarily confronting China directly but
24 just being in the region. Can you address this?

25 General Milley: Well, my experience in the Asia-

1 Pacific -- and I was stationed in Korea and spent time in
2 Hawaii and various exercises plus travels as the Chief of
3 Staff of the Army, and I got to know pretty much all of my
4 counterparts that are leading the forces around there. And
5 we have a very robust network in Asia of allies and
6 partners, official allies with full-blown defense treaties,
7 as well as partner nations. That is critical and it is
8 palpable when you go around the region, as you have, to see
9 the anxiety and the fear that these countries have of an
10 aggressive China. And they want the United States there.
11 They want us there as a security partner. They want us
12 there as a security guarantor. They want forward presence.
13 They believe that we are a force of stability, and there is
14 great concern.

15 So our key task I think is assurance, and some of the
16 military dimensions of that I think would be to do exercises
17 and ensure that we have interoperability with the various
18 forces in all the domains throughout the area. And we do
19 that. INDOPACOM does that on a routine basis for the large
20 suite and capability of exercises throughout the region that
21 we continue to sustain.

22 Senator Duckworth: Is there anything that you would
23 change or enhance with those exercises in that particular
24 dimension?

25 General Milley: Well, as the Chief of Staff of the

1 Army, we get a prototype of a multi-domain task force. I
2 think grouping those exercises into multi-domain exercises
3 would be worthwhile.

4 One of the things we would like to do -- and I think it
5 is in 24 months we are going to do it -- is do emergency
6 deployment readiness exercises to Asia-Pacific and to
7 Europe. And those are Army-specific, but we could expand
8 that into the joint force in the concept of the dynamic
9 force employment, the DFE concept that is within the
10 National Defense Strategy, so that we can project power on
11 an emergency basis in an exercise and demonstrate that
12 capability. I think that would have a very strong effect on
13 any adversarial nation.

14 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

15 I would like to now just shift gears and talk about the
16 parole in-place program agreement that DOD had with DHS to
17 not deport the family members of our military men and women
18 who are currently on deployment. How would you advise the
19 President on the potential impacts of taking this action
20 where the DHS is now saying they are going to resume
21 deportation of family members of deployed service members?
22 What would you say to the men and women in uniform who are
23 facing this issue at home especially when they are down
24 range?

25 General Milley: Senator, I am not familiar with

1 specifically what you are talking about. I read a headline
2 on it I think the other day. I would need to dig into
3 exactly what DHS is saying and what they plan on doing.

4 Our soldiers are defending our country, and their
5 family deserve the protection of this country.

6 Senator Duckworth: Thank you, and if you could follow
7 up in writing, I would appreciate it.

8 General Milley: I will do that.

9 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

10 Senator Reed [presiding]: On behalf of the chairman,
11 let me recognize Senator Cramer.

12 Senator Cramer: Thank you, Senator Reed.

13 And thank you, General Milley, for your service and for
14 joining us and congratulations on what I think will be a
15 successful new job soon.

16 There has been reference about two important things,
17 such as, of course, China and Russia developing new weapon
18 systems. There has been some discussion about the nuclear
19 triad and its importance. So I want to drill down on just
20 one of the three legs of the triad with you, if I could.

21 The ground-based strategic deterrence has been the most
22 controversial I guess of the three, although I do not think
23 there is a lot of controversy, but there has been some about
24 its future. Of course, the Minuteman III missiles that the
25 new system would replace are thought to be probably timing

1 out sometime in the 2030 range.

2 Some of the controversy that I referred to has to do
3 with some thinking that maybe we should hold back a little
4 bit on the GBSD, reconsider, reevaluate. The decision by
5 the Air Force has been to move forward, a good decision I
6 believe. And I am just wondering if you could elaborate a
7 little bit on the importance of sticking to that time frame
8 of getting out the RFP, moving forward with the 600 or so
9 new missiles in the GBSD and why sticking with that time
10 frame is important.

11 General Milley: Well, the time frame -- it has to do
12 with the aging fleet, if you will, not only of the missiles
13 but the bombers and the subs as well. So all pieces of the
14 nuclear triad do need to be modernized and overhauled and
15 updated, and they are reaching the end of their service
16 life. And one thing that is really of critical importance
17 to the United States and the defense of the United States is
18 to ensure that we have a reliable, safe nuclear strategic
19 response option for the President and other senior leaders
20 to consider. And I think the missiles I think are critical
21 to that, and we need to do it and do in accordance with the
22 timeline that the Air Force has recommended.

