Stenographic Transcript Before the

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATIONS OF: HONORABLE KENNETH J. BRAITHWAITE TO BE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY; HONORABLE JAMES H. ANDERSON TO BE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY; AND GENERAL CHARLES Q. BROWN, JR., USAF FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

Thursday, May 7, 2020

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON COURT REPORTING 1111 14TH STREET NW SUITE 1050 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 (202) 289-2260 www.aldersonreporting.com

| 1  | HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATIONS OF:                    |
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| 2  | HONORABLE KENNETH J. BRAITHWAITE                           |
| 3  | TO BE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY;                               |
| 4  | HONORABLE JAMES H. ANDERSON                                |
| 5  | TO BE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY; AND    |
| 6  | GENERAL CHARLES Q. BROWN, JR., USAF                        |
| 7  | FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND              |
| 8  | TO BE CHIEF OF STAFF,                                      |
| 9  | UNITED STATES AIR FORCE                                    |
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| 11 | Thursday, May 7, 2020                                      |
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| 13 | U.S. Senate  |
| 14 | Committee on Armed Services                                |
| 15 | Washington, D.C.   |
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| 17 | The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:31 a.m. in     |
| 18 | Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. James M. |
| 19 | Inhofe, chairman of the committee, presiding.              |
| 20 | Committee Members Present: Senators Inhofe, Wicker,        |
| 21 | Fischer, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Perdue, Cramer,  |
| 22 | McSally, Scott, Blackburn, Hawley, Reed, Shaheen,          |
| 23 | Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King, Heinrich, Peters,         |
| 24 | Duckworth, and Jones.                                      |
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OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. INHOFE, U.S.

## 2 SENATOR FROM OKLAHOMA

Chairman Inhofe: Our hearing will come to order. The committee meets today to consider the nominations of Ambassador Kenneth Braithwaite to be Secretary of the Navy; General Charles Brown, U.S. Air Force to be Chief of Staff of the Air Force; Dr. James Anderson to be Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

9 We thank you for all being here. We appreciate all the 10 contributions that you have made in the past. I say this to 11 all three of you. You have all had brilliant careers and we 12 appreciate the fact that you are coming back again.

Some of these things are necessary, so I have to ask you the required questions, and I would like to have an audible yes or a no on each question, if you would do that, please.

Have you adhered to the applicable laws and regulationsgoverning the conflicts of interest?

19 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.

20 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir.

21 General Brown: Yes, sir.

22 Chairman Inhofe: Will you ensure that your staff 23 complies with deadlines established for requested

24 communications, including questions for the record in

25 hearings?

- 1 General Brown: Yes, sir.
- 2 Chairman Inhofe: I heard one.
- 3 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.
- 4 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir.
- 5 Chairman Inhofe: Oh, yes, okay.
- 6 Will you cooperate in providing witnesses and briefers
- 7 in response to congressional requests?
- 8 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.
- 9 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir.
- 10 General Brown: Yes, sir.
- 11 Chairman Inhofe: Will those witnesses be protected
- 12 from reprisal for the testimony and briefings?
- 13 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.
- 14 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir.
- 15 General Brown: Yes, sir.
- 16 Chairman Inhofe: Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear
- 17 and testify upon request of this committee?
- 18 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.
- 19 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir.
- 20 General Brown: Yes, sir.
- 21 Chairman Inhofe: And do you agree to provide
- 22 documents, including copies of electronic forms of
- 23 communication, in a timely manner when requested by a duly
- 24 constituted committee or consult with the committee
- 25 regarding the basis of any good faith delay or denial in

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providing such documents?

2 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.

3 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir.

4 General Brown: Yes, sir.

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

8 Ambassador Braithwaite: No, sir.

9 Dr. Anderson: No, sir.

10 General Brown: No, sir.

11 Chairman Inhofe: Well, I do not have to tell you that 12 right now you are taking these positions in, I believe, the 13 most threatened times of our lives. And so far, this 14 committee has done our best to ensure that DOD has the 15 authorities and the resources it needs to implement the 16 National Defense Strategy.

17 Further, the committee has been working for more than a 18 year on the privatized housing crisis that has directly 19 impacted family morale. You know, it is kind of interesting 20 on that issue. Originally that came to the surface from 21 Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma, and I was assuming this 22 was a problem just in one Air Force base. And then later I 23 find out, no, it is all of Oklahoma. Then it is all of our 24 bases. We have done a good job. I really believe we have 25 in pursuing that. And I know that all three of you will be

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somewhat related to the problems that are out there, and I
am sure that you will go out of your way to try to keep the
progress that we have made so far successful.

As senior leaders of the Department of Defense today and in the positions for which you have been nominated, you have and would continue to play key roles, both in winning the great power competition and in taking care of our people.

9 I have one thing I would like to say, and you will get 10 this from other members too. We are real believers in this. 11 This is the National Defense Strategy. It has been good. 12 We have adhered to it.

And before I turn it over to Senator Reed, this is unusual in one way. You all families I know who would like to be here and they cannot be here. I understand they will be watching, though. So you can still introduce them. All right?

- 18 Senator Reed?
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STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM RHODE
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Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
I would also like to welcome the members and thank them for
their service and also welcome our nominees and their
willingness to continue to serve the nation.

And I also want to thank your families who I know are
watching today. They also serve. And I think, gentlemen,
you would agree you would not be here without your families,
so they owe a lot of credit.

Ambassador Braithwaite, you have been the Ambassador to the Kingdom of Norway since February 2018. You served more than 27 years in the Navy and Navy Reserve, obtaining the rank of rear admiral. You have also had a successful business career in the health care and communications industries.

General Brown, by my count you are currently triplehatted as Commander of Pacific Air Forces; as the Air Component Commander, U.S. Indo-Pacific Command; and as the Executive Director, Pacific Air Combat Operations Staff at Joint Base Pearl Harbor-Hickam. You are a command pilot with more than 29,000 flying hours, including 130 combat hours.

And, Dr. Anderson, you have served in a variety of senior positions in the Department of Defense, including as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy, Plans, and
 Capabilities since August 2018. You began your career as a
 Marine Corps intelligence officer and have realized many
 accomplishments in education and academic administration in
 both the government and private sector. So, again, thank
 you.

7 I want to note that this is an unusual nomination 8 hearing because we are considering a military nominee with 9 two civilian nominees. Normally we would not do this, but 10 these are unusual circumstances. And I appreciate everyone 11 accommodating this unique hearing.

Let me also take this opportunity to pay tribute to our 12 13 service members and their families, as well as the civilians 14 and contractors, for their service during this crisis. We 15 are saddened by the loss of life and the rising rates of 16 Covid-19 infections throughout the military. The recent 17 incident with the USS Theodore Roosevelt serves as a 18 reminder of the perils that our service members endure 19 daily, whether deployed to combat zones or conducting 20 routine operations.

It also should have been a wake-up call about the Navy's actions with respect to Covid-19. Ambassador Braithwaite, if confirmed as the Secretary of the Navy, you will face a number of critical issues.

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First, you must address the effects of ongoing pandemic

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1 on the Department of the Navy. I want to hear about your 2 vision for the future and what lessons have been learned from your predecessor's mishandling of the USS Roosevelt 3 situation. The USS Roosevelt and USS Kidd also demonstrated 4 5 how quickly deployments can be stressed. So I am interested 6 in hearing what this tells us about how the Navy and Marine Corps are dealing with strains of deployment and high tempo 7 8 operations.

9 The next Secretary's efforts in improving the readiness of our forces will be crucial. While readiness is 10 important, if confirmed, you must also confront other 11 12 challenges, including the size of the Navy fleet. Congress 13 is still waiting on the latest force structure assessment 14 from the Chief of Naval Operations which was supposed to be 15 shared with the committee last year. We must also modernize 16 our fleet and improve operational concepts to ensure success 17 in the future.

18 Ambassador Braithwaite, I look forward to your thoughts19 on these issues.

20 Mr. Anderson, you are nominated to be the Deputy Under 21 Secretary of Defense for Policy, having previously been 22 confirmed as the Assistant Secretary of Defense for 23 Strategy, Plans, and Capabilities. During your tenure, you 24 performed more senior duties as the leadership positions 25 became vacant. While you have valuable experience, I am

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1 concerned that the Policy Office is and will continue to be 2 hamstrung by the numerous senior-level vacancies within the The Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy 3 office. plays a key role in implementing the National Defense 4 5 Strategy and realigning the Department's operational 6 planning, budgetary priorities, and capabilities with that 7 strategy. As the Department contends with a revisionist 8 Russia and China's global ambitions, it still lack strategic 9 guidance on multiple challenges. This includes clear policy 10 for contending with rogue powers like Iran and North Korea, a path forward in Afghanistan, a strategy for securing peace 11 12 and preventing the reemergence of ISIS in Syria, as well as 13 developing policies for expanded areas of competition, 14 including space, cyber, and irregular warfare.

Furthermore, the ongoing novel coronavirus pandemic has starkly highlighted the need for the Department to engage in long-term planning for crisis response and the consequences of failing to do so.

Mr. Anderson, I welcome your thoughts on these issuesand how the Department can address these challenges.

General Brown, you have been nominated to be Chief of Staff of the Air Force. Having most recently served as the Commander of Pacific Air Forces, you are very familiar with the challenges facing the Air Force today in the Pacific and how the Air Force should be implementing the National

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Defense Strategy. General Brown, if confirmed, you will 1 2 also face challenges to improve readiness while modernizing and expanding force structure. In order to achieve the 3 4 stated goal of 386 squadrons, the Air Force will need to increase and sustain modernization efforts over a number of 5 6 years. On top of that, the Air Force must simultaneously 7 recapitalize most of the bomber fleet and all of the land-8 based missile fleets. These are daunting challenges.

9 In the very near term, General Brown, you will be 10 tasked with recruiting and retaining a quality force. That 11 is no small task as the Air Force and other services contend 12 with the novel coronavirus pandemic and maintaining 13 operational readiness.

14 You will also need to ensure the Air Force has the 15 necessary structure to respond to future crises and 16 contingencies.

I again thank the nominees and my colleagues for
appearing at the committee's second hearing this week under
these unusual circumstances.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much again for your
leadership in many different ways.

22 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator Reed.

Gentlemen, we will now begin with opening statements. Try to keep your statements brief, around 5 minutes, and you will have plenty of time with the well-attended group that 1 you have right now in responding to other questions.

2 So I am going to start off with a very short question 3 for each one of you, and we are going to try to get it 4 within that 5 minutes and we will continue on. Thank you 5 very much.

6 Starting with Ambassador Braithwaite, one of the things 7 we always hear about and talk about is what size of a Navy 8 -- what are we going to have. What do we really need? We 9 look at the Navy's fiscal year 2021 budget. It looks like 10 it would support a fleet of about 300 ships, but that would 11 be clearly in most minds inadequate. Just real briefly --12 oh, yes. Sorry about that.

13 Let us start with the opening statements. You are 14 recognized for your opening statement. I was getting in too 15 big a hurry. Sorry.

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## STATEMENT OF HON. KENNETH J. BRAITHWAITE TO BE

## 2 SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Ambassador Braithwaite: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member Reed and distinguished members of the committee.

6 Today is obviously a very big day for me, perhaps the 7 most important of my professional life. But there have been 8 three other big days in my life that I would like to share 9 with you this morning to help you learn and inform you of 10 who I am.

July 8th, 1980, a typical hot, humid day aboard the 11 12 U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis. I stood with over 1,000 of 13 my classmates to take the sacred oath of office that began 14 like many of you, a career of service to our nation. For 15 over 40 years, first in the uniform of the United States 16 Navy which took me around the world and into combat; later 17 as a councilman in a small town in Pennsylvania; as a Senate 18 staffer to the late Arlen Specter; and most recently as a 19 U.S. Ambassador, I have dedicated my life to the motto of our Navy: honor, courage, commitment. Those are not merely 20 21 words to me or a slogan. No. Those are the guide stars by 22 which I have lived my life.

June 6th, 1994, 14 years later, the 50th anniversary of the landings at DDay, I stood on the windswept beach at Normandy with my aging father. He had been a young 18-year-

old private in the first wave, actually the very third 1 2 landing craft to touch the sand that morning in 1944. My father, like most of his generation, did not talk much about 3 that day, but as we stood there, he recounted how he had 4 5 come ashore off the Higgins boat that dawn watching his 6 friends drop to his left and right. I asked him, among all 7 the chaos and death that morning, how he was able to go on. 8 He simply replied, son, it was my duty. Weeks later, he 9 would be himself severely wounded, shot in the head in his service to our nation. His self-abnegation only served to 10 reinforce in my heart, my head, and my soul: honor, 11 courage, and commitment. 12

13 Finally last summer on the 75th anniversary of the same 14 landing at DDay, I once again was able to stand on that 15 sacred beach at Normandy, but this time without my father 16 who passed away in 2006, instead this time serving as the link to my 12-year-old son Harrison who had never met his 17 18 grandfather. Only a few of those who were there that 19 morning with my dad were left. But Harrison and I 20 endeavored to shake each of their hands recalling their 21 sacrifices so we could live in freedom, the same who like my 22 dad went before me guided by honor, courage, and commitment, 23 three simple but powerfully important words that have always 24 quided all my actions.

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I am humbled to appear before you today to be

considered as the 77th Secretary of the United States Navy.
 To uphold the sacred honor of those who have gone before me,
 whether Petty Officer Dorrie Miller at Pearl Harbor or
 Corporal Jason Dunham in Iraq. I thank the President for
 his trust and confidence in me.

6 As a child of the Midwest, I was taught to be frank, 7 diplomatic of course as is required of an admiral and 8 ambassador, but direct. It saddens me to say that the 9 Department of the Navy is in rough waters due to many factors, but primarily the failure of leadership. Whether 10 Glen Marine defense, the ship collisions in 2017, judicial 11 12 missteps, or the crisis recently aboard USS Roosevelt, they are all indicative of a breakdown in the trust of those 13 14 leading the service.

Sadly, I have witnessed this type of crisis before. 15 In 16 1989, I was aboard the aircraft carrier, USS America, 17 sailing alongside the battleship Iowa when an explosion 18 killed 47 sailors. That was followed shortly thereafter by 19 the scandal at Tailhook. These were some very dark days for 20 the Navy. However, they taught me two things: one, the 21 Department is resilient; and two, it all starts with 22 culture.

