

Stenographic Transcript
Before the

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE TESTIMONY ON
U.S. PACIFIC COMMAND AND U.S. FORCES KOREA IN
REVIEW OF THE DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION REQUEST
FOR FISCAL YEAR 2017 AND THE FUTURE YEARS
DEFENSE PROGRAM

Tuesday, February 23, 2016

Washington, D.C.

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4 PROGRAM

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U.S. Senate

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Committee on Armed Services

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Washington, D.C.

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12 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:33 a.m., in
13 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John
14 McCain, chairman of the committee, presiding.

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Committee Members Present: Senators McCain

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[presiding], Inhofe, Ayotte, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst,

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Tillis, Sullivan, Graham, Reed, Nelson, Manchin, Shaheen,

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Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Donnelly, Hirono, Kaine, King, and

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Heinrich.

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

3 Chairman McCain: Good morning. Since a quorum is now
4 present, I ask the committee to consider a list of 255
5 pending military nominations. All of these nominations have
6 been before the committee the required length of time.

7 Is there a motion to favorably report these 255
8 military nominations to the Senate?

9 Senator Inhofe: So moved.

10 Chairman McCain: Is there a second?

11 Senator Reed: Second.

12 Chairman McCain: All in favor, say aye.

13 The motion carries.

14 Good morning. The Senate Armed Services Committee
15 meets this morning to receive testimony on U.S. Pacific
16 Command and U.S. Forces Korea in review of the defense
17 authorization request for fiscal year 2017 and the Future
18 Years Defense Program.

19 I am pleased to welcome Admiral Harris and General
20 Scaparrotti back to this committee. I thank you both for
21 your decades of distinguished service and for your
22 leadership in an increasingly uncertain time.

23 Over the past several years, China has acted less like
24 a "responsible stakeholder" of the rules-based order of the
25 Asia-Pacific region and more like a bully. I note this

1 morning's Wall Street Journal headline, "China Appears to
2 Have Built Radar Facilities on Disputed South China Sea
3 Islands."

4 China's increasingly assertive pattern of behavior
5 calls into serious question whether China's rise will, in
6 fact, be peaceful. Despite U.S. efforts to rebalance to the
7 Asia-Pacific, U.S. policy has failed to adapt to the scale
8 of velocity and challenge we face.

9 For example, the administration has insisted that China
10 must cease its reclamation, construction, and militarization
11 in the South China Sea, and that it will fly, sail, and
12 operate wherever international law allows. But after more
13 than a year of this rhetoric, China's reclamation
14 infrastructure, construction, and militarization have all
15 continued.

16 Last week, we saw press reports that China had deployed
17 the HQ-9 surface-to-air missile system to Woody Island in
18 the Paracel Islands. And, as I mentioned yesterday, they
19 show a high-frequency, possibly over-the-horizon, radar on
20 reclaimed land on Cuarteron Reef in the Spratly Islands.

21 If true, this deployment would represent a blatant
22 violation of Xi Jinping's September 2015 commitment to
23 President Obama in the Rose Garden that China "did not
24 intend to pursue militarization."

25 Admiral Harris, I would like to ask today if you can

1 confirm the reported militarization of Woody Island, the
2 radar at Cuarteron Reef, and if you can reveal to this
3 committee any further examples of militarization now
4 occurring in the South China Sea that you are aware of.

5 As China continues to use force and coercion to
6 unilaterally change the status quo and challenge the rules-
7 based international order, the credibility of the
8 administration's commitments to regional security is
9 diminished. Indeed, China's reclamation and militarization
10 in the South China Sea, together with China's rapid military
11 modernization and expansion, are making it more difficult
12 for the United States to defend our allies and our interests
13 from military aggression.

14 Simply put, the administration's policy has failed.

15 Beijing has been willing to accept a high level of risk
16 to achieve its strategic goals. Meanwhile, the White
17 House's risk aversion has resulted in an indecisive and
18 inadequate policy that has confused and alarmed our regional
19 allies and partners. The United States must now consider
20 fresh options to raise the cost on Beijing's behavior.

21 Shaping rather than reacting to Beijing's actions will
22 mean adopting policies with a level of risk that we have
23 been unwilling to consider up to this point. The
24 administration must initiate a robust freedom of the seas
25 campaign, flying and sailing wherever international law

1 allows. This should include freedom of navigation
2 operations designed to challenge China's excessive maritime
3 claims, as well as joint patrols and exercises with our
4 allies and partners span the First Island Chain.

5 We must also maintain our commitment to continued
6 sensitive reconnaissance operations, which are critical for
7 gathering military intelligence in the Western Pacific.
8 Despite China's protests and growing ability to threaten our
9 aircraft, the pace and scope of these operations must
10 continue uninterrupted.

11 Given the shifting military balance, we also need to
12 take a hard look at what the future U.S. military posture in
13 the region should look like. While the department has
14 initiated a European Reassurance Initiative in Europe, it is
15 clear to me that a similar Asian reassurance initiative
16 should be considered.

17 Building off the recent CSIS report, we should consider
18 further steps for enhancing posture, improving
19 infrastructure, funding additional exercises, pre-
20 positioning additional equipment and munitions, and building
21 partner capacity throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

22 Beyond my concerns about sustaining freedom of the
23 seas, I am concerned China may also attempt to expel another
24 country from disputed territories, such as Second Thomas
25 Shoal, or build new infrastructure at a location like

1 Scarborough Shoal. Given this, we should consider
2 clarifying how the United States will respond to an attack
3 on the territory or Armed Forces of the Philippines under
4 the U.S.-Philippines mutual defense.

5 Finally, I believe it is time for the United States
6 Government to explore the appropriateness of sanctions
7 against Chinese companies involved in the reclamation that
8 has destabilized the South China Sea and caused massive
9 environmental destruction across this maritime domain.

10 While China's assertiveness poses a major long-term
11 challenge, North Korea's destabilizing behavior continues to
12 present a real and rising risk of conflict.

13 Over the past 2 months, it has defied the international
14 community by testing a nuclear device and launching a long-
15 range missile. These calculated cycles of provocation
16 continue to pose a risk of violent escalation on the Korean
17 Peninsula. That is why I am thankful for the close
18 cooperation with our partners in Seoul between U.S. Forces
19 Korea and the ROK Armed Forces.

20 I applaud the leadership of President Park for choosing
21 to finally close the Kaesong Industrial Region, which has
22 enriched the North with hundreds of millions of dollars in
23 the last decade. I am also proud to have supported new
24 congressional sanctions on North Korea.

25 Despite the deficit of leadership from Beijing on this

1 issue, these two steps will bring increased pressure on the
2 North Korean regime and its supporters.

3 I am very encouraged by the joint U.S.-Republic of
4 Korea statement that our two countries will begin the
5 process of consultation for deploying the Terminal High-
6 Altitude Area Defense, THAAD, system to the Korean
7 Peninsula. The deployment of this system by the alliance is
8 a critical step to providing a further layer of defenses
9 against North Korea provocations.

10 I look forward to hearing General Scaparrotti's
11 perspective on the utility of the THAAD system and other
12 ideas to enhance the U.S.-ROK relationship and deterrence on
13 the peninsula.

14 I would call my colleagues' reminiscence to an occasion
15 here the last time Secretary Ash Carter was here, after it
16 had been in all of the newspapers and television and radio
17 that the United States had finally decided to sail a ship
18 into the areas around the disputed islands. The Secretary
19 of Defense, in front of this committee, refused to confirm
20 that -- refused to confirm what was in the media and well-
21 known to everyone, according to the New York Times the next
22 day, for fear of upsetting climate talks with China. That
23 cannot be made up. And of the 30 years that I have been on
24 this committee, I have never seen a performance like that.

25 Senator Reed?

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

3 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I
4 want to join you in welcoming the witnesses.

5 Gentlemen, we appreciate your long and distinguished
6 service to the Nation, and also the service of your families
7 throughout many, many years.

8 General Scaparrotti, this might be your last U.S.
9 Forces Korea posture hearing. We are hearing rumors that
10 you are being moved to a different command. But thank you
11 for your friendship and your service over many, many years.