23 Senator Cramer: I appreciate that, General Milley.

24 Also, there has been reference to space. You, I think,
25 in your opening comments even talked about the importance of

1 the space domain. In response to that, the administration,
2 as you know, has proposed a Space Force. The National
3 Defense Authorization Act, as passed by both this committee
4 and then, of course, the Senate, includes the posture of
5 standing up a Space Force.

6 A couple of the areas that I worked hard on regarding
7 specifically the leadership I would like to get your
8 comments on. And what I am speaking to specifically is
9 after 1 year of the Space Force being established, we have
10 that the commander would no longer be -- have a dual status
11 commander. In other words, there would be a specific four-
12 star just for the Space Force. That was pretty widely
13 accepted.

14 A little more controversial again -- and this is why I
15 want to get your comments on it -- would be -- we have
16 language that after a year again, that the commander would
17 answer directly to the Secretary of the Air Force rather
18 than to the Chief of Staff, and then also after a year, that
19 you would have a permanent member of the Joint Chiefs of
20 Staff rather than a situational member of the Joint Chiefs
21 of Staff. In other words, trying to model as much as
22 possible after the Marine-Navy relationship. And we did it
23 in a way to have some incremental movement, some transition
24 to avoid a major bureaucracy. And I would be interested in
25 your thoughts and comments on that. Obviously, the job you

1 are seeking will have a lot to say about that, and I would
2 just be interested in your opinions.

3 General Milley: Well, I would offer you this. First
4 of all, I think the incremental steps we are doing are
5 appropriate and right. And I think the dual-hatting of
6 General Raymond for the next year is appropriate. And then
7 as we go down and we learn our lessons, et cetera and
8 develop that and prototype it, then we can split it off into
9 a Space Force and Space Command. So I think that is about
10 right, and I think that is about the right approach. And I
11 think having a member of the Joint Chiefs I think is also
12 appropriate and answering to the Secretary of the Air Force
13 is appropriate.

14 But having said all that, the broader -- and we will
15 work through all the details of that. But the broader issue
16 is the recognition -- and I think this is critically
17 important and I applaud the Air Force for doing it. I
18 applaud the administration for doing it, and I think it is
19 really important that we sustain it -- is the recognition of
20 space as a domain of military operations. There was a time
21 when we wished it would not be so, but it is. And our
22 economy depends on space. Our military depends on space.
23 And we have got to have the capabilities, both offense and
24 defense, to operate in that domain and do it successfully.
25 And a Space Force and a space combatant command is the way

1 to go, and we are moving in that direction pretty quickly.

2 Senator Cramer: I appreciate your answers. Thank you.

3 Thank you.

4 Senator Reed: Thank you.

5 On behalf of the chairman, let me recognize Senator
6 Manchin.

7 Senator Manchin: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
8 appreciate it very much.

9 General Milley, first of all, let me say thank you for
10 your service and to your family's service to our great
11 country. I appreciate it very much.

12 I noticed in your answer to Senator Reed, you said that
13 Iran has always been a malign actor, which I absolutely
14 agree with. And that was why I voted against JCPOA because
15 I thought there could have been a much better deal to make
16 them earn their way back into the world order rather than
17 just giving it up front. And I do not think I need to ask
18 you the question on your opinion on that because if they
19 have been a malign actor, as I think they have been, I think
20 we are on the same page as far as where they have been and
21 their intentions and we are not holding them responsible.

22 My concern would be this, sir. I know the
23 administration would hope to bring Iran and our allies back
24 to the negotiating table. 2015 is different than what we
25 are today in the geopolitical pushback we are getting. Do

1 you believe that is a realistic or feasible approach to
2 thinking we can get everybody back, allies and Iran back,
3 and have a better outcome?

4 General Milley: I do not know if it is realistic and
5 feasible. We are in support of the Department of State in
6 that regard. That is the objective, to get them back to the
7 negotiating table, and I am hopeful that that will happen as
8 a result of the efforts that are ongoing.

9 Senator Manchin: And your thoughts on the sanctions.

10 General Milley: I think the sanctions are an important
11 part of that. I mean, as I mentioned, Iran is a malign
12 actor and I think it is important that we bring them back
13 into the community of nations and we establish diplomatic
14 relations and conduits of exchange so that we can approach
15 this from a diplomatic angle as opposed to a military angle.