I have learned this repeatedly in my career.
Successful organizations have a strong culture which always
starts with leadership and, as I witnessed following the

Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company aforementioned events of the early 1900s, a proud heritage of service and pride which the Department emphasized then for inspiration and affirmation and, if confirmed, will again.

5 While I recognize the challenges for all they are, I am 6 ready. I have learned across myriad roles, through military 7 service, as an executive in the private sector, a 8 congressional staffer, and now as a diplomat, I have been 9 preparing my entire life for this moment, always guided by 10 honor, courage, and commitment.

I have many people to thank like my mentors, Admiral Tom Lynch and Admiral Steve Chadwick. But I would not be here if not for my mother Sylvia who is 87 and watching me this morning who taught that to work hard, you can accomplish anything in America.

Finally and most especially, the continued love and support of my beautiful and dear wife Melissa and my wonderful children, Grace and Harrison, who have sacrificed so much for me to serve, but also they have sacrificed for our nation. God blessed me by bringing each of them into my life.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, and members of the committee. I look forward to answering your questions.

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[The prepared statement of Ambassador Braithwaite

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| 1  | follows:] |
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| 1  | Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Admiral. It was a |
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| 2  | beautiful statement.                          |
| 3  | General Brown, you are recognized.            |
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STATEMENT OF GENERAL CHARLES Q. BROWN, JR., USAF, FOR
 REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE CHIEF OF
 STAFF, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

General Brown: Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed, distinguished members of this committee, I am grateful and deeply humbled by the opportunity to be with you and my fellow nominees this morning. I would like to express my appreciation to this committee for your relentless support and advocacy for our United States Air Force, its airmen, and families.

I would like to take a few moments to acknowledge my 11 family who, due to the hearing protocols, could not be with 12 13 us today but are watching online. First my wife, Sharene, 14 of nearly 31 years who has not only been committed to our 15 family but to the families of airmen, specifically focused 16 on quality education for military children. I am extremely 17 proud of our two sons: our oldest Sean who lives in Tampa 18 and our younger son Ross who lives here in Washington, D.C., 19 who are both outstanding in their own right. Sharene, Sean, 20 and Ross have been instrumental to my success, and there is 21 no way I would be here today without their sacrifices, love, 22 and support.

I would also like to acknowledge my number one fan and most vocal supporter, my mother Kay, and the most influential officer in my career and my commissioning

Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company officer, my father Charles, a Vietnam veteran who retired
 from the United States Army after 30 years of service as a
 colonel.

Finally, I appreciate the unwavering support of my
sister Stephanie and the influence of my younger brother
Kevin had on me and my family before his passing.

I would like to thank President Trump, Secretary Esper,
and Secretary Barrett for their confidence and support in
nominating me to be the next Air Force Chief of Staff.

I cannot thank General Dave and Dawn Goldfein enough as they conclude 37 years of service to our nation. For Sharene and I, it has been an honor to serve with the Goldfeins and we wish them the very best as they start their chapter.

15 Chairman and members of this committee, the 2018 16 National Defense Strategy provides the Department of Defense 17 with clear, actionable, and attainable goals to compete, 18 deter, and win. For the past 11 years, over 7 different 19 assignments, I have served in leadership positions focused on the five challenges, China, Russia, North Korea, Iran, 20 and violent extremists, that are outlined in the National 21 22 Defense Strategy. If confirmed, I am committed to the Air 23 Force achieving irreversible momentum towards implementation 24 of the National Defense Strategy and an integrated and more 25 lethal joint force. At the top of that list is to work with

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Secretary Barrett and General Raymond to take the
 appropriate steps to ensure the success of the United States
 Space Force.

4 Concurrently, I am committed to realizing the joint 5 warfighting concept that is in development. If confirmed, I 6 look forward to working with the Chairman, the Vice 7 Chairman, and the Joint Chiefs to increase our joint 8 interoperability. Of particular importance will be building the digital foundation to support joint all domain command 9 and control, or JADC2, enabling the joint force, our allies, 10 and our partners to connect, communicate, and integrate our 11 12 collective efforts across all domains.

To compete, deter, and win, we will need to generate combat power faster than our adversaries. If confirmed, I am an advocate for early and constant collaboration between operators, acquisition professionals, and industry partners to unleash innovation and spiral development so that the warfighter has access to the most capable and state-of-theart assets sooner than later.

I expect there will be tough decisions regarding legacy programs and future modernization. If confirmed, I will continue carefully considered risk assessments balancing the Air Force's support to current combatant command requirements while investing in capabilities to prepare us for future competition, conflicts, and challenges.

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Finally, I am and I will remain committed to the well-being of our airmen and families. It is an imperative to provide our airmen and families the quality of service, the quality of life, and the environment where all can reach their full potential. It is truly an honor to be nominated to serve as the next Air Force Chief of Staff. If confirmed, I look forward to working with this committee and the Congress to organize, train, and equip our Air Force to ensure the security of our national interests. Once again, thank you for this opportunity, and I look forward to your questions. [The prepared statement of General Brown follows:] 

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| 2  |      | We   | will  | now   | hear  | from | Dr.   | James   | Andei | cson. | You | are |
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STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES H. ANDERSON TO BE DEPUTY UNDER
 SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POLICY

3 Dr. Anderson: Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed,
4 and distinguished members of the committee, it is an honor
5 to be here today.

I am thankful for the confidence that President Trump
and Secretary Esper have placed in me as the nominee for
Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

9 I would not be here today without the support of 10 family, friends, and mentors who have helped me throughout 11 my career.

My parents, Barbara and Michael Anderson, instilled in me the value of hard work, honesty, and respect for others. My sister Winnifred and her wonderful family continue to provide much love and support.

My children, James and Olivia, inspire me every day. Watching them grow and mature is the best part of being a parent.

Most of all, I wish to thank my wife, Emily Anderson, who is watching these proceedings from a quiet little hamlet we call home in northern Virginia. She knows well the sacrifices Pentagon positions demand, to include the beforedawn departures and the after-dusk returns. Her love and support make everything worthwhile.

25 My professional experience has helped prepare me for



this opportunity. Since my confirmation as Assistant
Secretary of Defense for Strategy, Plans, and Capabilities
in August 2018, I have worked to implement our National
Defense Strategy. If confirmed as Deputy Under Secretary of
Defense for Policy, I will continue these efforts in a new
role.

I am now in my second Pentagon tour, having served in
the Office of the Secretary of Defense from 2001 to 2009,
working mostly Middle East issues in International Security
Affairs.

My professional experience has taught me the value of 11 asking hard questions and the importance of seeking 12 13 practical solutions. I have taught national security topics 14 at several civilian and military educational institutions, 15 to include the George C. Marshall Center for European 16 Security Studies in Germany. Living overseas and working at 17 this jewel of an institution reinforced the importance of 18 working with allies and partners.

Earlier in my career, I served 3 years on active duty as a Marine Corps officer in the late 1980s, an experience that imprinted upon me the importance of teamwork and esprit de corps. The opportunity to work alongside dedicated professionals in defense of our great country inspired me then, just as it does now.

25 The current Covid-19 crisis has brought about many new



1 challenges for the Department. The Policy team in the 2 Pentagon, working with its partners in the building and 3 across the interagency, has risen to the occasion and 4 continues to provide the Secretary of Defense with timely, 5 top quality advice and support. I am privileged to be part 6 of this team.

7 The Department of Defense issued its National Defense 8 Strategy in January 2018 and it remains our north star. The 9 document clearly outlines priorities to ensure our nation's 10 competitive advantage amid the exacting demands of long-term 11 strategic competition.

12 If confirmed, I will do my level best to help implement 13 this strategy in a cost-effective and timely manner. The 14 men and women in uniform, as well as their civilian 15 counterparts who serve the Department, deserve no less from 16 their senior leaders.

17 I look forward to your questions.

18 [The prepared statement of Dr. Anderson follows:]

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Chairman Inhofe: Thank you very much.

Now we will start off where we ended momentarily.
Senator Reed and I feel a sense we are going to be confining
questions to 5 minutes if we are going to have a second
round of questioning, if that is all right with our
witnesses.

So I will start off again with you, Ambassador Braithwaite. It has been very controversial. And just very briefly when you think about the fact that the budget that has been submitted will be to support a 300-ship Navy -- and I think most people agree it needs to be bigger than that. We hear about 355. Very briefly, what size, do you think, of a Navy we ought to have?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Sir, it needs to be minimally
355 ships. Hopefully, we build beyond that.

16 Chairman Inhofe: That is a good brief answer. I
17 appreciate that.

18 [Laughter.]

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19 Chairman Inhofe: I will not ask why because I agree 20 with you.

General Brown, you brought this up and I really appreciate the fact that you were talking about the NDS. This is the plan that we have been following now since it came out and that is 3 years ago. So General Goldfein was committed to that. I would like to have you make a further comment even though you have already made one about this and
 your commitment to following this as your pattern.

General Brown: Senator Inhofe, Chairman, I am actually
very committed to the National Defense Strategy. In my
current position as the Pacific Air Forces Commander, it has
been a lot of focus because four of the five challenges in
the National Defense Strategy are in our region.

8 Chairman Inhofe: I appreciate it very much.

9 Dr. Anderson, I have talked to you about this before. This is something that I have been concerned about. 10 Τn fact, we went through all those years without having an 11 12 AFRICOM. It was kind of the forgotten continent, and now we 13 see that those things that we were guessing that were going to be happening there are happening or have already 14 15 happened.

We are looking right now at what China and Russia is doing in that continent. In fact, China -- that is the first time that they have actually started a major installation someplace other than their own city limits. And so we know what is happening there.

I would like to have you say, in this remaining time that I have, your thoughts about the role of AFRICOM and what your intentions are and your feelings are concerning that continent and its problems.

25 Dr. Anderson: Thank you, Senator.

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1 AFRICOM, as you noted, was established a few years ago, 2 I believe over a decade ago, and plays an important role in our National Defense Strategy. It is complicated, of 3 course, by the intrusion of the PRC and also to an extent 4 the Russian Federation on the continent. And those moves by 5 6 the Chinese take a variety of different forms, to include 7 establishing a military base, its first overseas military 8 base, in Djibouti. So we are watching that very carefully 9 as well as a lot of their efforts elsewhere on the 10 continent, to include all the sort of predatory economic things that they are doing trying to insert their workers 11 12 there and exploit local economies and make economies 13 dependent upon them economically and financially. So we are 14 vigilant and we are watching very closely what our 15 competitors are doing on the continent. Of course, Russia 16 is very involved in the Libyan conflict, and it is a very 17 unfortunate situation there.

18 So in terms of the Department of Defense is looking 19 very closely at all its combatant commands, to include AFRICOM, to ensure that we have the right mix of forces, the 20 21 right posture throughout the continent. And under Secretary 22 Esper's leadership, we are doing exactly that. And this is 23 an effort at right-sizing our forces there. There have been 24 some press reports that we are cutting and running, that we 25 are abandoning Africa, and those are flatly false. We are

looking hard at right-sizing and making those decisions.
 One decision that Secretary Esper has made is to allocate
 the SFAB, Security Force Assistance Brigade, to AFRICOM
 which we think is a good example of getting the right forces
 into theater.

6 Chairman Inhofe: Well, yes, you are right that they 7 came, and there has to be an examination, a constant 8 examination, on the placement of troops around the world. 9 It happened that Senator Rounds and I were in Africa when it was rumored that the decision had been made by the 10 administration to reduce there. And obviously, that was not 11 12 accurate. In fact, our Secretary actually came forth and he 13 said that is a place where we cannot do that. So my 14 question to you is, do you agree with the Secretary on the 15 continent of Africa?

Dr. Anderson: Yes. I agree with Secretary Esper. He is taking a hard look at this. He has not made any final decisions, but I would expect those will be forthcoming.

Another part of this effort is we are working closely with allies and partners, and we certainly encourage our European allies, for example, to assume a greater role on the African continent because they certainly have interests there as well.

24 Chairman Inhofe: That is good.

25 Senator Reed?



1 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. 2 Ambassador, you have made it very clear in your opening statement that the Navy chain of command is in disarray. 3 4 Nothing illustrates that more than the Roosevelt situation. 5 When an acting Secretary of the Navy is calling directly a 6 carrier commander and trying to work out problems with him, 7 something is wrong. When that carrier commander's immediate 8 superior is several staterooms down the hall and there is no apparent communication, something is wrong. 9

It goes to trust, as you alluded to. It goes to the 10 culture of the Navy. It goes to reliance on the chain of 11 12 command by civilian authorities, of getting advice and 13 supporting them, et cetera. And it is also I think in your 14 position keeping your eyes and the Navy's eyes focused on 15 the threat and the force, the fleets at sea and all the 16 force, and not being distracted by some of the things that 17 happen here in Washington.

But what specific steps are you going to take to correct the situation? Because without a functioning chain of command, without a culture of trust and confidence, the platforms are irrelevant.

22 Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, I would agree with 23 you, and I thank you for the question.

As I learned over the course of my career, again in both the public and private sector, culture trumps everything. As Mr. Drucker, a famous entrepreneur, says,
 culture eats strategy for breakfast.

So culture is the one thing that creates for an 3 organization a sense of belonging, a sense of good order and 4 5 discipline. It is my number one priority, if I am 6 confirmed, to restore the appropriate culture in the United 7 States Navy. Culture exists. I will not say it is broken. 8 I think it has been tarnished. I think the events over the 9 last several years have helped see that occur, and if I am 10 confirmed, I will make sure that I get at that, again predicated on good order and discipline, empowering people 11 12 to understand their responsibilities along that chain of 13 command, as you and I both talked about yesterday, as well 14 as setting the tone here from the very highest level. Ι 15 think it is contingent upon leadership first to establish 16 that and then hold those who are responsible throughout the 17 chain for the same.

Senator Reed: Well, thank you, Mr. Ambassador. 18 Ι 19 think this dialogue will continue many, many months forward. 20 General Brown, one of the big issues that will face you 21 going forward is the issue of sustainment costs. We buy 22 very expensive platforms, but those expenses sometimes pale 23 in comparison to sustaining the equipment. Do you have any 24 sense of what you are going to do to tackle this problem? 25 And first of all, do you recognize this is a serious issue?