12 It is clear from the events of the last few months that
13 we are facing a challenge of increasing complexity and
14 instability in the region. Given North Korea's recent
15 nuclear test and China's militarization of land features in
16 the South China Sea, the security situation in the region
17 seems more precarious than in many recent years. The United
18 States has historically underwritten the peaceful
19 development of the Asia-Pacific region with strategic
20 alliances and a forward presence that has allowed all the
21 countries in the region, including China, to make
22 extraordinary economic developments in relative peace.

23 One of the pillars of our strategy is to provide
24 stability and security in the region by maintaining close
25 partnerships and alliances. From the new defense

1 cooperation agreement with the Philippines and our
2 rotational Marine presence in Australia, to our growing
3 defense relationship with Vietnam, there has been great
4 progress on implementing the administration's rebalance to
5 Asia, despite competing resource demands from other regions.
6 We must continue to build on these strategic partnerships
7 and demonstrate our commitment to the region by investing
8 sufficiently in our presence and partner capacity-building
9 programs.

10 Admiral Harris, I am deeply concerned, as we all are,
11 about China's violation of its commitment to President Obama
12 in November not to militarize the South China Sea.

13 Just yesterday, CSIS released an image that appears to
14 show that China has placed an advanced radar system on
15 Cuarteron Reef, a land feature that China has reclaimed in
16 the Spratly Islands. This is in addition to the HQ-9
17 surface-to-air missiles that it added to Woody Island in the
18 Paracels recently.

19 It seems clear that China does not intend to be a
20 responsible stakeholder in the region. I would appreciate
21 your views on how China's recent actions affect the
22 stability of the region.

23 General Scaparrotti, it seems that as Kim Jong-un has
24 consolidated his power in North Korea, he is more and more
25 willing to tolerate risk, as evidenced by his recent nuclear

1 test and rocket launch. I would like to hear about how you
2 believe the security situation on the peninsula will evolve
3 over the next year.

4 Again, we appreciate you joining us this morning, look
5 forward to your testimony, and salute your service. Thank
6 you.

7 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Chairman McCain: General Scaparrotti, this is perhaps
9 your last appearance before this committee. I want to thank
10 you for your outstanding service and your great work,
11 particularly in these times of heightened tension. We thank
12 you for your service to the country.

13 Admiral Harris, do you want to begin?

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1 STATEMENT OF ADMIRAL HARRY B. HARRIS, JR., USN,
2 COMMANDER, UNITED STATES PACIFIC COMMAND

3 Admiral Harris: Thank you, sir. I would.

4 Thank you, Chairman McCain, Senator Reed, and
5 distinguished members. It is my honor to once again appear
6 before this committee.

7 Before I begin, on behalf of all the men and women of
8 U.S. Pacific Command, I would like to wish Senator McCaskill
9 a speedy and full recovery.

10 I am pleased to be here with General Scaparrotti to
11 discuss how PACOM is advancing America's interests across
12 the vast Indo-Asia-Pacific.

13 I request, sir, that my written posture statement be
14 submitted for the record.

15 Chairman McCain: Without objection.

16 Admiral Harris: Since taking command of PACOM last
17 May, I have had the extraordinary privilege of leading the
18 400,000 soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, guardsmen, and
19 civilians serving our Nation. These dedicated men and women
20 and their families are doing an amazing job, and I am proud
21 to serve alongside them.

22 I would like to briefly highlight a few regional issues
23 since I last testified before this committee 5 months ago.

24 As China continues its pattern of destabilizing
25 militarization of the South China Sea, we resumed our

1 freedom of navigation operations there, a waterway vital to
2 America's prosperity, where \$5.3 trillion in trade traverses
3 each year.

4 General Scaparrotti and I remain fully aligned in
5 dealing with North Korea's recent underground nuclear test
6 followed by a ballistic missile launch.

7 A revanchist Russia is revitalizing its ability to
8 execute long-range strategic patrols in the Pacific, to
9 include the basing of its newest strategic ballistic missile
10 submarine and last month's bomber flights around Japan.

11 Recent terrorist attacks in Bangladesh and Indonesia
12 underscore the fact that violent Islamic extremism is a
13 global concern that must be crushed.

14 We continue to strengthen our alliances and
15 partnerships. Japan's peace and security legislation
16 authorizing limited collective self-defense will take effect
17 this year. This legislation, and the revised guidelines for
18 U.S.-Japan defense cooperation, will significantly increase
19 Japan's ability to work with us.

20 Thanks to the great leadership of General Scaparrotti,
21 South Korea and the United States have taken a strong and
22 unified stance to maintain peace and stability on the Korean
23 Peninsula. In the face of recent North Korean aggression,
24 PACOM hosted a trilateral meeting between the U.S. Chairman
25 of the Joint Chiefs General Dunford, Japanese Chairman

1 Admiral Kawano, and South Korean Chairman General Lee.
2 Trilateral cooperation between Japan, Korea, and the United
3 States is a priority, and I am doing everything I can to
4 enhance it.

5 Our alliance with the Philippines took an important
6 step forward when the Philippines Supreme Court recently
7 upheld the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement, or EDCA,
8 which will provide significant partnership and access
9 benefits.

10 I am also excited about our burgeoning relationship
11 with India, where I will visit next week. As the world's
12 two largest democracies, we are uniquely poised to help
13 bring greater security and prosperity to the entire region.

14 Two visionary policies are now coinciding as the United
15 States rebalances west of the Indo-Asia-Pacific and India
16 implements its Act East policy.

17 Last October's MALABAR exercise between India, Japan,
18 and the United States shows the security interconnectedness
19 of the Indian Ocean, Asia, and the Pacific Ocean. I rely
20 heavily on Australia, not only for its advanced military
21 capabilities across all domains, but importantly for
22 Australia's warfighting experience and leadership in
23 operations around the world.

24 These examples clearly demonstrate to me that the
25 United States is a security partner of choice in the Indo-

1 Asia-Pacific. It is also why I believe that our strategic
2 rebalance has taken hold. Given that four of the five
3 strategic problem sets identified by Secretary Carter --
4 China, North Korea, Russia, and ISIL -- are in our region, I
5 would say that we cannot rebalance fast enough.

6 But there is more work to do, and we must not lose the
7 momentum, so I ask this committee to support continued
8 investment in the future capabilities. I need weapon
9 systems of increased lethality that go faster, go further,
10 and are more survivable.

11 If funding uncertainties continue, the U.S. will
12 experience reduced warfighting capabilities, so I urge
13 Congress to repeal sequestration.

14 Finally, I would like to thank this committee and
15 Congress for your enduring support to PACOM, and the men and
16 women in uniform, our civilian teammates, and our families.
17 Thank you, and I look forward to your questions, sir.

18 [The prepared statement of Admiral Harris follows:]

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1 Chairman McCain: General Scaparrotti?
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1 STATEMENT OF GENERAL CURTIS M. SCAPARROTTI, USA,
2 COMMANDER, UNITED NATIONS COMMAND, COMBINED FORCES COMMAND,
3 UNITED STATES FORCES KOREA

4 General Scaparrotti: Chairman McCain, Ranking Member
5 Reed, and distinguished members of the committee, I am
6 honored to testify today as the commander of the United
7 Nations Command, Combined Forces Command, and the United
8 States Forces Korea.

9 Sir, I would like to add to Admiral Harris's comment
10 that we wish Senator McCaskill a speedy recovery as well.

11 On behalf of the American soldiers, sailors, airmen,
12 and marines, and our civilians, serving in the Republic of
13 Korea, thank you for your support.

14 Admiral Harris, thank you for your vision and
15 professional support of the entire PACOM team for USFK.

16 I have prepared brief opening remarks, and I ask that
17 my written posture statement be entered into the record.

18 Chairman McCain: Without objection.

19 General Scaparrotti: Since my last testimony, our
20 U.S.-ROK alliance has continued to focus on advancing our
21 combined capabilities. Some of these advanced capabilities
22 include the establishment of the first U.S.-ROK combined
23 division, the rotation of additional U.S. forces to the
24 peninsula, the execution of our annual combined training
25 exercises, and steady progress on our \$10.7 billion plan to

1 relocate U.S. forces in Korea.