16 Senator Manchin: Our relationship with our allies that
17 we are going to depend on so much, the allies that we have,
18 the NATO allies that we are depending on, especially what is
19 happening in the area as far as with especially the UK?

20 General Milley: I think our relationships with our
21 allies relative to Iran -- I think they are probably
22 strained, but I think many of them are behind us in our
23 relationship.

24 Senator Manchin: And you have good communications with
25 all of our allies?

1 General Milley: I do, yes.

2 Senator Manchin: That is great, and we appreciate
3 that.

4 Let me just jump over to the Space Force. I have a
5 concern. This will be the first major change that we have
6 had since 1947 when the Air Force came into being. As I
7 understand, this whole Space Force thing that is coming
8 together is being basically taken from the bowels of the Air
9 Force and a lot of the personnel. This is not something
10 that we are starting over with new personnel and new
11 training and all that. We are using with what we have.

12 General Milley: That is correct.

13 Senator Manchin: I have a hard time understanding why
14 we are putting a whole other where you are going to have a
15 person on the Joint Chiefs. I mean, you are going to have
16 to have a whole other layer of bureaucracy within that that
17 is going to be extremely costly, and I have never seen these
18 agencies that did not come with a tremendous amount of cost
19 and personnel.

20 General Milley: I do not know what the costs are. I
21 know they have done some cost analysis on it.

22 But I do not see it as another layer of bureaucracy. I
23 see it as a group of people that are going to be dedicated
24 and focused to the training, the manning, the equipping, the
25 doctrinal development, and the protection, both offense and

1 defense, of U.S. operations in space. And I think that
2 having a force that is dedicated to do that, that is their
3 sole mission in life -- I think that is an important
4 element.

5 Senator Manchin: Well, so here is the only thing I
6 would say. My evaluation being on Armed Services -- I was
7 on Intel before. We are seeing what is happening in cyber
8 and what is happening in space, two of the things that have
9 changed dramatically as far as where our defenses are going
10 to be. Cyber -- we thought at one time we would separate
11 the cyber commands. Now we think that, hey, we are working
12 much better as a unit together. Now we are thinking we are
13 going to separate the Space Force from the Air Force in a
14 separate role. So to me it is all in one. That is the
15 problem I am having.

16 General Milley: Well, as I understand it, it is all
17 within the same department. It is the Department of the Air
18 Force. But the Space Force will be a subordinate
19 organization to the Department of the Air Force similar to
20 the way the Marine Corps and the Navy are as part of the
21 Department of the Navy.

22 Senator Manchin: I know you are going to have your
23 hands full with just putting it together. I am just hoping
24 you have the flexibility to basically find the most
25 effective avenue and vehicle for the Space Force to work.

1 My problem is I did not think it was broken, and if it is
2 not broken, I do not think it needed to be fixed other than
3 making more interest, knowing that there is much more
4 activity in the space world and there is going to be more.
5 I do not know why we had to separate it and move it out from
6 within. And you say we are not going to. But yet, you are
7 going to have a role on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I mean,
8 you are going to have a whole other seat at the table.

9 General Milley: And I personally think that it is
10 good. I am not taking the view that it is just added
11 bureaucracy. I know that is a risk and it is out there, but
12 that is not what I see the outcome here. I see the outcome
13 as a group of people that are dedicated to operations in
14 space, and it is a complementary effort not a duplicative
15 effort.

16 Senator Manchin: Well, I am just saying in your new
17 role, you are going to have oversight on everything. I hope
18 that you will be able to look at that constructively and
19 come back to us and let us know if you think it really needs
20 to go in that direction or basically we can strengthen it
21 from within.

22 General Milley: And I will do that.

23 Senator Manchin: Thank you, sir. I appreciate it.

24 Senator Reed: Thank you.

25 On behalf of the chairman, Senator McSally please.

1 Senator McSally: Thank you, Ranking Member Reed.

2 General Milley, good to see you again. Congratulations
3 and thanks for your service.

4 I want to start off on the issue of sexual assault in
5 the military. I appreciate your work with me on this in the
6 past, and in your new role, there is more to be done. As
7 you know, since I have been in the Senate, Acting Secretary
8 of Defense Shanahan and Chairman Dunford set up a task force
9 very swiftly working with me to add additional improvements
10 to the investigation and judicial process while retaining
11 the role of the commander. And we got 17 of 18 provisions
12 from my bill in the NDAA. So that was a good start, but
13 there is more that needs to be done in order to stop this
14 fratricide from happening.