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1 General Brown: Senator, I do recognize this is a serious issue. If confirmed, I think the key part for me is 2 to be working very closely with our industry partners on how 3 we bring down sustainment costs, at the same time, we work 4 5 internally inside the Air Force to address some of our 6 processes to ensure that we are able to manage the cost 7 because we cannot just modernize and not sustain. We have 8 got to be able to do both to implement the National Defense 9 Strategy.

10 Senator Reed: Thank you.

11 And, Dr. Anderson, we signed an agreement on February 12 29th with respect to Afghanistan. The situation has changed 13 dramatically. First, could you comment on how these changes might have affected the goal of the agreement, which was the 14 15 eventual departure of U.S. forces and some type of 16 reconciliation, and also comment on the fact that implicit 17 in the agreement is our continued support of Afghan Security 18 Forces to the tune of billions of dollars a year? Is that 19 likely if we no longer have troops on the ground? So your 20 comments briefly. I am sorry.

21 Dr. Anderson: So since the 29th of February, we have 22 seen frankly mixed results in terms of Taliban compliance to 23 the agreement. They have refrained from attacking U.S. and 24 coalition troops. They have refrained from attacking major 25 urban centers. But they have been attacking robustly and at

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company an unfortunate level, at an unprecedented level our Afghan
 partners. And this is greatly concerning to us.

We will continue to proceed to our level of 8,600 within 135 days, which is approximately mid-July, but the Department has made it very clear that beyond that, reductions will be conditions-based. So we will look very closely as the situation unfolds.

8 In this context, assuming conditions allow further 9 drawdown, we remain committed to our Afghan partners. They 10 have paid a heavy price -- the Afghan National Defense 11 Security Forces. They have, in fact, been doing most of the 12 fighting since 2015, and we have been supporting them in our 13 train, advise, and assist role.

So it is my view that going forward in Afghanistan, we absolutely need to continue to maintain a level of commitment in terms of our assistance to them so that they can continue to help defend their country.

18 Senator Reed: Thank you.

19 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you, Senator.

21 Senator Fischer?

22 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Brown, the Air Force is responsible for two of the three legs of our nuclear triad, and it is carrying out a number of programs that are vital to modernization of the

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deterrent such as the B-21, the GBSD, the long-range
 standoff weapon, as well as our nuclear command and control
 and communications architecture.

Sir, do you believe that these programs and the overall 4 5 modernization of our nuclear deterrent is necessary? 6 General Brown: Senator, most definitely. Senator Fischer: We often hear calls of disarmament, 7 8 and this committee has also heard several of our last 9 STRATCOM commanders testify that there is no margin left in 10 our schedule for recapitalization. Is it your understanding, General, that further delay is not an option 11 12 and that these programs must proceed on schedule if we are 13 going to continue to be able to field an effective

14 deterrent?

15 Senator, I am in complete agreement. General Brown: 16 Senator Fischer: I understand the Air Force is 17 considering awarding the GBSD contract early. I know the 18 lack of margin in that program is particularly concerning, 19 and Congress has pushed the Department to find ways to accelerate it in order to ease the burden on the schedule. 20 21 If the Air Force determines that it is a viable option, I 22 certainly want to express my support for that, sir. 23 Yesterday we had a good conversation about the future

25 growing challenges that are posed by our adversaries.

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of the Air Force and the need to adapt in the face of the

www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO Given those threats, do you believe the Air Force is
 currently large enough to accomplish the missions required
 by the National Defense Strategy?

4 To an extent. I mean, in the immediate General Brown: 5 term, I think we are, but we still got to be able to grow to 6 the 386. That is the goal. Anything less than 386 incurs 7 And so our ability to actually get capability into risk. 8 the hands of the warfighter faster, to be able to move 9 faster so we can compete against our adversaries are 10 important aspects to help us with the National Defense 11 Strategy.

12 Senator Fischer: You and I talked about that, being 13 able to balance the capability along with the capacity that is needed as well. And when you look at the new platforms 14 15 and the new technologies that will be coming, that are here 16 now, and that will be coming and how critical the use of 17 those platforms are for us in meeting that challenge, can 18 you elaborate a little bit more on that and maybe get into 19 how we establish a balance between manned and unmanned? Some of the things I think about 20 General Brown: Sure. 21 is even as you look at trying to get to 386 or working 22 towards 386, if we do not achieve 386, we may be a little 23 bit smaller than 386, but we will be more capable. So effectively you are getting closer to 386. And with that, 24

it is not just the manned platforms, it is also how we do

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manned/unmanned teaming. And the XQ-58 Valkyrie is one of those systems that we can team up with particularly some of our 5th gen capability to increase our range, to increase our awareness, to increase our strike capability. And so those are the kinds of things we are working on inside of the Air Force.

7 Senator Fischer: Do you also work with our allies in 8 this regard as well? I mean, it is very important to work 9 within your branch to work within our government. How do 10 you feel about working with our allies?

11 General Brown: Actually that is one of my joys. I 12 spend a lot of time -- as a matter of fact, most of my time 13 as a general officer I have spent overseas, and I have a 14 pretty good band of relationships with our partners. So a 15 constant dialogue is important with those that we share 16 interests and values with.

17 Senator Fischer: And how do you see yourself working, 18 if you are confirmed, within the system to be able to make 19 sure that any new platforms are incorporated and are 20 incorporated in a wise manner but also in a manner that it 21 does not take forever?

General Brown: Senator, that is one of the things I am really focused on. Having been a warfighter for the past number of years here in these key positions is how do we actually speed that process. And we cannot let perfect be the enemy of good enough. That is why I believe in spiral development and being able to get something into the hands of our warfighters versus nothing in the hands of our warfighter 8 to 10 years down the road.

5 Senator Fischer: Thank you, General. Thank you to the 6 other two gentlemen as well.

7 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Chairman Inhofe: Senator Shaheen?

9 Senator Shaheen: Congratulations, gentlemen. Thank
10 you for your willingness to consider serving at this
11 challenging time in our history.

General Brown, I want to begin with you. I had the opportunity to speak with General Goldfein earlier this week. As you are probably aware, the 157th air refueling wing at Pease National Guard Base in New Hampshire is the first National Guard to receive the new KC-46 tanker. I had the opportunity to be there when the first tanker arrived. And so I follow this issue very closely.

19 General Goldfein seemed optimistic that the agreement 20 that had been reached with Boeing would provide a path 21 forward to fix the remote vision system and some of the 22 other problems with the tanker. But clearly we are still 23 several years away from having tankers that are going to do 24 the refueling that we want them to do.

25

So can you tell us how, if confirmed, you would keep

1 that program on track and ensure that it is ready to go as
2 soon as possible to do its air refueling mission?

General Brown: Senator, I think one of the key roles I 3 have is to, one, work with our acquisition professionals to 4 5 move it forward but also with our partner Boeing. There is 6 a new CEO. Having talked to General Goldfein, that CEO is 7 pretty serious about delivering that capability. So for me 8 personally, building a relationship with the CEO of Boeing so we can have frank dialogue particularly if it gets off 9 track, but the goal is to keep it on track and get it into 10 the hands as quickly as possible. 11

Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you. I was pleased to hear that the new CEO at Boeing seems more committed to fixing this than previously.

15 Ambassador Braithwaite, our nation's four public 16 shipyards handle our aircraft carriers, our submarines. 17 They are really the backbone of our naval power, and we need 18 to modernize these shipyards and increase the dry dock 19 capacity. I am a supporter of the Navy's shipyard infrastructure optimization plan, which was released in 20 21 February of 2008. I wonder if you could tell me if you have 22 had the opportunity to review the plan, and if so, can you 23 share your thoughts on the importance of investing in the 24 Navy's public shipyard infrastructure?

25 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, Senator, thank you very

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO 1 much. I have spent some time up at the shipyard there in 2 Portsmouth and have always been impressed by the patriotism 3 and the commitment to our national security that the 4 employees exhibit every day.

5 Maintenance is one of those things that has never been 6 the thing that the Navy has very focused on. It is always 7 more interested in building new ships and new airplanes, 8 much like any other situation where deferred maintenance 9 becomes something that you get to later. Having served at 10 the Philadelphia shipyard before they closed that, that 11 taught me that lesson very up close and personal.

12 And it becomes a double-edged sword because not only do 13 you defer the amount of resources required to upgrade the 14 ships, but you also defer the requirements to upgrade the 15 actual shipyard.

16 I have had a chance to look at the SIOP. I agree with 17 it over the 20-year period. I will look to make that a 18 priority as we look forward because, as I shared with 19 Senator King, whenever you have any vessel, ship, aircraft tied to a pier not doing its job out at the tip of the 20 21 spear, that is a waste to the taxpayers. And as a good 22 steward, I think we have an obligation to make sure that 23 those ships and aircraft and submarines are out doing their 24 jobs.

25

Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you, and I am pleased to

hear that you have visited the shipyard. We hope you will
come back. I am sure you know that in New Hampshire we take
part ownership of that shipyard just as Maine does. So
Senator King is not the only one who is following this issue
very closely. Sorry, Angus.

6 Let me also -- because you mentioned the importance of the employees at the shipyard. Clearly their effectiveness 7 8 is the reason that that shipyard is considered the most 9 productive in the country. I had an opportunity to talk to several of the workers there about their concerns with the 10 11 Covid-19 pandemic. And as you are probably aware, there are a number of people there who have tested positive. We lost 12 13 a shipyard worker. And they are very concerned about having the right personal protective equipment, the masks that they 14 15 really need when they are working in close quarters in the 16 yard, and if that cannot be provided, that hazard pay be 17 considered for those people who are working in those 18 dangerous circumstances.

Can you commit to me that you will look into this and see if we can ensure that the people who are working on our subs have the protective equipment that they need to do their jobs?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, absolutely. I can tell you that one of the most impressive things that I have learned in the last few weeks is working with Assistant

Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company 1 Secretary Geurts who has explained to me the patriotism that 2 these workers have displayed each and every day. They have gone into harm's way and continue to ensure that our ships 3 are ready and deployable, and that speaks a lot about their 4 5 character. So I think it is incumbent upon me, if I am 6 confirmed, to ensure as the senior leader in the Department 7 that they get the equipment and the safety gear that they 8 would need in order to be able to do that job.

9 Senator Shaheen: Thank you very much.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

12 Senator Rounds?

13 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

14 Gentlemen, thank you all for your service to our 15 country.

General Brown, I enjoyed our phone call yesterday, and I thank you for your acceptance of my invitation that, if you are confirmed, to visit Ellsworth Air Force Base.

Following up on our discussion, I appreciate your sharing with the committee the perspectives you shared with me regarding two programs. First, could you explain the importance of not allowing a capability gap for the bomber force as the legacy fleet continues to age while we wait for the B-21 to come online? And secondly, could you give us your perspective on what we need to do to assure that the

full buy of F-35's is made to be able to avoid the situation that we had years ago when we dramatically reduced the buy of the F-22 fighters?

General Brown: Thank you, Senator.

First, on the B-21 and our bombers, the key part is getting the B-21 delivered and delivered on time, at the same time maintaining the capability we have with our current bomber force. I do not want to get to a point where we have a fork in the road where we have to make a tough call. And so if we can keep all those on track so we do not have any gaps, that is an important aspect to me.

12 For the F-35, the key part -- and it was mentioned a 13 little bit earlier -- is sustainment costs and the cost per flying hour. I know General Goldfein has met with the 14 15 various contractors and has commitments working with the 16 Joint Program Office to bring those costs down. By bringing those costs down, it makes it more affordable to actually 17 18 buy the F-35 buy that we intend to have, and we can provide 19 the capability we require for the Air Force.

20 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

General Brown, also I was kind of surprised. I was not aware that the Air Force -- unlike the Army and the Navy, the Air Force budget contains a significant pass-through element where funding is passed through the Air Force on its way to other DOD agencies that then execute it. I also

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1 understand that the Air Force exercises no control over and 2 receives no benefit from this funding. In fact, in the fiscal year 2020 budget that we are executing right now, the 3 4 Department of the Navy budget top line is about \$206 5 billion. The Department of the Army's top line is \$177 6 billion, and the Department of the Air Force's top line is \$205 billion. However, once you discount the pass-through 7 8 in the Air Force budget, the Air Force's true top line 9 budget is about \$166 billion, the lowest of the three 10 military departments. Basically about 3.2 percent of the Army's is passed through, and about 1 percent of the Navy's 11 12 budget, as I understand it, is passed through. 13 I would like your perspective on this particular

14 practice and anything that you would like to comment on.

General Brown: Senator, I am aware of the pass-through as contained in the Air Force budget. I am very transparent, and I like transparency. And so I think it is nice to be able to be reflective of the budget the Air Force is actually responsible for. So, if confirmed, I am happy to look into that aspect of our budget and then work with the various entities to address.

22 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

Ambassador Braithwaite, in looking back over yesterday, we had a very good phone conversation, and I appreciated that. As you know, similar to what you will probably hear from Senator King and from what you just heard from Senator Shaheen, I do have a concern. Even though I do not have any of those depots in my home State of South Dakota, I think it is very important that we talk about the ability to handle a 355-ship Navy with the appropriate depot capabilities.

6 My concern is that while we have seen some improvements 7 in some areas of maintenance in the Navy -- in fact, I 8 congratulate the Navy on their F/A-18's. They brought those 9 up to an 80 percent capability rate right now. When we talk about the nuclear attack submarines that we have got, we 10 have now got four of them that are waiting for dry dock. 11 12 The USS Boise may very well have been in dry dock waiting 13 for a refueling for perhaps 7 to 8 years. You have got 14 three more behind it waiting as well.

I would like your perspective on what we do with regard to depot maintenance and with regard to accelerating and getting that piece of property that the taxpayers paid for back into operational condition in a more timely fashion.

Ambassador Braithwaite: Thank you, Senator, and I didenjoy our conversation yesterday.

I did look into the USS Boise which is not only unfortunate but, sir, is unacceptable. I understand that the Department took a turn and is looking into how they might work with some other private yards to assist.

25

But I believe, as we discussed yesterday, when you look



at all the priorities and you assess those, just like we do
around our kitchen tables with our families of the
requirements that we have, we have to balance shipbuilding,
maintenance, education, training, everything across the
board. I look forward to the opportunity have that
opportunity, if confirmed, to look into this.