2 Furthermore, the Republic of Korea has improved its
3 capabilities with the recent establishment of the Korean Air
4 and Missile Defense System and center, and the Allied Korea
5 Joint Command and Control System. The Republic of Korea has
6 also invested in modern equipment with the purchase of the
7 F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, Global Hawk, Patriot Advanced
8 Capability 3 missile upgrades, as well as AH-64 Apache
9 helicopters.

10 These alliance advances help counter the real and
11 proximate North Korean threat. North Korea continues to
12 conduct provocations and to resource its large conventional
13 force. And of greater significance, North Korea continues
14 to aggressively develop nuclear weapons and ballistic
15 missiles in direct violation of the U.N. Security Council
16 resolutions, as demonstrated with its fourth nuclear test
17 and its fifth TD-2 launch in January and February.

18 In regards to this threat, my top concern remains the
19 potential for a North Korean provocation to start a cycle of
20 action and counteraction, which could quickly escalate,
21 similar to what we experienced this past August.

22 While I am proud to report that our alliance stood
23 shoulder-to-shoulder and de-escalated the situation, it
24 could have spiraled out of control and demonstrates why we
25 must be ready to fight tonight on the peninsula.

1 To maintain this level of readiness, we will continue
2 to focus on sustaining, strengthening, and transforming the
3 alliance with an emphasis on our combined readiness in four
4 critical areas.

5 First, ISR remains my top readiness challenge.
6 CFC/USFK requires additional persistent, all-weather ISR
7 capabilities, as well as dependable moving target indicator
8 support, to maintain situational awareness and provide
9 adequate decision space.

10 Second, it is critical for the alliance to establish a
11 layered and interoperable ballistic missile defense. To
12 advance this goal, we will soon begin bilateral
13 consultations regarding the feasibility of deploying the
14 THAAD system to the Republic of Korea, which would
15 complement the Patriot system capabilities.

16 Third, we must maintain an adequate quantity of
17 critical munitions to ensure alliance supremacy in the early
18 days of any conflict on the peninsula. This requirement is
19 further amplified by the approaching loss of cluster
20 munitions due to the shelf-life expiration and the impending
21 ban.

22 Fourth, we must focus on command and control,
23 communications, computers, and intelligence, or what we call
24 C4I. Both the United States and the Republic of Korea are
25 investing in new tactical equipment that will comprise a

1 reliable C4I architecture, but much more is required.

2 In closing, I would like to express how proud I am of
3 the servicemembers, civilians, and their families serving in
4 the Republic of Korea who never lose sight of the fact that
5 we are on freedom's frontier. I also would like to
6 recognize Ambassador Mark Lippert and Admiral Harry Harris
7 and the U.S. and ROK senior leaders for their enduring
8 commitment to our mission on the peninsula. Thank you, and
9 I look forward to your questions.

10 [The prepared statement of General Scaparrotti
11 follows:]

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1 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

2 I thank the witnesses for the kind words about Senator
3 McCaskill. You reflect the views of all of us in wishing
4 her well and a speedy recovery.

5 General Scaparrotti, you have the benefit of now 4
6 years of service as commander of forces in Korea. Have you
7 ever seen tensions this high?

8 General Scaparrotti: No, sir, I have not, particularly
9 in August. I think the tensions then with North Korea to
10 "semi-war" status was the highest tension that we have seen,
11 probably since 1994.

12 Chairman McCain: So in your testimony, you said the
13 situation "could spiral out of control."

14 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir. My concern is that, in
15 a provocation, much like we had in August, both sides at a
16 very high alert status, there could be a miscalculation.
17 Then with the response, it would be hard to control that
18 situation.

19 Chairman McCain: And you do support THAAD deployment?

20 General Scaparrotti: I do, sir.

21 Chairman McCain: And, Admiral Harris, do you think it
22 should be seriously considered, an option of a second
23 carrier based in Japan?

24 Admiral Harris: Senator, I believe that, as a COCOM, I
25 want as much capability as close to the fight as I can. I

1 think with regard to the second carrier strike group in
2 Japan, there are some problems with that, with the political
3 piece with Japan, the costs, and all that. I will defer to
4 the Navy to sort that out.

5 But, again, as a COCOM, I would welcome as much forces
6 forward as possible.

7 Chairman McCain: You have been in your job for how
8 long now?

9 Admiral Harris: Just a little over 7 months. I took
10 over last May.

11 Chairman McCain: And yet you have had extensive
12 experience with the Chinese issue, with the issue of China?

13 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir, I have. Before this job, I
14 was the Pacific Fleet Commander.

15 Chairman McCain: Has any of this escalation, the
16 latest, this HQ-9 surface-to-air missile system, surprised
17 you?

18 Admiral Harris: No, sir. It does not surprise me. In
19 my opinion, China is clearly militarizing the South China
20 Sea, and you have to believe in the flat earth to think
21 otherwise.

22 Chairman McCain: And one of the responses is to
23 regularly sail into and fly over international waters?

24 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. As I testified last
25 September --

1 Chairman McCain: Not as a one-off, but as just a
2 regular, routine use of international airspace and waters?

3 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. I agree with you.

4 Chairman McCain: So the situation vis-a-vis China
5 continues to escalate, in your view?

6 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. It does. I think China's
7 SSM, surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles,
8 on Woody Island; its new radars on Cuarteron Reef over here;
9 the 10,000-foot runway on Subi Reef over here and on Fire
10 Cross Reef and other places; these are actions that are
11 changing, in my opinion, the operational landscape in the
12 South China Sea.

13 Chairman McCain: And the weapons they have developed
14 could pose a direct threat to our carrier capabilities?

15 Admiral Harris: Yes, Senator. They could. The DF-21,
16 which they have developed, and the DF-26, which they are
17 developing, could pose a threat to our carriers. I think,
18 though, that our carriers are resilient, and we have the
19 capability to do what has to be done, if it comes to that.

20 Chairman McCain: I note you mentioned in your remarks
21 that the U.S.-Philippines alliance is important. Do you
22 think it is important for us to lift restrictions on the
23 sale of weapons to Vietnam?

24 Admiral Harris: Yes, Senator. I believe that we
25 should improve our relationship with Vietnam. I think it is

1 a great strategic opportunity for us, and I think the
2 Vietnamese people would welcome an opportunity to work
3 closer with us, as their security partner of choice.

4 Chairman McCain: And that also means port visits?

5 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. And we do port visits in
6 Vietnam. And I advocate for more, and I believe that we
7 will be able to do more this year.

8 Chairman McCain: If you were asked for your top two or
9 three priorities of what we should do, in light of this
10 compelling information concerning the militarization by
11 China, what would you recommend?

12 Admiral Harris: Sir, I believe that we should maintain
13 our credible combat power. We should maintain a network of
14 like-minded allies and partners. We should continue to
15 exercise our rights on the high seas and in the airspace
16 above it. And we should encourage our friends, partners,
17 and allies to do the same.

18 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

19 Senator Reed?

20 Senator Reed: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

21 And thank you, gentlemen, for your testimony.

22 Admiral Harris, you pointed out that there is a growing
23 alliance in the Pacific, including India, the Philippines,
24 Vietnam, potentially. Some of this, ironically, might be a
25 result of some of these contested actions of the Chinese.

1 Is that accurate?

2 Admiral Harris: Yes, Senator. It is accurate. I
3 believe that China's actions are provocative, increases
4 tensions, and it causes the nations in the region to look to
5 the United States as their security partner of choice and
6 away from China.

7 Senator Reed: And do you feel that we are fulfilling
8 that role adequately, that we are engaging, and that we are
9 cooperating and leading as we should in the Pacific?

10 Admiral Harris: I believe we are. Across the Indo-
11 Asia-Pacific, from India through Southeast Asia and East
12 Asia and Japan and Korea, we are improving our treaty
13 alliances, our bilateral partnerships.