15 So can I get your commitment in your new role that you
16 will continue to work with me on this? I would love to hear
17 your perspective on what we need to be doing on the
18 prevention side to stop this from happening, the impact on
19 readiness, and the importance of the role of the commander.

20 General Milley: Thanks, Senator. And I personally
21 want to thank you for your efforts as a leader in this
22 particular area. Sexual assault is unconscionable. It is a
23 crime. And it is fratricide. It is a soldier on soldier,
24 blue on blue sort of situation, and it has incredible second
25 and third order effects within an organization. It is a

1 cancer within an organization, and we got to crush it.

2 I personally think that the solution lies with the
3 commanders and the further empowerment of commanders and to
4 the training of them in order to make sure that they
5 understand the techniques of good order and discipline
6 within their organization and then hold them accountable
7 where it fails. So I think the solution resides with the
8 commanders, empowerment to the commanders, and holding them
9 accountable.

10 On the readiness piece that you mentioned, it is
11 devastating on the readiness of especially small
12 organizations, companies and battalions. If there is a
13 sexual assault in those organizations, that can bring an
14 organization right to its knees. So we are with you on
15 this. We want to be shoulder to shoulder and partner with
16 you on it.

17 Senator McSally: Thank you. I appreciate that.

18 Shifting gears to Iran, you may have seen the reports
19 today that a British ship was blocked by Iranian -- or was
20 attempted to be blocked by Iranian ships in the Straits of
21 Hormuz but was stopped. I am not sure if you are familiar
22 with that, or can you confirm that that actually happened?

23 And also, Chairman Dunford yesterday shared that there
24 is an effort to work with our allies for a freedom of
25 navigation mission in the Straits of Hormuz. Can you again

1 just comment on what that mission might look like? Look,
2 Iran is volatile, and we need to return to deterrence and
3 the military deterrent element of that as part of that
4 changing their calculus. But we also need to execute the
5 National Defense Strategy. So can you just comment on your
6 views on what is going on in the Straits of Hormuz with the
7 Iranian mission, what it would take out of our forces, and
8 how that might impact our larger priorities in the National
9 Defense Strategy?

10 General Milley: I saw the media reports and some
11 limited reporting in other channels. But it was an attempt-
12 - it appears to be that there was an attempt by some small
13 vessels to take over a commercial vessel from the British.
14 The British had a military escort. So that took care of the
15 situation.

16 Having said that, freedom of navigation is a
17 fundamental principle and a norm for the international order
18 that has been in place for now 7 decades, and we have a
19 crucial role to enforce that norm. So I think that what we
20 are trying to do with the coalition to put that together in
21 terms of providing a military escort, a naval escort, the
22 commercial shipping may be an important factor. And I think
23 that that will be developing over the next couple weeks.

24 Senator McSally: Okay, great. Thanks.

25 The next thing I want to talk about is South Korea. I

1 was over on the peninsula a little over a year ago. Very
2 proud of our troops and their ability to fight tonight.
3 Certainly we have come away with a lot of innovations under
4 your leadership in the Army to make sure that we can, again,
5 deter any threats and be ready to go as part of the larger
6 process to move them in a different direction.

7 But, again, can you share your perspectives on what
8 might need to happen on the South Korean peninsula,
9 rotational versus permanent forces, exercises in order to
10 make sure that we are keeping our troops safe, Americans
11 safe, and deterring any conflict there?

12 General Milley: Well, as you know and as you saw, we
13 have got soldiers that are very committed in all of the
14 branches that are over there. We got 28,500 soldiers,
15 sailors, airmen, and marines on the peninsula. They are in
16 a high state of readiness. They are always in a high state
17 of readiness. And they have been training. Battalion and
18 below has not missed a beat whatsoever. We have cut back a
19 little bit on the training of the command post exercises,
20 the electronic simulation exercises, temporarily but they
21 are always in a high state of readiness.

22 In terms of what we think will be needed in terms of
23 rotational forces or permanently stationed forces, what we
24 in the Army are doing is rotating the brigade combat team
25 through, but the higher headquarters of the division stays

1 stable with all of its enablers. And I believe the Air
2 Force and the Navy are also rotating forces through except
3 for the higher headquarters at 8th Army and at UNC command.

4 Senator McSally: Thanks. I appreciate it.

5 Okay. The chairman is back. So I think I am going to
6 give the gavel back to him. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Chairman Inhofe [presiding]: Take your time.