7 Maintenance has always been something that has been 8 deferred that I have experienced in my Navy career. As a 9 pilot, there were oftentimes -- many times that aircraft 10 were not available and we ended up being on the flight 11 schedule and then removed from the flight schedule.

12 I did get some good news, though, that the rates are 13 moving upwards, as you indicate, especially for our surface platforms. We were at a 20 percent completion rate 2 years 14 15 ago up to 40 percent, on its way to 70 percent this year 16 before Covid-19. So I salute again Assistant Secretary 17 Geurts on his efforts. I believe what he has put in place 18 and the team that he has led is moving in the right 19 direction, and I will ensure that I remain vigilant so that 20 we get to where we do not have these ships in the queue and 21 we get them back out to the tip of the spear, Senator. 22 Senator Rounds: Thank you. 23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

25 Senator Blumenthal?

Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

2 Thank you to each of our nominees for your service to 3 our country.

4 Admiral Braithwaite, I think you are absolutely correct 5 about the need for focus on culture in these very choppy 6 waters, as you correctly describe them. And I welcome your 7 commitment to changing the culture and eliminating any 8 possible perception on the part of our sailors that there is 9 a culture of retaliation against reporting instances of 10 questionable judgment or, for example, infection on any of our ships with Covid-19. And I believe you stated that very 11 12 forthrightly yesterday in our conversation.

I also welcome your offer to come back to Groton -Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.

15 Senator Blumenthal: -- where you have spent time in 16 the past and your commitment stated yesterday -- and I would 17 like you to reaffirm it now -- that you believe that we 18 ought to be constructing two submarines a year so as to 19 reach the required level that we maintain and enhance our 20 predominance in the underwater domain.

21 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir, Senator. As we 22 discussed yesterday, as a naval aviator who spent a lot of 23 time hunting submarines, Soviet submarines, I worked very 24 closely with our subsurface force. Their professionalism is 25 beyond reproach. And they are extremely important to our

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO 1 national security.

I believe we should work towards 66 boats, as you and I 2 discussed, and I will be a big advocate for that. 3

Senator Blumenthal: And for the construction hopefully 4 5 of that second submarine in fiscal year 2021 because it is 6 right now on the unfunded priorities list.

Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.

8 Senator Blumenthal: But I welcome your commitment to 9 making sure it is built at Electric Boat and also the 10 sensitivity that you have demonstrated and the commitment to our workforce there because they are as vital as our men and 11 12 women in uniform. They enable us to have the ability to 13 make sure that our men and women in uniform do not have a 14 fair fight, that they have that predominance in undersea 15 warfare and, in that connection, making sure that 16 maintenance of the USS Hartford and the USS John Warner is 17 potentially available for work so as to maintain the 18 stability of that workforce at Groton.

19 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir. I believe that the industrial base is the fragile part of the equation towards 20 national security, and we need to ensure there is stability. 21 22 Again, I saw this living for 3 years at the Navy shipyard in 23 Philadelphia. Without that, the workforce begins to not be 24 as capable. But also understanding the demands to ensure 25 that we can get the ships out and back to the tip of the

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1 spear.

2 Senator Blumenthal: The situation in Groton, as in many manufacturing sites and spaces in the United States 3 4 right now, can be very perilous. I have talked to many, many of the workers there who sometimes feel threatened 5 6 because of inadequate personal protective equipment but also 7 because of the need for better staging and siting of 8 workers, which is very difficult to do in building 9 submarines because the level of precision and skill is so demanding. 10

11 So I would like your commitment that you will encourage 12 Electric Boat and require them, in fact, to meet the best 13 standards of safety and, in fact, encourage OSHA and other 14 agencies responsible for safety to set emergency standards, 15 where necessary, to protect workers in those situations.

16 Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, this comes back to 17 something that I believe is at the core of any relationship, 18 whether between you and me or anybody. Trust is so 19 important. So I look forward to the opportunity, if 20 confirmed, to reestablish that trust inside the Navy up and 21 down the chain of command, but also the trust we have with 22 the private yards and the leadership and the workers at the 23 public yards as well. So, again, if confirmed, I will work 24 with the leadership at Electric Boat and all the private 25 contractors to ensure that we establish that trust.



Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company 1 Senator Blumenthal: Finally, on the issue of trust, 2 which is critical, I welcomed your commitment yesterday to follow the recommendations of the ongoing investigation 3 regarding Captain Crozier's removal and to return him to 4 5 command if that is the appropriate recommendation from the 6 investigation that is now underway. I have recommended an 7 Inspector General investigation, which may follow if 8 necessary. But thank you for your commitment in that regard 9 as well.

Ambassador Braithwaite: I look forward to the 10 11 investigation, and I believe that Chairman Milley was 12 correct. I believe in, as we discussed yesterday, that 13 whenever you are confronted with a challenge like this, it 14 is best to pause, consider all the facts, and then make the 15 right decision. I learned that in flight school as a young 16 naval aviator that whenever any bell or whistle went off in 17 your cockpit, the most important thing to do was sit on your 18 hands for 2 seconds. And my Marine instructor made sure I 19 did that because then you can assess the problem correctly 20 before shutting down the wrong system.

Senator Blumenthal: Thank you very much. I look
forward to supporting your nomination. Thank you.
Ambassador Braithwaite: Thank you, Senator.
Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

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## Senator Ernst?

Senator Ernst: Thank you, gentlemen, very much for being with us today. We appreciate your time and your commitment, and I want to give a special shout-out to your families as well. We wish they could be here with you. I know they are with you in spirit.

7 Ambassador Braithwaite, thank you. We had a great 8 conversation yesterday. And given maybe another day, we 9 could have solved many of the world's problems. But I do 10 appreciate your time and attention to a number of very 11 important issues and regions.

12 Part of the discussion that I found very fascinating 13 was your perspective not only as a naval officer but also as an Ambassador now. And serving in Norway and the close 14 15 proximity to Russia, you have been able to see up close 16 Russia's intentions in that region. And you went on to 17 describe the posturing of Russia, as well as we talked about 18 INDOPACOM with China and comparing what Russia is doing 19 compared with China and where they would like to see 20 themselves positioned globally. If you could share that 21 discussion using your perspective as a naval officer and an 22 Ambassador and where you think we need to be positioning as 23 a Navy in regards to Russia and then in regards to China. 24 Ambassador Braithwaite: Thank you for that question,

25 Senator, and especially for your time yesterday. I enjoyed



1 our conversation as well.

I have spent a lot of time in the Arctic both as a U.S. 2 Ambassador, as well as a naval officer, and I have come to 3 4 appreciate that part of the world for the importance and 5 especially as it emerges is becoming more important to 6 everybody. And most people in America do not realize because we do not see that here within the continental 7 8 United States, although Senator Sullivan sees it a little 9 bit up in Alaska. But the Chinese and the Russians are 10 everywhere, especially the Chinese. You would be alarmed at the amount of Chinese activity off the coast of Norway in 11 12 the high north. And we need to be vigilant to that. We 13 need to understand why.

14 My old boss, General Mattis, who I had the great 15 fortune to work for at Joint Forces Command when I was a 16 young Navy captain -- he and I spoke just a couple of years 17 ago about this. Russia's hope is to be relevant again on 18 the world stage, where we all believe or all come to 19 understand that China wants to be dominant on that same 20 world stage. And they have really pressed hard upon Norway 21 to be part of that calculus.

If you look at the northern sea route between Kirkenes, the most northern city in Norway, coming across the top of Russia, it could reduce the amount of commerce moved out of China to European markets by half. China has launched a

Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company charm campaign to try to win Norway over after, in 2010,
 forcing them or trying to force them to withdraw the Nobel
 Peace Prize to a Chinese dissident by the name of Liu Xiabo.
 The Norwegians are proud people, independent people. They
 stood up against the Chinese and they suffered for that
 economically.

But China now recognizes the importance of Kirkenes,
securing a western terminus on the northern sea route, and
they are up there and trying to, again, win over the people
of northern Norway.

The United States Navy, as you and I discussed, 11 12 Senator, is at the vanguard of that. It provides some of 13 the only capabilities to be able to do power projection in 14 that part of the world. We are there. We currently have 15 three destroyers that are sailing along with both the United 16 Kingdom Navy, as well as the Royal Norwegian Navy, to ensure 17 that that power project exists, and deterrence is part of the calculus for those of us in NATO. And I think we need 18 19 to continue to do that. We continue to need to be vigilant. 20 We continue to be present, and that requires an adequate size Navy to be there. 21

22 Senator Ernst: Very good. I appreciate that. 23 And, General Brown, just very briefly as I only have 24 about a minute remaining. The Air Force does provide very 25 valuable support to our ground forces. Those of us that

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO were ground pounders really do appreciate your cover. But our ground force commanders and the JTACs are fully integrated with our air crews to provide precision fires, especially our SOF, which is a community that I have close ties to.

As the Air Force focuses on developing their 5th generation platforms and fighting in a near-peer contested environment rather than the uncontested environment that they are very used to right now, what will that training look like for that next generation of pilots and crews, and how are you going to work with our ground forces to incorporate their needs as you are doing that?

13 General Brown: Part of the work we have to do with the 14 rest of the joint team is understand their scheme and 15 maneuver, how we work our joint warfighting concept, and how 16 we work together. One of the key aspects that we are able 17 to do as an Air Force is to provide some of the command and 18 control aspects to support, and with that is the advanced 19 battle management system and how we are able to connect to 20 various sensors and sheers. So the key part for me is to 21 understand for our sister services what is their highest 22 priority so we can work together on that versus us going our 23 That to me is the most important thing I can do, own way. 24 is actually understand what they need to do, what mission 25 sets they have, and how I am able to support and vice versa.

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO Senator Ernst: Very good. And SOCOM Commander General Clark is very appreciative of the work he has been able to do with General Goldfein and the transition of some of those platforms to SOCOM. We hope that that great relationship continues. Thank you very much.

6 General Brown: Thank you.

7 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

8 Senator King?

9 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

First to allay any confusion that may have been sowed by the comments of my distinguished colleague from New Hampshire, the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard is in Maine. I just want to clear that up.

14 [Laughter.]

15 Senator King: Ambassador Braithwaite, you and I talked 16 about the DDG being the workhorse of the Navy, an important 17 ship, a mature design. We are in the middle of a multiyear 18 right now, 2018-2022. I hope you will give serious 19 consideration to a second multiyear starting in 2023 for two reasons. One, it is a significant taxpayer savings when we 20 buy in bulk, as you were. And also, it helps to ensure the 21 22 stability of the industrial base. Will you commit to giving 23 serious consideration to that possibility?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Absolutely, Senator. As you and I discussed, the DDG-51, the greyhound of the fleet, truly is the backbone and something we have relied upon as the Department for the power projection that that platform provides. And as a former group purchasing executive, I could not agree with you in a group buy approach. That is great for the people of America and being good stewards to the taxpayers, Senator.

Senator King: Thank you. I appreciate that.

8 As we are in the midst of this crisis, the Navy has 9 deemed both its public and private shipyards essential in 10 terms of continuing their work.

11 On the other hand, two points. One is necessarily 12 there have been delays and contract delays because of the 13 interruption in the work called by the illness. I hope you 14 will work Secretary Geurts and Secretary Lord on flexibility 15 in the contracts and, indeed, perhaps additional funding in 16 order to compensate the yards for working around this 17 difficult situation.

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, I believe we have all learned a lot through this crisis, and we have a lot more to learn. If confirmed, I will work very closely with Secretary Geurts to ensure that we have the resources placed appropriately. God forbid if we were ever to encounter anything like this again.

Senator King: And flexibility in terms of deadlines.
Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir. The impact has not

been as great as what I was originally concerned. I understand we are at about 80 percent, and we will build back from that.

4 Senator King: Thank you.

5 The other piece of that is because the Navy has deemed 6 these facilities essential, it has meant that their workers, 7 mostly civilians, have gone to work and had to, and I hope 8 that you will work with both the public yard officials but 9 also the companies involved with the private yards to be 10 sure that they have the capability to keep their workers safe under these circumstances and the flexibility in terms 11 12 of production schedules and such in order to facilitate safe 13 workplaces for these patriotic Americans that are going to 14 work every day to keep our country safe.

15 Ambassador Braithwaite: I think if we have learned 16 anything in this, Senator, we have learned the fact that 17 there are patriots in every sector of this country. As a 18 health care executive, seeing what health care people have 19 done and how they have stepped up and put their lives at risk to serve others, and it is the same with the shipyard 20 21 workers who have done the same. Many of us able to 22 quarantine ourselves. They have not been. And they have continued to be out there on the front lines and have 23 24 demonstrated, like our men and women in uniform do every day 25 of their patriotism and their commitment to our national

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO 1 security. That is something that I hold very sacred 2 responsibility, if I am confirmed, is to ensure for their safety as well. So whether it is a public yard as in 3 4 Portsmouth or the private yard in Bath, as you and I 5 discussed, I will look to support those efforts, Senator. 6 Senator King: Thank you. I really appreciate that. 7 That is very important to the men and women that work at 8 those yards.

9 General Brown, quickly. I think one thing I hope you will not lose focus on is the execution of the B-21 10 contract. As you know, we have had a rocky road in recent 11 12 decades with major procurement contracts. This one seems to 13 be on track, and I think it has been worked very hard and very well by the Air Force and by the contractor. I hope 14 15 that you will commit to paying close attention to the 16 progress of that so that we do not have to come back here 17 and talk about massive overruns and delays or any overruns and delays. 18

19 General Brown: Senator, that is exactly my goal, if 20 confirmed, is to ensure that that stays on track.

21 Senator King: Finally, a quick question. You and I 22 talked about this. Again, I think attention needs to be 23 paid to the potential gap in tanker capacity. We can have 24 all the airplanes in the world, but if they cannot be 25 refueled to get to mission, we have got a failure of ability

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1 to project power. General Lyons, as you know, has projected 2 a gap, if you will, in terms of tanker capacity over the next 5 to 10 years. I hope that also will be a focus of 3 your attention. I consider that an urgent matter. 4 5 General Brown: Yes, Senator, it will be. 6 Senator King: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 7 8 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you. 9 Senator Cramer? 10 Senator Cramer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you, gentlemen, for your service and for 11 12 being here today. And my best to your families as well. We 13 look forward to seeing and meeting all of them at some 14 point. But we are proud of you and I know they are. 15 General Brown, I wanted to visit with you a little. 16 First of all, thank you for the conversation yesterday and I 17 appreciate the consistency of your answers today. I 18 especially appreciate your commitment to Senator Fischer 19 relating to the nuclear fleet keeping modernization on 20 track, on time, particularly the GBSD, also to Senator 21 Rounds relating to the bombers. As you know, we have both 22 of those at Minot Air Force Base. In fact, General Goldfein 23 will be in Minot next week. So we know it is among not only our highest priorities, but the highest priorities as per 24 25 the National Defense Strategy.