14 And in turn, we are getting increased access throughout
15 the region. Singapore comes to mind. The EDCA that I spoke
16 about in the Philippines comes to mind.

17 So this is an exciting time, in terms of access and
18 agreements and relationships with countries throughout the
19 Indo-Asia-Pacific region.

20 Senator Reed: One of the consequences of their
21 buildout into the islands is that they have very accurate
22 surface-to-surface missiles, they have accurate radars,
23 which would seem to put an even higher premium on underwater
24 operations by U.S. submarines or autonomous vehicles. Is
25 that your view? Are they becoming more important,

1 submarines?

2 Admiral Harris: It is, though I would not say it is
3 becoming more important, because submarine and undersea
4 warfare has always been important to the joint force. I
5 view the submarine as the original stealth platform, and the
6 capabilities that we have is a true asymmetric advantage
7 over any other adversary or potential adversary on the
8 planet. That is our capability in the undersea realm.

9 Senator Reed: Thank you.

10 Let me pose a question to both of you. China and North
11 Korea is a very complicated relationship. The Chinese I
12 think are nervous, not perhaps as much as the South Koreans
13 and the United States, but, certainly, a little bit nervous.
14 Yet they are the major funder in terms of the banking
15 system, all of the infiltrating and exfiltrating monies in
16 and out of North Korea, equipment, et cetera.

17 Why, in your view, have we not been able to convince
18 the Chinese of the danger that they face, and that their
19 efforts and our efforts together could be effective in
20 preventing potential catastrophes? Admiral Harris?

21 Admiral Harris: Sir, I wish I knew the answer to that
22 question. But I will say, adding on to what General
23 Scaparrotti mentioned about THAAD, I find it preposterous
24 that China would try to wedge itself between South Korea and
25 the United States for a missile defense system designed to

1 defend Americans and Koreans on the peninsula. If they were
2 truly concerned, if they were truly interested, I believe
3 China would and should intervene with North Korea and
4 convince them to quit their cycle the provocations.

5 Senator Reed: General Scaparrotti?

6 General Scaparrotti: Sir, first, I agree with Admiral
7 Harris. I think that they state that they are concerned
8 about stability on the border, and I believe that they place
9 that value above the risk that they believe they are taking
10 with Kim Jong-un. We, certainly, hope that they will
11 reconsider that calculus, because they, certainly, could
12 have a greater influence in North Korea, given that 80
13 percent of their trade and a good deal of North Korea's
14 banking is with China.

15 Senator Reed: Thank you.

16 Admiral Harris, you urged us all to repeal
17 sequestration, which is, I think, the logical and obvious
18 thing that must be done. Looking at your budget for this
19 year, do you think you have adequate resources for the
20 challenges, and they are significant, that you face?

21 Admiral Harris: Senator, thanks to the Congress, I am
22 in good shape in Pacific Command in fiscal year 2016, and
23 the budget for 2017 looks good for me. So I am grateful for
24 that.

25 There is always more, of course, and I will just

1 mention a couple areas: munitions; submarines -- my
2 submarine requirement, as a combatant commander in the
3 Pacific, is not being met, and that is solely because of
4 numbers -- ISR, intelligence, surveillance, and
5 reconnaissance, that General Scaparrotti mentioned; and
6 long-range antisurface missiles, weapons, which, I am
7 pleased to note, is in the fiscal year 2017 budget.

8 Senator Reed: And I presume you would agree, General
9 Scaparrotti?

10 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Senator. I agree. And I
11 enjoy a priority within PACOM and DOD as well to ensure that
12 my forces can fight tonight. And the four needs that I
13 noted are the primary ones.

14 Senator Reed: Thank you very much.

15 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Chairman McCain: Senator Inhofe?

17 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 First of all, last week, we appreciate very much,
19 Admiral Harris, your giving us the time that you gave us. I
20 led a delegation of House and Senate members, and you were
21 very nice to spend time with us when we visited you there.

22 Since that time, we had a personal visit with the
23 Australian Minister of Defense; with our Marines in Darwin,
24 in the northern part of Australia; the Singapore Minister of
25 Defense; and the commander of COMLOG WESTPAC; as well as

1 Diego Garcia. So we went a long ways around.

2 But going back to our visit with you, we thank you very
3 much for that.

4 Just a minute ago, when we were also there visiting
5 with you -- and this would have been the 13th, last Saturday
6 -- we asked you a question about the budget. And you were
7 not forecasting any shortfalls at that time in the fiscal
8 year 2017 projected PACOM budget, in the current threats in
9 the Pacific. Is that what you just restated a minute ago?

10 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. It is.

11 Senator Inhofe: Generally speaking, the forward forces
12 are in pretty good shape when you get a hostile environment
13 like we have right now. We talked about that when we were
14 in your shop there. But it is usually at the expense of
15 somebody else, in this case, the follow-on forces. Do you
16 feel confident that they are being treated in a way that,
17 should they be called upon, they have had adequate training
18 that they would need to make this happen?

19 Admiral Harris: Yes, Senator. I am confident that the
20 follow-on forces are in good position today.

21 Senator Inhofe: We do not hear that very often. I am
22 glad to hear that.

23 General Scaparrotti, there are currently nine ongoing
24 operations and exercises within PACOM, all vital to our
25 international interests. I will not list those. You know

1 what those nine are.

2 According to the Army budget overview, PACOM's combined
3 operations consist of over 75,000 U.S. soldiers. How many
4 of these strategic enablers are sustainable under the
5 proposed Army budget now? Have you looked at that?

6 General Scaparrotti: Yes, Senator. I think that we
7 can actually sustain the pace and operations that we have
8 today for 2016 and 2017, in PACOM. Pacific Pathways has
9 been very helpful throughout the Pacific. I think that is
10 probably the one where we would adjust tempo, or perhaps
11 pace, if there was budget pressure on that. But I am pretty
12 confident we can maintain the exercises, and, in particular,
13 those that we do on the peninsula.

14 Senator Inhofe: Yes, Pacific Pathways is the number
15 two here. If something happened there, does that have an
16 effect on any of the others?

17 General Scaparrotti: Well, sir, I think it would
18 affect others in the sense that Pacific Pathways is very
19 important to partner development. It brings a lot of
20 capability within the Pacific, not only to the peninsula
21 itself.

22 Senator Inhofe: All right. The international standoff
23 deepened earlier this month when North Korea, of course,
24 ignored repeated warnings by the regional powers.

25 Do they pay any attention to the regional powers? We

1 have been talking about this for a long time.

2 Admiral Harris, do you think, when they have all these
3 warnings by us and by others that are out there, does that
4 mean anything to them, North Korea?

5 Admiral Harris: I am not sure what means anything to
6 North Korea, Senator. But I have to think that the pressure
7 brought on by our alliance with South Korea and other
8 nations in the region, they do take note of that. If they
9 did not take note of it, I am not sure where we would be.

10 I believe that they also listen to China, though I
11 think the Chinese influence on the North is waning compared
12 to what it has been in the past.

13 Senator Inhofe: On the 9th of February, we had a
14 hearing with James Clapper, and he expressed very much of a
15 concern with the acceleration that is taking place.

16 A minute ago, you said that we are probably in pretty
17 good shape in PACOM. That is what you said when we were
18 there last Saturday. Since that time, you have all these --
19 and I will submit these three for the record, Mr. Chairman.
20 You actually talked about the Wall Street Journal but also
21 the Washington Post; and, just yesterday, Japan's Foreign
22 Minister canceling a visit to China; and then the tensions
23 that came out in an AP story just a few hours ago.

24 So I would like to submit those for the record.

25 Chairman McCain: Without objection, they will be

1 included.

2 [The information referred to follows:]

3 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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1 Senator Inhofe: And then I would like to have you, for
2 the record, maybe, Admiral Harris, kind of explain that if
3 it seemed at the time of our visit on Saturday that things
4 were under a level of control in terms of the budget concern
5 and the resources that would be allocated to you, why there
6 would not be an insufficiency now since these things
7 happened since our last Saturday visit. Just looking at it
8 very honestly with acceleration as to what those resources
9 are, are they really adequate, for the record?