8 Senator McSally: I guess I had my Al Haig moment
9 there, but thanks.

10 [Laughter.]

11 Chairman Inhofe: Let us do this. Senator Kaine, you
12 are on.

13 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 General, congratulations on the nomination. And I will
15 just give you a shout-out. I was at the passage of command
16 service earlier today at the Marine barracks as General
17 Neller was passing the Commandant of the Marine Corps
18 position to General Berger. In General Neller's comments,
19 he specifically singled you out, the service chiefs that he
20 has served with as people that he really admired. And so
21 will just pass that on to you. But then he looked at me and
22 said, are you not supposed to be in a hearing asking General
23 Milley tough questions now? Not that they are tough.

24 I want to talk to you about China. We talked, when you
25 and I were in the office together, about the National

1 Defense Strategy, but the comment that you made in response
2 to one of my colleague's questions earlier that you think
3 sort of at the end of the century when the history of the
4 century is written, a lot of it is going to be about the
5 U.S.-China relationship. Could you just elaborate on that a
6 little bit?

7 General Milley: I will. And I obviously missed the
8 passing of the colors there with the Marine Commandant. But
9 General Neller is a great marine, a great personal friend,
10 and all of us in the Army are wishing him the best and we
11 are proud to have served with him.

12 With respect to China, China is not an enemy. I want
13 to make that clear. They are an adversary. I would say
14 they are our competitor, but that is different than an
15 enemy. An enemy in my language, in military language, means
16 you are in an act of armed conflict. You are at war. We
17 are not there and we do not want to be there. We want peace
18 not war with China.

19 But having said that, I think that the best way to do
20 that is to make sure that we are prepared. China is in
21 fact-- and it is not hype. It is not a rat under a bed. It
22 is none of that. China is improving their military very,
23 very rapidly in space, air, cyber, maritime, land domains,
24 et cetera. Their capabilities in doctrine and organization
25 and so on are -- their technological development, their

1 procurement -- they are outspending us in research and
2 development and procurement. You would never think that but
3 they are. So China is advancing very, very rapidly, and
4 they have a national mission, a China dream. And they are
5 very open about it, and they write about it in speeches and
6 so on and so forth.

7 So we need to make sure -- we, the United States, need
8 to make sure -- that we do not lose our advantages that we
9 have relative to other countries, specifically relative to
10 China.

11 Senator Kaine: And, General Milley, as you talk about
12 China as an adversary, I mean, with an adversary sometimes
13 you are cooperating, sometimes you are competing, sometimes
14 you are confronting, sometimes you are challenging. There
15 is no one-size-fits-all strategy. You point out that China
16 is expanding in every domain, and that is not just in the
17 military domain either. They are our principal economic
18 competitor. They are competing with us in diplomacy, in
19 trade, and at every domain in the military.

20 Is it fair to say that China has learned a lot about
21 the United States' military capacity from watching us fight
22 the wars in the Middle East over the last 18 years?

23 General Milley: China went to school on us. They
24 watched us very closely in the first Gulf War, the second
25 Gulf War. They watched our capabilities. And in many, many

1 ways, they have mimicked those and they have adopted many of
2 the doctrines and the organizations, et cetera.

3 In fact, former DepSecDef Work, Bob Work -- he wrote a
4 very good paper recently, which was called "The Third
5 Offset" with Chinese characteristics. It is worth taking a
6 look at and seeing the broad dimension of how they have
7 mimicked many of the things we are doing.

8 Senator Kaine: And it would be fair to say that if
9 were fighting another war in the Middle East, they would be
10 going to school on us on that one too. Right? They would
11 be watching what we were doing to continue advance their
12 capacities.

13 General Milley: Sure. I mean, they watch us --

14 Senator Kaine: I asked that question because I worry
15 about getting into unnecessary wars that could give China an
16 advantage both sort of a peace dividend because they are not
17 at war but also the ability to learn on the United States.

18 Let me talk about China and the U.S. and the U.S.'s
19 allies. So as we set off against Russia, since the Truman
20 administration, the formation of NATO and the growth of NATO
21 has given us this constellation of allies that we have been
22 able to use to set off against the Soviet Union and Russia.
23 We do not have sort of defined a network of allies.