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1 One of the things that also that I was pleased about 2 was your answer to Senator Rounds relating to the passthrough. And I would like you to know and Senator Rounds 3 4 and the rest of the committee to know that I am working with 5 the committee staff on separating that \$39 billion or so 6 from the Air Force budget. I just think it is so important, 7 as per your commitment to transparency, that we as a 8 government are transparent not only to policymakers but to 9 the public as we try to gain their trust, and to the degree 10 we need to protect too many of the details of that budget, that certainly can be put somewhere in DOD other than in the 11 12 Air Force. So I hope we can get that done this year. And I 13 appreciate your commitment to transparency.

With that, one of the things that you and I talked 14 15 about yesterday that impressed me coming from you was -- and 16 it was you who initiated the point about the relationship 17 with the academia community as well as the Air Force. And 18 of course, in Grand Forks we have a wonderful relationship 19 with the University of North Dakota School of Aerospace 20 Sciences there at the Odegard School, flight school, as well 21 as the UAS program, as well as space, and would love to get 22 you up there as soon as possible to show you all of that. 23 When the time is right, we can do it in a safe manner. And 24 would love to get your commitment to that as soon as 25 practicable.

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1 General Brown: Yes, Senator.

2 Senator Cramer: And with that, I would like to also visit and get your input on something that somebody else 3 4 brought up earlier related to the northern tier and to the So when we think of the Arctic and we think of 5 Arctic. 6 proximity, with all due respect to the Navy, proximity to those important adversaries, we also think of the importance 7 8 of the northern tier bases. I would love your input on how 9 you might see an Arctic mission that involves northern tier Air Force bases. 10

General Brown: Well, the northern tier Air Force 11 12 bases, the ability to deter. You know, I watch day to day because of the forces that I have stationed in Alaska in 13 14 support of NORTHCOM/NORAD and the activities they do against 15 the Russians. At the same as I look at the Arctic, I also 16 look at the Antarctic. It was in the INDOPACOM area of 17 responsibility. You are starting to see competition there. 18 And so the key aspect for me is how do we use and have a 19 good understanding of what is going on in the Arctic and how 20 we use our northern tier bases to compete, deter, and 21 ideally win, if required. 22 Senator Cramer: Very good.

23 I have nothing further. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you.

25 Senator Kaine?

1 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

And to the nominees, this is as strong a panel of nominees for positions as we have had before us, and I plan to support all of you.

5 Admiral Braithwaite, I appreciated our conversation the 6 other day, and I want to ask you a question.

7 It just strikes me as unusual. You talked in your 8 opening statement about the choppy waters that the Navy is 9 in from a leadership standpoint. This strikes me as 10 unusual.

The Secretary of the Navy, Secretary Spencer, somebody 11 12 who I had a high regard for was essentially relieved in the 13 middle of a personnel battle. Military discipline was being carried out against a Navy SEAL based upon other sailors 14 15 coming forward with allegations about that individual, which 16 is extremely difficult to do. The President decided to 17 intervene in that military justice process. The Secretary 18 of the Navy then, trying to maintain some harmony in the 19 ranks, started to work with the White House to try to work 20 that out. He was eventually relieved of the position. But 21 he was involved in a personnel matter deep within the 22 organization, one that was very, very important.

The acting Secretary of the Navy was recently relieved for involving himself in an individual personnel matter. Captain Crozier was doing what he thought he needed to do to

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company www.AldersonReporting.com 1-800-FOR-DEPO keep folks on the Roosevelt safe. There was an ongoing
 investigation into the situation on the Roosevelt, but
 acting Secretary Modly sort of predetermined the
 investigation and made the decision on his own apparently
 without the agreement of CNO Gilday to terminate Captain
 Crozier from his leadership of the Roosevelt.

These two incidents back to back with the last 7 8 Secretary and the acting made me sort of rethink the whole 9 question of what is the civilian secretary's responsibility. 10 What should it be with respect to personnel matters? That a civilian secretary would have policy responsibility broadly 11 12 for personnel within the Navy is obvious. We would want a 13 civilian secretary to take that role seriously, and you have 14 the background to do it.

But it struck me that these two instances were civilian secretaries being involved in personnel decisions in ways that I found a little bit unusual. I have only been on the committee for 7 years and perhaps it has been more common.

But should you be confirmed, what do you think your responsibilities are with respect to personnel matters? Because if were in the ranks as a sailor, the notion of a political appointee being directly engaged in individual personnel actions for people sort of far down the chain of command -- I would be concerned about that. How will you approach this issue, should you be confirmed?

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company 1 Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, as you and I 2 discussed yesterday, I have had the great good fortune to have served under some great Secretaries of the Navy. 3 John Lehman comes to mind. He is a mentor to me. 4 I spoke just 5 the other night with Senator Warner also from your State. Ι 6 had two conversations with him in fact in the last couple 7 days.

8 Good order and discipline starts with the chain of 9 command. That has been sacrosanct to military forces since 10 the beginning of time. And if I am confirmed, I will ensure that that is understood from the Secretary's office all the 11 12 way to the smallest vessel in the United States Navy and the 13 United States Marine Corps. I believe that our commanders, 14 the CEOs of the ships and commands are vested with the 15 responsibility to be accountable, as well as to lead those 16 who serve under their leadership. And I believe they should 17 be empowered to do such.

Again, I have lived my entire life believing in the chain of command, believing in ensuring the chain of command is informed both up and down, and making sure that people have trust and confidence in that chain of command.

22 Senator Kaine: Can I ask you, Ambassador Braithwaite, 23 in the chain of command, do you see yourself as Secretary 24 sort of intervening in personnel decisions that are fairly 25 distant down the chain of command?

Ambassador Braithwaite: No, Senator. No, no. No, I 1 2 I believe that the men and women in uniform at all do not. ranks should have the opportunity and should have 3 4 established the ability to ensure that they are making the 5 decisions to lead their men and women appropriately. 6 Senator Kaine: Thank you very much. Thank you, Mr. Chair. 7 8 Senator Reed [presiding]: On behalf of Chairman 9 Inhofe, let me recognize Senator Hawley. 10 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thanks to each of you for being here. Congratulations 11 12 on your nomination. 13 Let me see if I can cover a fair amount of ground here in a short amount of time. 14 15 Dr. Anderson, I enjoyed speaking with you the other 16 day, yesterday. I cannot remember. The days all run 17 together. Recently. 18 Let me ask you this. The National Defense Strategy has 19 said that the Indo-Pacific is our priority theater. The current Secretary has said that the Indo-Pacific --20 Secretary of Defense, that is -- is our priority theater. 21 22 Do you agree with those assessments? 23 Dr. Anderson: Yes, Senator, I do. 24 Senator Hawley: Can you give us a sense of why? 25 Dr. Anderson: So in the context of reviewing our

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1 strategy, which came out in 2018, we looked at changing 2 circumstances over the last decade-plus while we were very committed and focused on fighting violent extremism, and 3 during that time, our competitors, the PRC and the Russian 4 5 Federation, took full advantage of our focus elsewhere. And 6 they have done a variety of things in both their respective 7 theaters to strengthen their position and put our position 8 at greater risk. So looking at those trends, based upon 9 that assessment, that is how we came to prioritizing the 10 National Defense Strategy.

11 Senator Hawley: Let us talk a little bit about some of 12 the difficult strategic choices that have to be made in 13 order to prioritize the Indo-Pacific particularly as it 14 relates to CENTCOM. Do you think that we have an effective 15 deterrent strategy currently against Iran? And how can we 16 improve that strategy without sending more forces to the 17 region?

18 Dr. Anderson: So I think we have established 19 deterrence, at least in a conventional sense, against Iran. 20 I am very concerned, however, about their continued backing 21 of Shia militia groups who have acted and may well act again 22 in the future with some degree of difficulties in terms of 23 attributing. But we do hold Tehran responsible, and we are 24 hopeful that they, in fact, get the message going forward 25 that we are committed to our allies and partners in the

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Middle East. We are going to protect our forces, and we are
 going to do all the things that we said we have done.

3 Senator Hawley: Can we do that without sending more
4 forces to the region?

Dr. Anderson: I believe we can.

6 Senator Hawley: Let me ask you about another 7 flashpoint there. The Taliban are undermining a peace deal 8 in Afghanistan. If that deal collapses, when do you think 9 we should withdraw our remaining troops from the region?

Dr. Anderson: So I am kind of leery of talking to hypotheticals. I mean, as I mentioned earlier, we are going to reassess all the conditions going forward. I would hope that the deal would not collapse. They have shown a commitment to at least part of it so far, and hopefully they will honor the remaining portions. If they do not, then we will reassess and we will do what we need to do.

17 Senator Hawley: What I am driving at and what you and I discussed, Dr. Anderson -- I appreciated our conversation 18 19 -- is this tension between our commitments in CENTCOM and 20 our security needs in CENTCOM and our pacing theater in 21 INDOPACOM. And these are difficult -- there are no easy 22 answers here. Certainly I do not have any easy answers. 23 But this is going to be your job, finding and recommending 24 answers. And I want to underscore that it seems to me vital 25 in this time in the midst of this Covid-19 crisis and its

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1 direct relationship with China as the whole world is seeing 2 the malign intent of the Chinese Communist Party and the geostrategic danger of China. To me, it is more imperative 3 4 than ever that we find ways to focus on INDOPACOM, on the 5 PRC as our pacing theater and as our pacing threat, and make 6 hard choices in order to do so because the truth is we 7 simply cannot do it all. We are not going to spend \$2 8 trillion on defense. We simply cannot do it all. We have to make hard choices, and that is going to be part of your 9 10 job. So I will be counting on you to do it.

11 Just another point on this. I have advocated, as you 12 know -- and we talked about it -- for a Pacific deterrence 13 initiative that would address the requirements set out in 14 the INDOPACOM 1253 report. I think the European Defense 15 Initiative has seen great success. I would like to see us 16 do something similar in INDOPACOM. If INDOPACOM is our 17 priority theater, then why would we not embrace a similar deterrence initiative there as we have in EUCOM? 18

Dr. Anderson: So the independent assessment provided by INDOPACOM has been delivered to Congress, and we owe you a briefing, both OSD and the joint staff, and we are prepared to do that. I agree with you that the European Defense Initiative has been successful, and there is a case to be made for considering a similar arrangement in the Indo-Pacific theater. And if confirmed, I certainly pledge,

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1 commit

commit to taking a look at that.

2 Senator Hawley: Thank you very much.

General, Ambassador, I do not want you to feel left
out. I will have some questions for the record for you.
Thank you for being here. Thank you all for your service.
And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Chairman Inhofe [presiding]: Thank you.

8 Senator Heinrich?

9 Senator Heinrich: General Brown, I want to start by 10 saying I was really encouraged to see the Air Force select Holloman Air Force Base in New Mexico as the preferred 11 12 location for basing an F-16 training squadron that has been 13 temporarily stationed at that installation since 2017. And should you be confirmed, I certainly look forward to working 14 15 with you to address the Air Force's pilot shortfall and 16 would suggest that the Air Force continue to look to New 17 Mexico to solve its most pressing training, testing, and 18 technological challenges. Obviously, that is not a 19 question. It is a statement. But I think you understand.

And with regard to my first question for you, General, you provided answers in advance to policy questions for the committee ahead of today's hearing, and one of those questions asked specifically which capabilities the Air Force needs to develop to meet future challenges to create a third offset, as many people have said. And you listed

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artificial intelligence, machine learning, hypersonics, and
 directed energy among your top priorities. I could not
 agree more with those particular priorities.

Should you be confirmed, how exactly would you press
the Air Force to more rapidly develop, test, and most
importantly, field these critical capabilities?

Senator, one of the ways I would look 7 General Brown: 8 to do this is how we engage outside of the Air Force in some cases because when I think about the things I do on a day-9 10 to-day basis when I search the Internet and watch how -- and look at something, and then the next page, it shows up. 11 There is that capability that is out there and it is not 12 13 always resident inside of the Department of Defense. So it 14 is how we work with academia, how we work with industry. 15 And that is some of the things the Air Force is already 16 doing. I just think we need to do more of it and to take 17 advantage of all the capability we have within our nation. 18 Senator Heinrich: I want to ask you a little bit as 19 well about the Space Rapid Capabilities Office which, as you

20 know, is charged with developing low-cost, rapid reaction 21 payloads to maintain the United States' critical advantage 22 in space.

Last March before this committee, General Goldfein agreed emphatically that Space RCO was something that is working and should continue to act as an independent agency,

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General Brown: In some aspects, Senator. I would kind of defer to General Raymond since it is under the Space Force. But the Air Force also has a rapid capability office. And so the good part about a rapid capabilities office it actually is somewhat separated from the bureaucracy of the bigger machine to be able to move a bit faster.

11 Senator Heinrich: Quite a bit faster actually. And 12 that is the point is that innovation is, in large part, 13 dependent on that independence.

In your most recent command of the Pacific Air Forces, you have been responsible for delivering air, space, and cyberspace capabilities to counter threats in the Indo-Pacific. What are you general takeaways of the Chinese capability and development with respect to hypersonics and directed energy?

20 General Brown: Not as much on directed energy, but on 21 hypersonics, I know they are making advancements in 22 hypersonics just watching kind of the day-to-day intel and 23 open source information.

24 Senator Heinrich: Are you confident that we are 25 developing and testing and fielding our capabilities fast 1

enough to meet that threat?