10 Admiral Harris: Thanks, Senator. I believe, for the
11 record, that PACOM is adequately resourced in fiscal year
12 2016 and in the 2017 budget.

13 Senator Inhofe: Okay, that is fine. I just wanted you
14 to elaborate on that for the record, after this meeting is
15 over.

16 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. I am happy to do that.

17 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18 Chairman McCain: Senator Gillibrand?

19 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank
20 you both for your service and this hearing.

21 I am concerned about cyber threats from this region, in
22 particular. How do you assess these threats? And how are
23 forward-deployed forces vulnerable to them? And what can we
24 do to address them better?

25 Admiral Harris: Thank you, Senator. I will start.

1 Cyber is the new frontier. It is the new threat
2 vector. We are expending enormous resources across the
3 department in getting after cyber. In the Pacific, we have
4 stood up an organization called CYBERPAC, Cyber Forces
5 Pacific, within Pacific Command. They look at DOD
6 information systems defense or defensive cyber operations
7 and offensive cyber operations.

8 I have assigned to me at PACOM cyber mission teams and
9 we are learning how to use those teams. Again, this is new,
10 but it is a very real threat not only to U.S. military
11 forces, but to America in general, in my opinion.

12 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I thank you for the
13 question.

14 As Admiral Harris said, this is a domain that we are
15 learning that is very challenging and in particular in the
16 peninsula, because North Korea also has a very deliberate
17 goal of increasing their cyber capability. As you know,
18 they have demonstrated that both here with the Sony attack
19 in the United States and also in Korea against their banking
20 and media industry in 2013.

21 So it is a great concern to me. We have increased our
22 joint cyber center capabilities over the past year. We
23 continuously work at that. I also now have been deployed a
24 cyber mission team, and I work also with the teams and am
25 supported by the teams in PACOM.

1 I would just make one other comment. It is important
2 within the alliance that I and the Republic of Korea's cyber
3 teams develop a much closer relationship, because we do have
4 a unique vulnerability in that we have systems that are ROK-
5 U.S. that support the alliance specifically centric.

6 So we are working hard as an alliance as well to ensure
7 that we have a proper defense and a capability that we
8 require within the domain.

9 Senator Gillibrand: I also have concerns specifically
10 about China. I think China is making significant progress
11 in its military modernization initiatives. In fact, it is
12 currently testing the J-20, its fifth-generation competitor
13 to the F-35. How effective is our current defense posture
14 and network of regional partners in deterring Chinese
15 expansion? And in which areas are we lacking depth of
16 strategic operations or tactical levels? And what do you
17 think are the most effective ways to ensure China's rise is
18 peaceful? And last, are there any particular U.S. military
19 capabilities with which you see China closing the gap?

20 Admiral Harris: I will start, Senator.

21 I think that, in the capability realm, I asked for
22 increased surface-to-surface weapons. When I started flying
23 P-3s back in the late 1970s, we had the Harpoon missile.
24 That is the same missile we have today.

25 We need to have an increased lethality and reach and

1 speed that I talked about before. And I am grateful that
2 the services responded to that request, and in fiscal year
3 2017 budget, there is increased funding for programs to
4 increase that lethality of surface-to-surface missiles.

5 I think Deputy Secretary of Defense Work just recently
6 spoke of the SM-6 missile and its capability in the surface-
7 to-surface mode or against surface targets.

8 The LRASM, the Long-Range Anti-Ship Missile, which is
9 air-launched now, is another great capability that we need
10 to bring online fast, and I am grateful for that.

11 I wrote also about the need for increasing the buy, and
12 rate of buy, of F-35s, the Joint Strike Fighters. I am
13 pleased that in the fiscal year 2017 budget, that is in
14 there. So I am glad about all of that.

15 As I mentioned before, we have a shortage in
16 submarines. My submarine requirement is not met in PACOM,
17 and I am just one of many COCOMs that will tell you that.
18 That is our principal asymmetric advantage over China and
19 any other adversary, and I think we have to keep after it.
20 I think it is important in the long run to modernize our
21 force for the future.

22 And to get at your last question about what we can do,
23 I think diplomacy is probably the key. We have to have a
24 strong defense backed up by active diplomacy. I think we
25 need to use diplomacy to influence China toward an

1 acceptable behavior in the international space.

2 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I would just add, and
3 emphasize the last point.

4 On the peninsula, one of my concerns is that, if there
5 is conflict, what are China's actions? We plan for those
6 possibilities. I am sure they do as well. I think
7 diplomacy and engagement, which PACOM engages with them
8 regularly to have these conversations, is very important, so
9 that they understand our intent, and we have those
10 communications, if we should have a conflict on the
11 peninsula.

12 Chairman McCain: Senator Ayotte?

13 Senator Ayotte: I want to thank both of you for your
14 service to the country.

15 Admiral Harris, I want to thank you for also visiting
16 the Portsmouth Naval Shipyard. We are really appreciative
17 of that visit.

18 To follow up on what I have heard you say today, in
19 terms of the gap of our attack submarine fleet and the needs
20 that you have in PACOM, what role, first of all, does the
21 Virginia class submarine play in the importance of our
22 supremacy undersea? And how big is this gap? We actually
23 asked the Navy this morning about all of the combatant
24 commands, and the Navy told us that only 62 percent of the
25 requests for attack submarine support are being met right

1 now. So what is the gap like in PACOM as well?

2 Admiral Harris: The gap is about 62 percent. The
3 exact numbers are classified. I would be happy to have that
4 discussion with you. But we experience an attack submarine
5 shortfall in the Pacific, and I would maintain that the
6 Pacific is the principal space where submarines are the most
7 important warfighting capability we have.

8 As far as Virginia class submarines, it is the best
9 thing we have. It is the best thing we have. And I cannot
10 get enough of them, and I cannot get enough of them fast
11 enough.

12 Senator Ayotte: Great. Thank you. And I think this
13 is the issue that you raised as we think about
14 sequestration, the long-term impact on our investment in our
15 attack submarine fleet, which is so critical to the defense
16 of the Nation and, obviously, an area where we have very
17 important supremacy undersea with the challenges that we are
18 facing in the region.

19 But if we do not have presence, then we obviously
20 cannot address our security needs. Our presence in the
21 region is probably as important as anything else. Would you
22 agree with that?

23 Admiral Harris: I do. And if you do not have
24 presence, then you better have reach. And that reach comes
25 from submarines and aircraft and the like. We need the new

1 SSBN, SSBN-X, in the 2020s, and we need the new long-range
2 bomber as well.

3 Senator Ayotte: I also wanted to ask you about
4 unmanned underwater vehicle R&D and what you think we should
5 be doing in terms of conducting research, development, and
6 fielding advanced unmanned underwater vehicles. Is that
7 something we need to invest in and focus on going forward?

8 Admiral Harris: I think we must invest, Senator, in
9 advanced underwater vehicles and go forward with it, not
10 only in antisubmarine warfare and all of the things that
11 UAVs can provide us in that regard, but also in mine warfare
12 to get after the mine threat that we will face.

13 Senator Ayotte: How are we doing on that, compared to,
14 for example, China or other countries?

15 Admiral Harris: I think we are doing okay in it, but
16 we need to do a lot more.

17 Senator Ayotte: Okay, thank you.

18 I wanted to also ask, General Scaparrotti, as we look
19 at the actions of North Korea that have been discussed today
20 -- recently, obviously, the underground nuclear tests, the
21 ballistic missile launching -- how do you assess what they
22 are doing right now? I know there is always a pattern of
23 escalation and looking for an international response, but it
24 strikes me that Kim Jong-un is even less reliable,
25 obviously, than his father.

1 So where do you assess this situation, and what more
2 should we be doing to respond?

3 And secondly, what is your prediction in terms of what
4 we might see next from the North Koreans? Or is it just so
5 unpredictable from your perspective?

6 General Scaparrotti: Thank you, Senator.

7 First of all, I think Kim Jong-un has been clear that
8 he intends to establish himself and wants to be accepted as
9 a nuclear nation with a valid missile capability to deliver
10 those assets. Of course, he claims he can do that today.
11 He wants to be recognized as such.