24 I was interested recently -- I think it was Admiral
25 Davidson a year or 2 ago talked about the loose notion of a

1 quad, U.S., Japan, Australia, India, in the INDOPACOM. In
2 March, I think he gave a speech where he suggested maybe
3 that was not such a -- maybe that was not the direction that
4 we were pursuing, and then a few days later, he said, well,
5 no, we still have it as a notion.

6 Talk a little bit about the quad but just generally the
7 allies that we would need in the INDOPACOM to provide the
8 same constellation of sort of support as we, indeed, compete
9 with the China.

10 General Milley: Well, from a military dimension, we
11 require access and basing, et cetera for forward-deployed
12 forces in order to execute our power projection
13 capabilities. And we do have a robust network of allies and
14 partners throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

15 Our allies in Europe -- that is a collective security
16 arrangement, NATO that you are very familiar with. There is
17 not the same collective security arrangement -- never has
18 been -- in Asia. Our allies in Asia are all bilateral
19 agreements between the United States and specific countries
20 like Japan or South Korea or Australia.

21 So it is a different arrangement. It is not as robust
22 an arrangement as you find in Europe. These are all
23 legacies from the end of World War II. But I think the
24 network of allies and partners in the Asia-Pacific region is
25 critical to U.S. national security and furthering our

1 interests in the region and on the globe.

2 Senator Kaine: Thank you, General. I look forward to
3 supporting your nomination.

4 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

5 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Jones?

6 Senator Jones: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 And, General Milley, let me add my voice to the chorus
8 of thank yous to you and your family for your service and
9 your willingness to continue that service in an incredibly
10 important position.

11 I would like to follow up with a conversation you had
12 with Senators Reed and Cotton just briefly about Iran.
13 Would a nuclear-armed Iran require us to somehow adjust our
14 strategic posture, and how would that affect our
15 implementation of the NDS?

16 General Milley: I think a nuclear-armed Iran would be
17 a significant challenge and threat to the United States. So
18 I think there would be adjustments. I do not know
19 specifically what they would be, but there would be
20 adjustments to the NDS.

21 Senator Jones: As you are here today, would you have
22 any opinion as to what efforts that the United States should
23 be taking to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear arms?

24 General Milley: We are executing a maximum pressure
25 campaign in order to prevent that and bring them back to the

1 negotiating table in order to negotiate a better deal that
2 what the JCPOA was.

3 Senator Jones: In your view, are those effective
4 enough? Should we be doing more?

5 General Milley: I think time will tell. Obviously,
6 tension is higher and we are going to see in the coming
7 months how effective they are.

8 Senator Jones: Thank you.

9 We have had a lot of discussions here today about
10 China. It seems like we have those discussions every time
11 this committee meets and appropriately so. And we know that
12 the Chinese are seeking to expand and secure their influence
13 in the region, among other things, by militarizing the
14 islands in the South China Sea. Do you believe that our
15 current freedom of navigation operations in the South China
16 Sea are sufficient to prevent, for the lack of a better
17 term, a Chinese fait accompli of militarizing those islands?

18 General Milley: Well, China has already militarized
19 the South China Sea through those islands, and they already
20 have capabilities, air and sea and ground, to influence
21 surface sea operations in the South China Sea.

22 Having said that, I think our freedom of navigation
23 operations are critical to ensure that the Asia-Pacific
24 region and specific to that area remains free and open to
25 commercial access, and that is the purpose of all those

1 freedom of navigation operations that go on.

2 Are they adequate? I think to date they have been, and
3 I will take a hard look at those to determine whether they
4 are adequate as we go forward.

5 Senator Jones: So as we are here today, you do not
6 know of anything else we might could be doing that would
7 better help those operations.

8 General Milley: Help the freedom of navigation --

9 Senator Jones: Yes, just make them stronger.

10 General Milley: I think again assuring the allies in
11 the region that are in and around the South China Sea like
12 the Philippines and Vietnam and Cambodia I think is
13 important and continuing interoperability exercises in that
14 region.

15 Senator Jones: Mr. Chairman, I think I will yield my
16 time.

17 General Milley, thank you again so much for your
18 service, and I look forward to supporting your nomination.

19 General Milley: Thank you, Senator.

20 Chairman Inhofe: First of all, thank you very much for
21 your patience. I am sorry about being interrupted by three
22 votes. But I think it was very productive. I appreciate
23 your time and your service.

24 Any further questions or comments you might have,
25 Senator Reed?

1 Senator Reed: No, sir.

2 Chairman Inhofe: With that, we are adjourned.

3 [Whereupon, at 11:28 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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