2 General Brown: No, Senator. I think we can go faster. I think there are areas we can go faster. We have got to 3 put our foot forward on some of these, and we are going to 4 5 fail on some of these, but we are going to learn when we 6 fail as we go forward. 7 Senator Heinrich: I look forward to working with you 8 on that. 9 General Brown: Thank you, Senator. 10 Senator Heinrich: Thank you. 11 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you. 12 Senator Wicker? 13 Senator Wicker: Thank you very much. 14 Well, let me start with General Brown. You are an Air 15 Force ROTC graduate. Are you not? 16 General Brown: That is correct. 17 Senator Wicker: Congratulations. 18 General Brown: Thank you. 19 Senator Wicker: Some Air Force ROTC graduates had less 20 stellar careers than yours, but I am glad to see a fellow ROTC here reach the Chief of Staff of the Air Force. 21 22 Where did you do your pilot training? I did not see 23 that in the bio. 24 General Brown: Williams Air Force Base in Arizona. 25 Senator Wicker: Great, great. You know, we train

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pilots in Mississippi also.

2 General Brown: I have been to the base there in3 Mississippi.

4 Senator Wicker: We do not need to have any fewer5 training bases, do you think?

6 General Brown: No, Senator.

7 Senator Wicker: All right. Good, good.

8 Well, look, glad to have you, and I want to be a real 9 friend.

Let me move on to Ambassador Braithwaite. Thank you for what you said about 355 ships, and I think you said that is the minimum.

13 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.

14 Senator Wicker: You know, what we want to do is take 15 this requirement that comes from the generals and the 16 admirals and rely on the folks out there that tell us what 17 the requirement is.

There is word that there is another requirement maybe on some tables in the Pentagon that just have not been published or have not been supplied to us, and that the number would be substantially more than 355. What do you know about that, Ambassador?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, I understand that OSD is looking into a comprehensive plan. If confirmed -- I have not had any insight into that, but if confirmed, I look

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to a role as being the chief advocate to build a fleet of
 greater than 355 ships.

3 Senator Wicker: Well, we need to build a fleet that 4 the top military brass, admirals and generals, that are 5 tasked with keeping our country safe tell us is needed, the 6 minimum requirement that is needed. And I think that is 7 what we have done. And we have got great leadership on the 8 committee as a chair and ranking member who feel the same.

9 And you know, we have got a little bit of a dip, and I 10 say this about shipbuilding and also, General, about 11 aircraft manufacturing. We got a little bit of a dip coming 12 from OMB, and a lot of it is a function of the budget that 13 we had to all agree to to get a 2-year deal.

14 The way I calculate it and also talking to the 15 Secretary of Defense, an extra \$20 billion would restore the 16 curve and get us about where we need to be combining 17 shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing. I would just say 18 to my colleagues and anyone listening our economy has been 19 in the tank, and we have done some things in this Congress 20 that were necessary to get us over the hump and we found a 21 way to appropriate the money and borrow the money and say we 22 need to do it. In terms of the \$3 trillion we have spent on 23 our economy, it strikes me it is a relative bargain to try to come up with \$20 billion, only \$20 billion, to get us 24 25 back where we need to be to where the top military leaders

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in our country tell us will keep us safe. So I would just
say that I think the collective leadership in this town and
in this building ought to help us come up with that.

Now, there is also, Ambassador Braithwaite, getting more out of your money. And I asked Secretary Geurts about block buys and a strategy to acquire more amphibious ships in the most cost effective manner. Do you agree with Secretary Geurts when he says that block buys are a great strategy, and will you continue to support amphibious ship procurement as Secretary, Ambassador Braithwaite?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir, I do. As Senator King and I discussed the same thing, a block buy, group purchasing, I am a group purchasing health care executive. A block buy is a good deal.

15 Senator Wicker: Thank you very much.

16 I think this is a mighty impressive panel, Mr.17 Chairman.

18 Chairman Inhofe: Yes, and I certainly agree.

19 Senator Hirono?

20 Senator Hirono: A special aloha to General Brown who 21 currently serves as Commander Pacific Air Force.

I ask the following two questions of every nominee who comes before any of the committees on which I sit, so I will ask them. And I would like the responses starting from the Ambassador.

1 Since you became a legal adult, have you ever made 2 unwanted requests for sexual favors or committed any verbal or physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature? 3 Ambassador Braithwaite: No, Senator, I have not. 4 5 Senator Hirono: Dr. Anderson? Dr. Anderson: No, Senator. 6 7 General Brown: No, Senator. Senator Hirono: Have you ever faced discipline or 8 entered into a settlement related to this kind of conduct? 9 10 Ambassador Braithwaite: No, Senator. Dr. Anderson: No, Senator. 11 12 General Brown: No, Senator. 13 Senator Hirono: A question for the Ambassador. The 14 Red Hill bulk fuel tank facility in Hawaii is a strategic 15 military asset consisting of 20 underground storage tanks, 16 each holding 12.5 million gallons of fuel. This installation is in the order of the Hoover Dam. 17 This 18 facility is positioned above a large aquifer that supplies 19 drinking water to many families on Oahu. The fuel tank leak that occurred in 2014 threatened the local drinking water 20 21 supply and resulted in an administrative order of consent 22 between the Navy, the Environmental Protection Agency, and 23 the Hawaii Department of Health. Although the Navy has 24 performed tank upgrades and increased groundwater 25 monitoring, concerns in the community remain.

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1 Can I get your commitment that if you are confirmed, 2 you will work with me to make sure that the safety of Red 3 Hill is a priority so that the local community's drinking 4 water is protected and the military may continue to use this 5 resource?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, I lived in Waipahu, Waimea, and Barbers Point. And I have been past the Red Hill facility many times. I understand the importance to the people of Hawaii and to you, and I pledge my commitment to work with you to mitigate this and correct it.

11

Senator Hirono: Thank you very much.

You have been asked a number of questions from a number of my colleagues, specifically Senator Shaheen and King about the importance of the shipyard modernization. And of course, one of the four public shipyards is in Hawaii.

And also thank you for your commitment to make sure that the health and safety of the workers there, many of whom are civilians, are protected during this pandemic.

Now, the current layout at the Pearl Harbor Shipyard is inefficient and must be updated. Pearl Harbor is slated for a new dry dock and a new dry dock production facility in the next several years. Funding this critical program will require a significant portion of the Navy's budget.

Does the Navy's fiscal year 2021 budget contain or continue funding for shipyard modernization plans so that it 1

will be implemented on time?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, from what I understand, the SIOP does include that over a 20-year period. I am not sure of the particulars of that, but I understand the importance of the Pearl Harbor Shipyard and its importance geographically. So I look to work with the Department of the Navy, if confirmed, as we can prioritize those requirements.

Senator Hirono: I would certainly like to work closely 9 10 with you because there have already been some setting aside of some funding that was supposed to go for our dry dock 11 12 production facility to make the shipyard much more 13 efficient, and that has already been set aside in 14 anticipation of a new dry dock and a production facility 15 that is close to the dry dock so that it makes more sense. 16 So I would want to continue to work with you. 17 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, Senator. Senator Hirono: Well, I would like to work with you 18 19 because I have not started yet. 20 [Laughter.] 21 Senator Hirono: For Dr. Anderson, for over 3 years, 22 Congress has directed the Department to urgently deploy the 23 homeland defense radar Hawaii. This administration's own

24 missile defense review released in 2019, as well as its

25 budget request for fiscal year 2017 through 2020, the

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INDOPACOM commander and missile defense experts of the
 Missile Defense Agency have all previously stated that this
 radar is critical for the defense of Hawaii against North
 Korea's advancing long-range missile capabilities.

5 Dr. Anderson, if confirmed, will you continue to 6 support the Missile Defense Agency's recommendation to build 7 the homeland defense radar Hawaii consistent with the 2019 8 missile defense review and its recommendations?

9 Dr. Anderson: Yes, Senator. I commit to that. 10 Senator Hirono: Mr. Chairman, I have a few other 11 questions that I will submit for the record, and I thank all 12 of you for being here once again.

13 Chairman Inhofe: Thank you very much.

As we had stated in the beginning, we are going to have a second round, and I will recognize Senator Sullivan now for his first round. Now Senator Sullivan is presiding. Thank you.

18 Senator Sullivan [presiding]: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 19 And gentlemen, I want to thank you for our meetings in 20 the last couple days and also your very exceptional service, 21 decades of service to our nation for all three of you. So I 22 appreciate that. And I want to thank your families, even 23 though they could not be here.

I want to begin with my opening question that I ask all nominees, which is will you commit to coming to the great State of Alaska with me to see what Billy Mitchell, the father of the U.S. Air Force, called the most strategic place in the world. Can I get a commitment from each of you to do that? Even though I know you have all been there before, this is a new commitment as part of your new job. Ambassador?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, as we discussed
yesterday, I look forward to going back to Adak with you.

9 Senator Sullivan: Excellent.

10 Dr. Anderson: Yes, Senator.

11 Senator Sullivan: General?

12 General Brown: Yes, Senator.

13 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

14 This committee mandated a few years back the National 15 Defense Strategy Commission report, which was co-chaired by 16 former Under Secretary Eric Edelman and Admiral Gary 17 Roughead. One of the findings and recommendations of that 18 report was that it was important to reverse what they 19 called, quote, an unhealthy trend whereby civilians, both in 20 the Pentagon and importantly here in the Congress, were, quote, less and less involved in critical military decisions 21 22 like basing decisions and the allocating of forces across 23 theaters.

For that reason, this committee has weighed in on a number of important basing decisions such as the OCONUS basing decision of the KC-46. And, General Brown, I want to
 talk at length with you about that as we did in my office
 the other day.

In the NDAA in 2017 and 2018, this committee and the Congress put forward the kind of characteristics they believed were important when looking at the OCONUS KC-46 basing decision. And in a hearing in 2018, I ran through a number of these characteristics mandated by Congress with Secretary Wilson and General Goldfein. I would like to see if your views line up with theirs.

11 One of the things, again mandated by the Congress, 12 important to look at having the KC-46 located near not just 13 one but several COCOMs if possible. General Goldfein 14 thought that was important. Do you agree with that, 15 General?

16 General Brown: I do, Senator.

17 Senator Sullivan: The other again characteristics 18 mandated by Congress, near outstanding training facilities, 19 especially for 5th gen fighters, and training with joint and 20 international partners. Secretary Wilson and General 21 Goldfein said absolutely. Do you agree with that? 22 General Brown: I agree. 23 Senator Sullivan: The third area was being near 24 facilities that have large airspace for training, large

25 runways, hangars, air crews, maintenance, and very large



fuel storage and distribution capabilities. Again, the current Chief of Staff and Secretary of the Air Force said that was important. Do you agree with that?

4 General Brown: I do.

5 Senator Sullivan: And then in a hearing we had twice now, I asked the Secretary of Defense, particularly given 6 7 the National Defense Strategy with regard to our Russia, 8 China, North Korea challenges, if you collocated KC-46's 9 that were collocated with 100 5th generation fighters, 10 F-22's and F-35's in Alaska, which is what we are going to have in the next year, what kind of message would that send 11 to our adversaries in the NDS, China, Russia, North Korea, 12 13 Iran? The Secretary of Defense has twice now stated the 14 message that would be sent was that would give the message 15 to our potential adversaries that the United States has 16 extreme strategic reach. Do you agree with that, General? 17 General Brown: I do, Senator.

18 Senator Sullivan: Senator King mentioned an issue that 19 just came up in a hearing just a couple months ago. General 20 Lyons mentioned in his posture statement that the air 21 refueling fleet is TRANSCOM's most stressed capability and 22 number one readiness concern, and it continues to underpin 23 the joint force's ability to deploy an immediate force 24 across all NDS mission areas and that is critical. 25 Based on Senator King's mention of this being an urgent

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matter, what General Lyons said recently to this committee, do you agree that it makes sense, as General Goldfein had said, to bed down KC-46 OCONUS decision tankers, our most limited and stressed resource, in a location that allows them to be responsible to multiple threats in multiple combatant commands?

7 General Brown: Senator, I agree that we should base 8 the KC-46 in the places that give us the most flexibility. 9 Senator Sullivan: How about multiple combatant 10 commands being able to -- does that allow the most 11 flexibility?

General Brown: Senator, that is one of the areas that we would look at to give the most reach and as you described it in our conversation earlier this week.

Senator Sullivan: Okay. I am going to continue this line of questioning, but I see my time is up. Well, let me just ask one final one related to that.

18 Senator King: You are in charge.

19 Senator Sullivan: I am in charge. I guess I can do 20 this.

21 [Laughter.]

22 Senator Sullivan: Does it make sense kind of on the 23 flip side to have OCONUS KC-46's in a location that is 24 focused only on one combatant command and will be vulnerable 25 soon to long-range precision weapons from our adversaries in 1 the INDOPACOM region?

2 General Brown: Senator, it probably does not because 3 it increases the risk to the fleet.

4 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

5 Senator Jones, I believe you are next.

6 Senator Jones: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you all of our witnesses today for your
service and your willingness to serve. I very much
appreciate this.

I am probably going to make a couple statements. I have a couple of quick questions. So I will issue some questions for the record. For instance, Secretary Anderson, I know that you have had an interest in missile defense. Obviously, that is very important to the State of Alabama at Redstone Arsenal. So I am likely to follow up with you on a number of topics that way.

17 One of the things I have done on this committee is also 18 pay particular attention to the men and women in uniform and 19 not just our increase in the nuclear triad or modernizing 20 our military capabilities. General Brown, I will say it is 21 an honor to be part of your confirmation hearing as the 22 first African American chief of any branch. Being able to 23 provide an example for other minorities, for women I think is incredibly important. I have had a special interest in 24 25 support of the Air Force Junior ROTC program to encourage



1 minorities and women, and we have got some language in the NDAA last year to spread that across other branches. 2 And so I look forward to hearing more from you at an appropriate 3 time concerning a concern that I have got about under-4 5 representation of minorities and women in more senior ranks 6 in the Air Force. I think that is something that I am sure, 7 without you having to verbalize it, you are committed to 8 work on. So thank you for that.

9 Ambassador Braithwaite, we had a great talk a couple 10 days ago. Thank you for that. I very much appreciated 11 that.

12 The first thing I would like to mention -- I am really 13 kind of compelled to state on behalf of my State -- I was really disappointed with the Navy's decision on the next 14 15 generation frigate contract, which I believe the Navy 16 overlooked some really obvious choices and that is Austal 17 USA down in Mobile, Alabama. They have consistently proven a record of top quality, highly capable ships that came in 18 19 on budget and on time for the Navy. And we look forward to getting more information. 20

I must say that having spent a couple years in this city, one can become quite cynical as we approach elections, and it is a concern of mine based on what happened with Huntsville last year when the Space Command decision was reopened after Huntsville was one of the finalists on that,

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that we now have that frigate contract going to a State that is clearly a battleground State for the upcoming election. And I am not making allegations, but as a lawyer, it just raises my sensitivity somewhat when I see that happen and overlooking a company like Austal who has come in and done so well with their contracts.