12 He said, despite international sanctions, that he will
13 continue to develop his nuclear and his missile
14 capabilities. And despite our deterrence, as you have seen,
15 he has continued to do so.

16 So I think his calculus is, at this point, that those
17 tests that he just conducted in January and February, that
18 they were within his risk tolerance; that he could conduct
19 those; and at some point in the future, in the next 3 or 4
20 months, move beyond it, just as he has done in cycle of
21 provocation and relaxation over time, which has been their
22 norm.

23 I do worry about his calculation being wrong, at some
24 point. I state that is what I worry most about.

25 His view of the world is a very isolated one. And

1 given the way that he leads, in terms of the brutal nature
2 of his leadership, I am not sure that he gets a lot of good
3 advice or at least critical advice from those around him.

4 Senator Ayotte: I think you are pretty hesitant when
5 you are around him to give any contrary advice also. That
6 is the problem.

7 General Scaparrotti: I think we will see increasing
8 tension as we go into this training period coming up here in
9 February and March. I think what we should do, to ensure
10 that our alliance is strong, is that we maintain our
11 deterrence activities that we have there, particularly our
12 large exercises here. There is no doubt in my mind that he
13 knows of our capability and believes that he cannot defeat
14 it.

15 And I think stronger sanctions are very important for
16 the international community.

17 Senator Ayotte: Excellent. We recently passed very
18 strong legislation.

19 General Scaparrotti: I appreciate that.

20 Senator Ayotte: I think that sets the stage for the
21 sanctions piece. Thank you.

22 General Scaparrotti: Yes, ma'am.

23 Chairman McCain: Senator King?

24 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 General Scaparrotti, I think your analysis is exactly

1 right. Almost all wars in history are started from a
2 miscalculation. I think, for that reason, it seems to me
3 that part of our strategy should be very clear about what
4 our capabilities are, what our red lines are, and when we
5 will act, so that there is not a miscalculation or
6 misunderstanding or an underestimation of our capacity.
7 Would you agree?

8 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir, I would agree.

9 Senator King: Admiral Harris, what are the strategic
10 implications for the U.S. strategy in the Pacific of the
11 Chinese Anti-Access/Area Denial, so-called A2/AD, strategy?

12 It seems to me that forces us to question the strategy
13 of the carrier as the primary instrument, the development of
14 the standoff cruise missiles by the Chinese. This, it seems
15 to me, is a moment of inflection, in terms of what our
16 strategy is in that region.

17 Admiral Harris: Thanks, Senator.

18 We have predicted the demise of the carrier since I
19 have been in the Navy. We had the Soviets with their
20 submarines, carriers, and all their capability, and we
21 questioned the survivability of the carrier then, and then
22 the Soviets went out and tried to build their own. And then
23 they sold it to China, and China is using it, and they are
24 building their own now.

25 So if the carrier were really irrelevant, then I

1 question why these competitors and peer competitors are
2 trying to build their own at the rate they are building
3 them.

4 I think the A2/AD strategies that China imposes are
5 serious, and we have to seriously consider them and work
6 around them.

7 Senator King: It seems to me that we need to think
8 about the range of our weapons.

9 Admiral Harris: We do. Yes, sir. And that is one of
10 the issues that I spoke about earlier.

11 In our regular ship surface-to-surface weapons, we are
12 out-stuck by the Chinese today. But because of this
13 committee and Congress, we are going to be in good shape in
14 2017, as we put money into those systems.

15 I think, again, the original stealth platform is the
16 submarine, and we will be able to win in any conflict at sea
17 when we apply the joint force to that.

18 I am comfortable with the carrier operating in those
19 waters, but we have to consider it. We have to consider the
20 threat.

21 But the Chinese A2/AD threat is not 10-feet tall. It
22 is not even 6-feet tall, in my opinion.

23 Senator King: You mentioned the importance of
24 diplomacy as part of the overall strategy. Would part of
25 that be the advisability of the U.S. acceding to the U.N.

1 Law of the Sea Treaty?

2 Admiral Harris: In my opinion, Senator, yes.

3 Senator King: That would help us in dealing with some
4 of these fuzzy claims in the South China Sea?

5 Admiral Harris: I believe that U.S. accession to
6 UNCLOS is a positive.

7 Senator King: I have looked at the map. We ought to
8 call the South Atlantic the South American Sea or something,
9 because just the name, it is nowhere near China.

10 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir. We do call the Gulf of
11 Mexico the Gulf of Mexico.

12 Senator King: Not the Gulf of Florida, interestingly.

13 Admiral Harris: That is right.

14 Senator King: Just yesterday, there was a report of
15 the fastest sea level rise in 28 centuries, and a projection
16 that, by the end of this century, sea level could rise 3 to
17 4 feet. Are you looking at the strategic implications of
18 that, both in terms of our infrastructure that is on the
19 coast, but also the stability of areas within your command,
20 Bangladesh, low-lying coastal cities throughout the region?

21 Admiral Harris: I look at it in a capability way,
22 because it will be PACOM forces or U.S. military forces that
23 respond to disasters caused by flooding or tornadoes or
24 typhoons or whatever, so I look at it in that way. But,
25 frankly, I am not looking at rise in sea levels and its

1 effect globally toward the end of century. That is just too
2 far out for me.

3 So I worry about what is happening in the near term and
4 what I can do about it, and how I can be helpful.

5 Senator King: Would it not be prudent though to
6 analyze our infrastructure, just to do a tabletop on what
7 would happen if sea level went up a couple feet in San Diego
8 or Guam or Hawaii?

9 Admiral Harris: Certainly. Yes, sir. It clearly
10 would.

11 Senator King: Finally, what is China's goal? What are
12 their strategic goals? Is it purely defensive? Is it
13 offensive? Do they want to take territory? What is behind
14 this buildup that they are engaged in?

15 Admiral Harris: Senator, this is my opinion. I
16 believe China seeks hegemony in East Asia.

17 Senator King: Simple as that?

18 Admiral Harris: Simple as that.

19 Senator King: Regional control?

20 Admiral Harris: Yes, sir.

21 Senator King: Thank you, Admiral.

22 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

23 Chairman McCain: Senator Ernst?

24 Senator Ernst: Thank you, gentlemen, for being here
25 today. We, certainly, appreciate your service.

1 Admiral Harris, in 2014, the Marine Corps announced its
2 Expeditionary Force 21 doctrine, which stated that, after
3 over a decade of land-based combat operations, the Marines
4 were going to start returning to their amphibious roots. I
5 believe the success of this effort is vital in order to
6 respond to a rising China and to assist our allies in that
7 region.

8 Are you comfortable with the Navy and Marine Corps
9 forces that are postured to provide expeditionary
10 capabilities to meet your PACOM requirements?

11 Admiral Harris: Senator, I am, but I will be the first
12 to say that 14 years of fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan
13 land wars, there are majors in the Marine Corps, O4s, that
14 have never served at sea in the Fleet Marine Force.

15 Senator Ernst: Correct.

16 Admiral Harris: So I welcome their return to
17 amphibiosity. But it is not just the Marines. The Marines
18 are involved in training our allies and partners, as they
19 see the benefits of having an amphibious capability for
20 their areas, for example, Indonesia and all of the
21 archaeological islands that comprise that country, Japan and
22 their interest in amphibious warfare, and on and on.

23 So I am pleased with the work that we are doing and
24 especially pleased with the work that the Marines and the
25 Army are doing to increase the amphibious capability of our

1 friends, allies, and partners in the region.

2 Senator Ernst: Very good. And you have a strategy for
3 closing that gap, like you said, the O4s mostly have land-
4 based combat operations?

5 Admiral Harris: Right. I had a strategy when I was
6 the Pacific Fleet commander, and now I get to task the
7 Pacific Fleet and the Marine Forces specific to come up with
8 that strategy and work it.

9 Senator Ernst: Very good. I am very excited about
10 that. We are getting back to the basics, I think, for all
11 of our forces out there.

12 Do you agree with the Navy-Marine Corps Joint Forcible
13 Entry capability with a validated ship requirement of 38?

14 Admiral Harris: I do. The forcible entry requirement
15 is critical not just for the Marines but for the Army as
16 well.

17 Senator Ernst: And do you think that that will be able
18 to be maintained, then, moving into the future?

19 Admiral Harris: I do not know. I hope so. I hope
20 that we will be able to get our amphibious ship levels to
21 that standard.

22 Senator Ernst: Okay, thank you, Admiral.

23 Over the past several weeks, just a slightly different
24 topic, but over the past couple weeks, we have had a number
25 of very distinguished witnesses, such as Lieutenant General

1 Thomas Conant, a former PACOM deputy commander, and General
2 Carter Ham, the former commander of AFRICOM and U.S. Army
3 Europe. They have spoken very highly of our National Guard
4 State Partnership Program.

5 I do believe that this program is key in working with
6 our allies, and developing our allies and their
7 capabilities. But I am concerned because in the PACOM or in
8 the Asia-Pacific area, there are very few State Partnership
9 Programs out of 70 different unique programs that we have
10 worldwide. I think it is important that we exercise these
11 types of programs and develop those relationships with those
12 countries.

13 Could you speak to that a little bit, sir?

14 Admiral Harris: I can. I am a huge fan of the State
15 Partnership Program. I have seen it work in the Pacific.
16 General Grass and I have talked about it, and I have asked
17 for an increase in state partner relationships out there.

18 But for the countries in the region, their state
19 partners, our Guard forces, are often their principal
20 training relationship. So it is critical for all the
21 reasons you mentioned. And General Grass and I are in
22 lockstep on the way forward in the Pacific.

23 Senator Ernst: Are there certain countries that we
24 should be working more with, with a state partnership
25 relationship?

1 Admiral Harris: Sure. Mongolia comes to mind in, and
2 we have asked for that.

3 Mongolia is a perfect case in point of a country that
4 would benefit greatly from our State Partnership Program.

5 Senator Ernst: That is very good. We have many States
6 that already have developed relationships, and sometimes
7 look for second partnerships as well, so thank you.

8 General Scaparrotti, do you have any thoughts on the
9 State Partnership Program?

10 General Scaparrotti: I, too, am a big fan of that.
11 The relationships that are built over time, the trust that
12 is built, are very important. That is really the glue that
13 helps us improve not only that relationship, but,
14 importantly, to develop capacity within our partners.

15 Senator Ernst: Fantastic. Thank you.

16 Thank you very much.

17 Chairman McCain: Some of that depends on the
18 attractiveness of the State. Don't you think that has a lot
19 to do with it?

20 Senator Nelson?

21 Senator Nelson: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

22 General, when does China yank North Korea's chain?
23 What is the point at which they really get serious that
24 North Korea is getting out of control with the nuclear
25 weapons capability?

1 General Scaparrotti: Sir, I wish I knew the answer,
2 because we have been trying to find that spot, frankly. I
3 think they have underestimated the danger of KJU, at this
4 point. He is clearly confident in his ability to provoke
5 and control a situation, so I would encourage them to
6 reconsider that at this time.

7 But, obviously, they still, despite these recent
8 events, appear to be reluctant to take some serious steps,
9 which they certainly could.

10 Senator Nelson: Do they seem to be, certainly, the one
11 applying economic pressure, and so forth. I mean, do they
12 fear a united Korean Peninsula so much, and/or do they fear
13 too many refugees coming in, that this nuclear threat is not
14 enough for them to pull that chain?

15 General Scaparrotti: Well, I think first they fear
16 instability on their border, if that were to occur, the
17 refugee problem it would create for them along the border,
18 and then also the security of the WMD. North Korea not only
19 has nuclear but they have probably one of largest chemical
20 and bio stockpiles -- chemical, in particular, but bio
21 capability -- around the world.

22 So that is their first concern, getting control of
23 that, if it were to be an unstable country.

24 Secondly, I believe, too, that it provides them a
25 buffer, and they would fear a unified Korea, particularly

1 with a U.S. ally. They would be concerned where our forces
2 would be stationed.

3 Senator Nelson: As you all wargame this, what is
4 China's position, if the young gentleman goes off his rocker
5 and launches an attack against us, an attempted attack,
6 because presumably we would have the capability of knocking
7 it down? In a wargame like that, what do you expect for
8 China's reaction?

9 General Scaparrotti: Sir, we actually have that as a
10 part of our wargaming and planning. I think our first
11 thing, as I mentioned earlier, is that we count on
12 engagement with them. We work on engagement, particularly
13 with PACOM, on a regular basis in order to give us that
14 relationship. If and when there is any, even a provocation
15 on the peninsula today, we make contact to make sure they
16 understand our intent.

17 This is my personal opinion. I think that China is
18 also looking at those possibilities in their calculation,
19 and probably are more inclined lately to intervene
20 potentially, at least in the border areas and to the extent
21 that they would be concerned about control of those WMDs as
22 well.

23 So I think intervention is more of a likelihood, in my
24 mind, in the few years that I have been in command now, than
25 it was, say, 2 years or 3 years ago.

1 Senator Nelson: It may be one of the areas that China
2 would suddenly see that it has its interests aligned with
3 the interests of the United States.

4 Admiral, it is great to see you.

5 Mr. Chairman, he is a great product of Pensacola,
6 Florida. As a native Floridian, you can hear it in the
7 lilting tone of his voice.

8 Admiral, share with us your thought of the importance,
9 from a national military perspective, of the Trans-Pacific
10 Partnership.

11 Admiral Harris: Sir, I am just going to bask a little
12 bit in that lilting-ness just for second here.

13 The Trans-Pacific Partnership, I believe, is an
14 important component of the economic part of the rebalance.
15 I have spoken of the rebalance being comprised of the
16 military, diplomatic, political, and economic parts. In the
17 economic sphere, which I have said is the most important
18 component of the rebalance -- the most visible piece is the
19 military piece, because you can see an aircraft carrier or
20 Joint Strike Fighter or Stryker vehicle and all that.

21 But the most important part of the rebalance, to
22 America, is really the economic component. And in that
23 economic component, you have energy and you have TPP. I
24 think that TPP binds us to the 11 other nations that are
25 part of TPP.

1 The standards that it takes for a country to enter TPP
2 is helpful. It is helpful to the global trade piece, and it
3 is helpful to those things that we view as important as
4 conditions of entry.

5 I think the fact that there are countries waiting in
6 line to figure out how to get in, I think that is important
7 as well, and indicative of how TPP is viewed now in the
8 Pacific.

9 Senator Nelson: Thank you.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan?

12 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

13 And thank you, gentlemen, for your testimony. I
14 appreciate the opportunity to get caught up yesterday.

15 Admiral, I appreciate you talking about the TPP, not
16 only in terms of economics, but energy. As we discussed
17 yesterday, the United States has an enormous opportunity
18 now, in terms of our competitive advantages in energy, LNG,
19 oil exports to our allies and even other countries in the
20 region. I think it is something we need to be taking
21 advantage of.

22 I want to follow up on the chairman's questions on the
23 South China Sea. Secretary Carter was testifying here a few
24 months back when we had done the first FONOPs. I am a big
25 supporter of Secretary Carter, but I think there was some

1 concern here on the committee that an opportunity to
2 actually announce in a robust, articulate way what we were
3 doing was missed, because we literally had to press it out
4 of him just to get any details on what the heck was going
5 on.

6 So from your perspective, what exactly is our policy
7 with regard to the South China Sea, our freedom of
8 navigation operations? What is the purpose? What is the
9 goal? And should we be doing this on a regular basis, as
10 the chairman said, also with our allies?

11 Admiral Harris: Thanks, Senator.

12 I believe the purpose of freedom of navigation
13 operations, and the other operations we do in the South
14 China Sea, is to exercise our rights on the high seas and in
15 the airspace above it on a regular basis.

16 Senator Sullivan: To what end? What is the goal?

17 Admiral Harris: The goal is international rules and
18 norms. This is international water and international
19 airspace. If we do not exercise our rights, or if those
20 rights are not routinely exercised by someone, then we stand
21 a chance of abdicating those rights to someone else.