7 But the other thing I want to mention -- and, 8 Ambassador, you and I talked about this. And this really 9 will be for both you and General Anderson. Over the last 10 10 years, we have seen a number of shootings at military bases: Fort Hood, 14 dead in 2009; in 2013, there were 12 dead at 11 12 the Naval Shipyard; again a shooting in 2014 at Fort Hood; 13 in Chattanooga in 2015. And last year in December of 2019, 14 there was a shooting that killed three people in Pensacola, 15 including one of my constituents, Caleb Watson, who was 16 killed in a terrorist attack at the Naval Air Station there.

17 Caleb was the officer on deck that morning. He was one 18 of the first people the shooter encountered. And although 19 he was shot five times, he managed to make his way out to flag down first responders and give an accurate description 20 21 of the shooter. Tragically Caleb died of his wounds in the 22 I know that Senators Scott and Perdue also lost hospital. 23 young men from their home States in that awful incident. 24 I know that the number of killings on military bases

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does not seem like a lot considering the number of shootings

that we have had across the country in the last decade or 20 years of so, especially with the number of deaths in this pandemic. But for our men and women who volunteer to serve and to put their lives on the line in the service of their country, they should not have to die needlessly.

I have met with Caleb's father and brother, and I made a commitment to work with them to try to get to the bottom of what happened. I think there are a number of instances that could have saved Caleb's life and perhaps others.

10 The GAO issued a report in 2015 concerning 11 recommendations on military bases. And I am not quite sure 12 that any of that has been followed at this point. We have 13 not seen any follow-up.

14 So my simple question. I would like to get a little 15 bit more to the bottom of this, but I have just a simple question for both you, Ambassador Braithwaite and General 16 17 Anderson. Are you committed to looking at those reports, 18 looking at those recommendations to try to see if there are 19 things we can feasibly do to prevent the needless killing of 20 men and women in service not only of the military but also 21 the potential civilians that are on these bases as well? 22 Let us look at that GAO report, try to implement those 23 things, and work with our office to try to see what we can 24 do to better protect our men and women. Ambassador 25 Braithwaite?



Ambassador Braithwaite: Absolutely, Senator. As you and I discussed, I was stationed at NAS Pensacola. And that incident came a little closer to me because one of my shipmates in the Navy -- his son was training there, as we discussed, and was in that building and literally just left minutes before the shooting.

7 Anybody who goes aboard any military installation has 8 to show an ID card, and it always gives you a sense of 9 security when you do that, whether you come into this 10 building or you come into the Pentagon or any of our 11 military facilities around the world.

So I pledge to you, Senator, that I will look into this. I understand that some parts of the report are classified, and in follow-up to our discussion the other day, if I am confirmed, I look forward to looking at those reports and ensuring that we have the processes in place to protect the men and women both in uniform and out who are aboard those bases.

19 Senator Jones: Great. Thank you.

20 General Anderson? Do I have a commitment from you?

21 Dr. Anderson: You do have my commitment.

22 Senator Jones: Thank you.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I know my time is out, but I would like to recommend to the committee, to the chairman and ranking member, that we possibly conduct a hearing on

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this at some point to look into the safety of our military men and women and civilians on these bases so that these tragedies do not happen again. So thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

6 On behalf of the chairman, Senator Duckworth.

7 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

8 Ambassador Braithwaite, our nation's first commander in chief wisely observed that discipline is the soul of an 9 As a former commander, I learned that good order and 10 army. discipline is the north star that ensures we always fight 11 12 with honor. It is how our United States military became the 13 greatest fighting force that the world has ever seen while 14 adhering to the laws of war and rejecting wanton conduct and 15 reckless violence that is harmful to its mission.

16 Good order and discipline is truly the soul of the 17 United States military, and that soul is now threatened by a 18 commander in chief who glorifies torture, betrays American 19 allies, and celebrates war criminals and despots. Generals, 20 admirals, successful business executives all have proven 21 incapable of withstanding the erratic demands of a petulant 22 President who normalizes war crimes by offering degrading 23 characterizations of our honorable service members such as 24 this disgraceful quote from President Trump, and I quote. 25 We train our boys to be killing machines, then prosecute

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1 them when they kill.

2 By their inaction, top leaders have enabled this commander in chief who threatens to transform the U.S. armed 3 4 forces into an undisciplined, brutal fighting force devoted 5 to supporting one man unaccountable to the chain of command and dismissive of the laws of war and constitutional 6 principles. This is a danger to the professionalism of our 7 8 great military. It is one thing to take the fight to enemy 9 and to rain down destruction upon them, but it is dangerous and beneath the professional standards of our military to 10 conduct itself as if it is the personal force of a want-to-11 12 be despot.

13 There have been glimmers of leadership within the 14 administration. Former Secretary of the Navy, Richard 15 Spencer, used one of his last official acts to inform 16 President Trump that -- and I quote -- I cannot in good 17 conscience obey an order that I believe violates the sacred 18 oath I took in the presence of my family, my flag, and my 19 faith to support and defend the Constitution of the United 20 States. Secretary Spencer demonstrated leadership in not 21 only sacrificing his position of power in defense of good 22 order and discipline, but equally important, confidently 23 speaking the truth to power to inform the American people of 24 the dangers posed by the current commander in chief.

Mr. Ambassador, do you believe that our men and women

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company in uniform are just -- and I quote -- killing machines? Do you believe something more is required of them and that there are good reasons for that requirement?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Senator, I had an opportunity 4 5 to talk about good order and discipline a little while ago and like you shared that experience in uniform and 6 understand the importance of it. I believe the men and 7 women who serve in uniform of our nation are patriots first 8 9 and foremost. They demonstrate that every day. They go 10 into harm's way as you and I both did. And we have a sacred 11 commitment to ensure that they have the resources they need, 12 and we ensure we protect their interests.

Senator Duckworth: Do you believe that the law of war is fundamental to good order and discipline?

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Ambassador Braithwaite: Excuse me?

16 Senator Duckworth: Do you believe that the law of war 17 is fundamental to good order and discipline going back to 18 our days as cadets when we learned about the law of war and 19 professionalism in the military? Do you think that that is 20 fundamental to good order and discipline in our military? 21 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes. 22 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

Do you affirm the importance of respectful treatment of the enemy dead, one of the oldest rules of the law of war? Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, of course.

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1 Senator Duckworth: Thank you. 2 Senator Duckworth: Do you think that taking a photo with a corpse of an ISIS fighter and then texting the image 3 4 to friends is respectful treatment of an enemy dead? 5 Ambassador Braithwaite: No, Senator, I do not. 6 Senator Duckworth: If confirmed, how will you react to service members who violate the law of war with dishonorable 7 8 behavior such as that? 9 Ambassador Braithwaite: Anybody exhibiting dishonorable behavior will be held accountable if I am 10 confirmed. 11 12 Senator Duckworth: How? 13 Ambassador Braithwaite: Ensuring good order and

14 discipline and the chain of command is followed and ensuring 15 that we uphold those sacred truths that you have just 16 explained to us.

17 Senator Duckworth: And use of the UCMJ?

18 Ambassador Braithwaite: Absolutely.

19 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

Do you believe that public statements made on social media by active duty service members can negatively impact good order and discipline?

Ambassador Braithwaite: I have some very strong feelings about social media. Social media can influence anything at any time, and people need to be mindful of that no matter what they comment, when they comment. If you will look, Senator, I do not participate a lot on social media for that very reason. And when I served as the Vice Chief of Information in the United States Navy, I advised many senior officers to do the same. There is a means and a medium to be able to communicate through that, but there is also a lot of misuse of it.

8 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

9 So recognizing that certain behavior on social media 10 can have very real impacts on good order and discipline, do 11 you think that those service members who violate standards 12 of conduct on social media should be held accountable for 13 their actions?

14 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, I do.

Senator Duckworth: How would you react if, under your watch as SECNAV, an active duty service member publicly called the leadership of his or her service and other commanders -- and I quote -- a bunch of morons, as Eddie Gallagher did on cable news last year?

20 Ambassador Braithwaite: If they were still in the 21 uniform of our nation and they were responsible for their 22 actions under the UCMJ, they would be held accountable 23 appropriately I would hope, first and foremost, by their 24 direct commanding officers, again following good order and 25 discipline and the chain of command that you and I both

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1 served under.

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Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

How can an average American trust that service members will uphold military values if the leaders of the Department fail to act when those very values come under attack? We had this discussion, and this is about reinstalling culture and those values --

8 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes.

9 Senator Duckworth: -- in the Navy. And you are ready
10 to do that.

Ambassador Braithwaite: Well, so you and I talked 11 12 about that earlier. It starts with trust up and down the 13 chain of command. You and I know that you cannot just tell 14 a young sailor, soldier, marine, or airman to go into harm's 15 way unless you have their trust. You gain their trust by 16 the demonstration of being forthright in the way that you 17 communicate to them and ensure that you again uphold good 18 order and discipline through the chain of command. I, if I 19 am confirmed, will ensure that we build back trust both up and down the chain, that we look to reestablish a strong 20 21 culture based upon that trust and that comes with strong 22 leadership and understanding the responsibility and the 23 accountability of what being a leader means.

24 Senator Duckworth: And are you willing, should it come 25 to it, to resign your position if in your good conscience an



order from the President violates the sacred oath you took in the presence of your family, your flag, and your faith, as you have from 1980 onwards?

Ambassador Braithwaite: Again, I have been asked this question, and I have repeatedly stated that like you I raised my hand, I took the oath of office, and committed to uphold the Constitution of the United States. And I will continue to do that. I will continue to follow the lawful orders of all those appointed over me, as both you and I did when we were in uniform at all ranks.

11 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I am over time, but I do have a question for Dr. Anderson I would like to submit for the record that has to do with INDOPACOM and its importance to the NDS and our nation's security in the future.

16 Senator Sullivan: Without objection.

17 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

Senator Sullivan: We are going to go to round two unless Senator McSally is ready. Are you ready to go?

20 Okay. Senator McSally?

Senator McSally: Thank you. I appreciate it. I have
been watching from my office, social distancing virtually.
It is good to see you all. Congratulations on your
nominations.

25 General Brown, I want to talk about the A-10 Warthog.



1 I am sure that is no surprise to you.

2 You may be aware that we put some requirements in previous NDAAs. Specifically, look, we need 5th generation 3 4 I love the F-35. We need our airmen to be able fighters. 5 to having air superiority, which we have made it look easy 6 for so long. But you need the Ferrari and the pickup truck. 7 And even in high-end warfare, we need the ability to protect 8 the men and women on the ground with capabilities that are 9 unmatched like the A-10 Warthog. So it was good to see in your testimony that you did talk about the importance of 10 having that 4th generation and keeping them into the future, 11 12 including the A-10.

13 We put some requirements because of previous concerns of just getting rid of it altogether, that there needed to 14 15 be a fly-off competition between the F-35 and the A-10, that 16 there needed to be the full operation, test, and evaluation 17 report of the F-35 and then another assessment following 18 that, all happening in series before any planning or 19 anything could happen related to retiring one more A-10. 20 Are you aware of the requirements that we have had in 21 the NDAA in the past related to this? 22 I am somewhat aware. General Brown: In my 23 preparation, I have been made aware of it in a little more 24 detail.

25 Senator McSally: Okay, great.

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1 I was concerned that the proposal for this next year's 2 budget included phasing out some number of the A-10's without any regard to those requirements we had in there 3 4 where we clearly said you cannot plan to retire one more 5 A-10 until these things have happened. And these things 6 have not happened yet. So we are in ongoing discussions 7 with your leadership and, should you be confirmed, this is 8 something we are going to be engaging with you on.

9 So can you just talk to me about your views on this issue, where the A-10 stands in the future of our Air Force, 10 11 how long with its upgrades and the new capabilities that it 12 has -- how long do you think it will be in the inventory, 13 how important a niche capability like that is to protect men and women on the ground who are often in very complex and 14 15 moving fire fights where we already have air superiority but 16 we still need to have the best capabilities overhead to keep them alive? 17

General Brown: Well, I do believe the A-10 will be 18 19 around for a number of years. The challenge I think we will 20 run into, as we are seeing not only with the A-10 but as you 21 saw with the B-1, that in order to maintain that fleet and 22 make it affordable, at some point we are going to have to 23 take some that are probably not doing as well and move them aside. So one, we can maintain the fleet but also invest in 24 25 the future. So we have got to be able to do both, you know,

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maintain the 4th gen into the next 15-20 years, at the same
 time modernize with that 5th gen capability as well.

3 Senator McSally: So is it your perspective the A-10
4 with its modernization would be around into the 2040s still
5 operating at some number, which we will continue to talk
6 about?

General Brown: I cannot say specifically whether it is 2040, but I know it is going to be probably for the next probably 10 to 15 years at least, particularly as you start investing in replacement of the wings. You are not going to make a big investment if you are not going to keep it. That is kind of where I think the Air Force is headed.

13 Senator McSally: Great. So, look, if previous efforts 14 had their way, all of them would be in the bone yard right 15 now. So we were able to stop that from happening. So I 16 think there is a broad agreement we need the capability.

17 Now there is a discussion about the capacity, and right 18 now there are 281 in the fleet. There are nine operational 19 squadrons, five active duty, four guard and reserve. And so 20 we are going to have follow-on conversations about this, 21 what is the right capacity and what is the right mix, 22 active, guard, and reserve, in order to keep this niche 23 capability not just for combat search -- it is not just for 24 close air support but also for combat search and rescue, 25 which is an often overlooked mission that the Sandy fleet

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runs when we have Americans that need to be rescued that are
 in enemy territory.

3 So I look forward to continuing this conversation with 4 you. Just know I was concerned about seeing efforts to draw 5 it down before the requirements we put in law were met, and 6 this is going to be an ongoing conversation we will have, 7 should you be confirmed.

8 General Brown: Senator, if confirmed, I look forward9 to the conversation.

10 Senator McSally: Great. Thanks.

11 Ambassador, I would like to ask you about do you see 12 China taking advantage of Covid-19 in their aggression in 13 the South China Sea and other places and, you know, 14 specifically with the lack of a presence of our carrier. 15 And what is your observation about what China is doing in 16 that region? I mean, it appears to me they are taking 17 advantage and trying to continue with increased aggressions 18 because of coronavirus. But what is your perspective on 19 that?

Ambassador Braithwaite: So, thank you, Senator. And I would agree with you. I think they have tried to flex their muscle and see what they can achieve there.

I do know that currently the United States Navy has over 90 ships that are deployed at sea that are Covid-free. I also know that there are contingencies in place to meet requirements for carrier strike group combatant commander
 needs, including the Roosevelt itself, which is on the other
 side of the Covid curve.

4 So if anybody underestimates the intent of the United 5 States and its concerns over national security, including 6 the People's Republic of China, I think they will grossly 7 underestimate our capabilities.

8 Senator McSally: Great. Thank you. I am over my 9 time. I appreciate it.

10 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, Senator. Thank you.
11 Senator Sullivan: On behalf of the chairman, Senator
12 Reed?

Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
And let me direct the same question to both Ambassador
Braithwaite and Dr. Anderson.

16 In your response to the chairman's standard questions, 17 including providing all pertinent information -- all 18 information upon a request from the committee, you said 19 unequivocally, yes, you would. Yet, in your written 20 prehearing questions, there were some qualifications. Ι 21 want to make it very clear that the "yes" is unequivocal and 22 that you will respond to every committee request dutifully 23 and diligently. Is that accurate, Mr. Ambassador? Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir. It is. 24 25 Senator Reed: Dr. Anderson?

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1 Dr. Anderson: Yes, sir. It is.

2 Senator Reed: Thank you very much.

3 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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4 Senator Sullivan: On behalf of the chairman, Senator5 King.

Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, on behalf of both Senator Sullivan and myself, I 7 8 want to emphasize the importance of the Arctic as a 9 strategic region. The opening up of the Arctic Ocean is a world historical event. It is the equivalent of the 10 11 discovery of the Mediterranean Sea. It is an entirely new 12 water body that was unavailable for human use except for the 13 indigenous peoples for all of human history. It is of 14 enormous strategic importance. We have already had 15 testimony about the northern route and trade to Europe. 16 There just are any number of strategic imperatives. And it 17 has not been a serious focus of the United States Government 18 for obvious reasons.

19 The Chinese now have declared themselves a near-Arctic 20 nation. That is like Maine saying it is a near-Caribbean 21 state. But they have done it nevertheless. And I think it 22 indicates their intentions.

23 So not really a question, but I commend to all of you 24 attention which must be paid to this very important 25 strategic region. Ambassador, you know from your work in Norway how important it is and how Russia and China are - of course, Russia has the huge border. Russia and China are
 both expressing great interest.

Ambassador Braithwaite: So you and I, Senator, have had many discussions about this over the years, and I know that you share my concerns for the Arctic and, as you articulate, how it emerges and what an important theater it is. The great news is the United States Navy has been up there for many, many years. You may not see them, but they are up there.

11 Senator King: I have been up here with them.

Ambassador Braithwaite: As it begins to become more 12 13 navigable on the surface, we also need to make sure that our 14 presence is noted. And we have not done that across all 15 U.S. geopolicy. So I know that in my current role as the 16 U.S. Ambassador to Norway, working under the leadership of 17 Secretary Pompeo who has put an emphasis on this, as well as 18 reading the U.S. Navy and the CNO's guidance for Arctic 19 presence into the future, it will be a priority of mine, 20 sir.

21 Senator King: A comment for Ambassador Braithwaite and 22 General Brown. We have talked to both of you about 23 readiness and how many of our airplanes, how many of our 24 ships are ready at any given moment. I would appreciate it 25 if, for the record, you could supply -- and this may take

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1 some time to consult with your new staff -- a goal, a target, a hard target, 68 percent or 73 percent or hopefully 2 87 percent, whatever it is. I am great believer in the 3 4 adage that if you do not have a destination, you never get 5 there. And I would look to both of you to give us a 6 specific destination in terms of overall readiness and readiness of specific platforms. So if you could do that, I 7 8 would appreciate it.

Mr. Anderson, I do not want to leave you out. One of 9 my concerns is that all of our strategic thinking -- and 10 11 this is a common place that we tend to fight the last war, 12 and yet the next war may well be cyber. And I would like to 13 have your thoughts on the importance of preparation, cyber, 14 cyber deterrence, resilience, the general question because 15 this is where a country like Iran or North Korea that does 16 not have the military capability could still strike at the 17 heart of our country.

18 Dr. Anderson: Thank you, Senator.

19 So the Department takes the cyber domain very seriously 20 for all the reasons you mentioned. It is a domain of 21 increasing importance where we have been devoting, with 22 congressional bipartisan support, additional resources or 23 cyber mission teams. For example, we have General Nakasone 24 who is leading Cyber Command, and with assertive leadership, 25 we have issued cyber strategies, and we are defending

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forward. That is an important new approach. We are no
longer on our heels when it comes to malign cyber activity
by our competitors and our adversaries. So I would say that
with defending forward and persistent engagement with the
authorities we now have and the resources, we are on a good
trajectory, but we are also not at all complacent.

7 I would also say that your leadership with the Project 8 Solarium has been very helpful on several levels helping to 9 make a somewhat esoteric topic more digestible to the public 10 at large. And I also know that Project Solarium, which a 11 couple people of my colleagues in Policy, were able to 12 participate in.

Senator King: David Norquist and Ken Rampano madeinvaluable contributions.

Dr. Anderson: Thank you. And I know there are a number of recommendations. So I look forward to, if confirmed, looking at those recommendations and seeing what more needs to be done.

19 Senator King: Thank you. I appreciate it.

20 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

21 Senator Sullivan: Well, gentlemen, I am going to 22 finish up with a few more questions and then we will finish 23 up this hearing.

24 General Brown, with regard to the OCONUS basing of the 25 KC-46, I have outlined a lot of what others have said, the Secretary of Defense, General Goldfein, Secretary Wilson, this committee, the Congress. As you probably know -- you may know -- there are other senior military members who have made comments both in private meetings and publicly about this, one saying it is a no-brainer where this OCONUS decision should be. As you know, this is an important matter for me. So I have one final question for you.

8 If General Billy Mitchell were still alive and he were 9 making the OCONUS decision on where to base the KC-46, where 10 do you think he would base the aircraft? And you can just 11 give me a one-word answer.

Senator King: Was this before or after his court martial?

14 [Laughter.]

Senator Sullivan: No. He was reinstated after he got
court martialed. That was a Senator McCain question.

17 Senator King: I am channeling.

18 [Laughter.]

19 General Brown: Senator, I think Billy Mitchell would20 say Alaska.

21 Senator Sullivan: Okay. He would. And he is the 22 father of the Air Force, a very strategic thinker. Correct? 23 General Brown: That is correct.

24 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

I do want to switch topics now here with regard to the



1 Arctic, and I appreciate my good friend, Senator King, and you already heard others. And I think I have mentioned to 2 all of you there has certainly been an awakening of the 3 strategic importance of the Arctic. Our adversaries are not 4 5 waiting, as Ambassador Braithwaite, has already mentioned, 6 Russia obviously, but China, others. The great power 7 competition that we now know is upon us is really taking 8 place in that part of the world. We have strategic 9 interests there. We are an Arctic nation because of my 10 great State.

Unfortunately, as I have mentioned to all of you, the 11 12 Pentagon has really been probably the last agency in town to 13 realize this. And this committee has stepped up in a 14 bipartisan way over the last several years, whether 15 mandating a DOD Arctic strategy, authorizing the building of 16 six polar class icebreakers. We have two right now. One is 17 broken, and the Russians have -- the last count I had -- 54, 18 including nuclear and significant capabilities with regard 19 to weaponized icebreakers.

20 But it is starting to change even at the Pentagon. I 21 would say, General Brown, certainly Secretary Barrett, 22 General Goldfein are understanding these issues. Secretary 23 Spencer was a real advocate and understood this.

24 So can I get the commitment of each of you to work with 25 this committee on these important strategic Arctic issues, which again the Pentagon has been slow to, but we think are
 important? Can I get a yes from each of you?

3 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, Senator.

4 Dr. Anderson: Yes, Senator.

5 General Brown: Yes, Senator.

6 Senator Sullivan: Let me just ask kind of a more7 specific issue.

8 Ambassador, we talked significantly about the 9 importance of a strategic Arctic port. As you know, the 10 nearest DOD strategic seaport with regard to our interest in the Arctic and the Bering Strait where all this increased 11 12 shipping traffic is happening is the Port of Anchorage. 13 Alaska is a big State. That is 1,500 miles away from the 14 Arctic Circle. We have nothing else that can handle a 15 destroyer, an icebreaker. Secretary Spencer was a vocal 16 advocate for the need of a strategic Arctic port.

17 If confirmed, can I get your commitment to also be a 18 strong advocate for a need for a strategic Arctic port that 19 can handle a destroyer or an icebreaker?

20 Ambassador Braithwaite: Yes, sir.

21 Senator Sullivan: Dr. Anderson, how about you? This 22 is an important issue. As you know, it has been a bit of an 23 issue again where the Pentagon seems to be the last one to 24 recognize the importance of this. Can I get your

commitment, if confirmed, to be a strong advocate within the

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building? Because the problem is at the top level, the generals, the secretaries get it, we get it, and yet somehow in the middle of that big building, it stops these initiatives which are important to protect our nation's strategic interests. Can I get your commitment on that issue?

7 Dr. Anderson: Yes, Senator. As you know, I testified 8 before the committee in March. It was a subcommittee. And 9 we talked at length about those requirements, along with 10 General O'Shaughnessy. And he noted there is a fuel 11 requirement up there. So I am going to take a very hard 12 look at this study that is coming out what we owe you. And 13 I commit to working with you on this issue.

Senator Sullivan: But you owe us, in my view, not a maybe, not a blow-off like the last time the Pentagon looked at this. You owe us a commitment, and I am expecting that. Dr. Anderson: You have my commitment.

18 Senator Sullivan: By the way, General O'Shaughnessy is 19 another strong advocate.

Let me just make another -- you know, the Department of Defense has numerous what are called regional centers. You are probably aware of these. These are centers for strategic studies. We have one in Germany that studies NATO and our national security interests there. We have one in Hawaii, the Daniel Inouye Age Center for Strategic Studies,

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regional center for the DOD in Hawaii that studies the age of the Pacific. We have the William Perry Center that is hemispheric, Latin America, North and South America. That is here in D.C. The African Center that is also here. The Near East Center that is also here. These are DOD regional centers.

7 There is not one for the Arctic. I think to show the 8 Pentagon's commitment, there should be one. I am going to 9 have language with Senator Murkowski in a bill that we have 10 introduced, along with Senator King, to have one. Can I get your commitment to work with this committee, which again has 11 12 been leading on the Arctic, to finally have a DOD regional 13 center as it relates to the Arctic, which we will be 14 advocating for in this year's NDAA?

Dr. Anderson: Senator, I am a big fan of regional centers, having worked at the Marshall Center in Garmisch, Germany for 3 years. So I know the value added that they provide. So, if confirmed, you have my commitment to working with you on this issue.

20 Senator Sullivan: Do you believe we need a regional 21 center on the Arctic given there is a regional center on 22 literally every other part of the world with the exception 23 of the Arctic?

24 Dr. Anderson: Senator, I need to kind of review the 25 options in terms of what the -- I know at the Marshall Center, for example, they do have some Arctic coverage. I
 would have to assess whether that is enough or not enough.
 Senator Sullivan: It is not enough, Dr. Anderson.

4 Dr. Anderson: I think there is a good case to be made 5 for considering an Arctic Center in Alaska.

6 Senator Sullivan: Well, Dr. Anderson, I want to just 7 emphasize with you, to me this is going to be a 8 demonstration of whether the Pentagon finally gets it. I have been in this job for 5 and a half years. It started 9 10 with the Obama Arctic Strategy, which I held up in a hearing with Ash Carter, Secretary of Defense, and I called it what 11 12 it was: a joke. It was a joke. It was 13 pages, six of 13 which were pictures. Russia was mentioned once in a 14 footnote. It was a joke.

And since that time, we, this committee, had been leading. We need the Pentagon to lead and help us. I will be viewing this, whether the Pentagon supports this regional center or not, as whether you are finally getting serious about this.

20 So can I get your commitment to take a very hard look 21 at this and be on the front foot, not the back foot, the way 22 in which the Pentagon has been on these Arctic issues since 23 I have been here?

24Dr. Anderson: Yes, Senator. You have my commitment.25Senator Sullivan: Let me get one final question.

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Alderson Court Reporting A Trustpoint Company 1 Ambassador, as you and I talked about, there is great 2 training up in Alaska. The JPARC has airspace larger than Florida, ground maneuver space larger than Delaware, and sea 3 operating space larger than Virginia, just one training 4 5 range in my State. The former Commandant, General Neller, 6 was very interested in about much more aggressive training 7 with the Marine Corps, and I have talked to the CNO about 8 much more air-to-air training and Red Flag at JPARC.

9 Can I get your commitment to take a hard look -- and I have talked about this with General Berger, of course -- for 10 11 a much more significant presence of the U.S. Navy, U.S. Marines in terms of training, possible UDP deployments up to 12 13 Alaska to get this outstanding training and then can deploy on ships to different parts of the Arctic and Asia-Pacific? 14 15 Ambassador Braithwaite: As you and I discussed last night in great detail, Senator, yes, I will. 16

17 Senator Sullivan: Great.

Well, thank you, gentlemen. This has been a veryinformative hearing.

20 Senator King: Senator, would you consider putting that 21 Arctic Center in Maine? I am worried that with all the 22 suggestions you have made today, Alaska may sink into the 23 Arctic Ocean.

24 [Laughter.]

25 Senator Sullivan: Well, maybe it should be two



offices: one in Alaska and one in Maine. We will look hard
 at both.

3 I do want to echo what so many other Senators, 4 Democrats and Republicans, stated today, which was you are 5 all very well qualified. This is a very serious panel of 6 distinguished public servants. We appreciate that, and we 7 look forward to your continued service for our nation. And 8 we want to thank you again for your decades of service that 9 you have already provided to the United States of America. 10 This hearing is adjourned. [Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.] 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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