22 So the regular exercise of freedom of navigation, in my
23 opinion, is critical. It is important, and it is something
24 that we must continue to do.

25 Senator Sullivan: Do we have allies who are interested

1 in doing that with us for the same reasons? And are we
2 looking to coordinate with them in terms of future FONOP
3 operations?

4 Admiral Harris: We have allies, friends, and partners,
5 Senator, that are very supportive of our freedom of
6 navigation operations. There are some of those who are
7 willing to consider doing them with us, but there are others
8 that are unable to, either because of their own military
9 capability or lack thereof, or of their internal politics, I
10 guess, and of their relationship with China.

11 Senator Sullivan: Do you think that it would be
12 helpful to have additional allies, whether they are from the
13 region or maybe some of our NATO partners?

14 Admiral Harris: It would be helpful. And I have
15 encouraged other countries to conduct operations in the
16 South China Sea, because, at the end of the day, South China
17 Sea is international waters, in my view.

18 Senator Sullivan: We talked about Okinawa yesterday.
19 Can you just give us an update on what more we should be
20 looking at doing? We are helping our allies, particularly
21 with regard to Japan, in terms of the Marine redeployment
22 there.

23 Admiral Harris: We have this relationship with Japan
24 in Okinawa. We have an obligation to defend Japan, and they
25 have an obligation to provide us a place from which to

1 defend them. Okinawa is one of those critical places where
2 we must be in order to meet our treaty obligations to defend
3 Japan.

4 A few years ago, through a lot of increasing tensions
5 over the years, Japan asked us to move our forces out of
6 Futenma to someplace else. Our response to that is, sure,
7 you build a new place and we will move our forces there.
8 That is a simplistic view, but that is how we agreed to move
9 from Futenma to the Futenma Replacement Facility, Camp
10 Schwab, Henoko.

11 In that process, we agreed also to relocate 8,000 to
12 10,000 Marines out of Okinawa. For that, you have the Guam
13 piece, the Hawaii piece, and part of the Marine rotation
14 forces in Darwin. You have all of that, which is a follow-
15 on to once we start moving Marines from Futenma to the
16 Futenma Replacement Facility.

17 The challenge we have is to get the build done on the
18 Futenma Replacement Facility, which is Japan's
19 responsibility. That is their obligation to us.

20 Right now, it is slowed. It is a little over 2 years
21 late. It was going to be done by 2023, and now we are
22 looking at 2025 before that is done. That is when the big
23 movement of Marines from Okinawa to Guam and Hawaii would
24 take place, in the 2020s.

25 So I believe we have to continue to fly and operate out

1 of Futenma and continue to work with the Japanese, as they
2 start to build the replacement facility at Henoko, Camp
3 Schwab.

4 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

5 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 Chairman McCain: Senator Hirono?

7 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 I would like to thank both Admiral Harris and General
9 Scaparrotti for the time you spent with me yesterday. I
10 appreciate that very much, and for your service.

11 And, General Scaparrotti, our very best wishes to you,
12 as you go forward.

13 Admiral Harris, I am happy to see in your written
14 testimony that you raise the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific
15 Center for Strategic Studies, DKI APCSS, and the Center for
16 Excellence in Disaster Management.

17 Can you talk briefly about the importance and the
18 benefits that these two organizations provide to you as the
19 commander of PACOM?

20 Admiral Harris: Yes, Senator. I believe the Daniel K.
21 Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Strategic Studies, DKI APCSS,
22 is a true force multiplier for my operations in the Pacific.
23 DKI APCSS is able to bring countries to Hawaii that I cannot
24 go to. They enjoy special ability to link together students
25 from all over the region in very positive ways.

1 In building those relationships, it helps me in the
2 region, and it also helps those countries to realize the
3 benefits of a relationship with the United States.

4 So I cannot say enough about DKI APCSS and retired
5 Lieutenant General Dan Leaf, who directs that. So I am
6 pleased to be able to work closely with him and the center.
7 And I am pleased that the center is a direct report to
8 PACOM.

9 So, too, CFEDM, the Center for Excellence in Disaster
10 Management, I think that that center has the capability and
11 the potential to be a true storehouse of knowledge and
12 lessons learned on how we do disaster management, not only
13 in the region, but that can be shared globally for people
14 who would seek that information.

15 Senator Hirono: I think particularly as we natural
16 disasters occurring more and more, that the center is very
17 important. And I have been visited the center a number of
18 times. I totally agree with you that that is a really
19 important resource. It is a resource for you as well as our
20 country.

21 I want to turn to the relationship, the trilateral
22 relationship, among Japan, U.S., South Korean. This is for
23 General Scaparrotti.

24 The tensions, as you say, are higher than ever, and
25 there are some historical issues between Japan and South

1 Korea that make the relationship between these two countries
2 particularly challenging. From your perspective, how do you
3 see this relationship currently and moving forward? And
4 perhaps with the tensions between South and North Korea now,
5 perhaps South Korea will be moving more closely to Japan.
6 How do you see this developing?

7 General Scaparrotti: Senator, thank you. It is an
8 important question and an important relationship for us.

9 I see it positive, and I see it moving in a positive
10 direction. A year ago, we were having difficulty with
11 trilateral relationships, encouraging mil-to-mil
12 relationships, et cetera. Over this past year, there has
13 been, I think, a concerted effort with both parties, with
14 the U.S. as a partner to both, to improve that relationship.

15 As you know, Japan and Korea recently had high-level
16 discussions, as well as a meeting between the Prime Minister
17 and the President Park that resolved the comfort women
18 issue. I think that was significant, as well as the
19 pressures from North Korea. I think both have encouraged
20 them to increase the trilateral relationship.

21 Admiral Harris just hosted a conference with the two
22 chairmen from each of those countries, as well as General
23 Dunford. I think we have the foundation now to move forward
24 in the future with greater mil-to-mil exercises, as well as
25 probably an encouraging environment for increasing

1 information flow between the three countries.

2 Senator Hirono: Thank you.

3 This is for Admiral Harris. The actions of North Korea
4 have been particularly troubling, especially with their so-
5 called hydrogen bomb test and their rocket launch into
6 space. Do you see North Korea as a nuclear state? And if
7 so, what does this mean for the U.S. and the U.N.?

8 Admiral Harris: They clearly have some nuclear
9 capabilities. I am not convinced that the bomb that went
10 off was a hydrogen bomb, but they clearly have some degree
11 of nuclear capability.

12 I think they pose a very distinct and real threat, not
13 only to peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula, but
14 globally. As they develop their nuclear capability -- and
15 as I said before, they are on a quest for nuclear weapons,
16 the means to miniaturize them, and the means to deliver them
17 intercontinentally. They pose a real threat to Hawaii and
18 to the West Coast, to the mainland of the United States, and
19 soon to the entire U.S.

20 They pose a threat today, with their hundreds of
21 thousands of rockets within rocket range of Seoul, to the
22 28,500 American troops that are posted there, their
23 families, the hundreds of thousands of Americans who work in
24 Korea, and our Korean ally and Japan.

25 So they are a real threat today, and I encourage China,

1 for example, to be helpful and to try to bring North Korea
2 to the negotiating table and to do the right thing.

3 Senator Hirono: Well, our best wishes on your
4 continuing efforts on that score, because I know it is quite
5 the challenge to have China step up and deal with North
6 Korea in a way that would be helpful to stabilizing that
7 region. Thank you very much.

8 Chairman McCain: Senator Rounds?

9 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Admiral, first of all, let me say how much I
11 appreciated the opportunity to visit with you at PACOM
12 headquarters this last week on the Inhofe codel. Your
13 message was striking. And yet, at the same time, I came
14 away a little bit puzzled with one part.

15 We have been working on the issues surrounding
16 rebalance or a rebalance strategy since 2011. The
17 rebalance, a strategic whole-of-government effort, guides
18 and reinforces our military efforts, integrating with
19 diplomatic, political, and economic initiatives. In August
20 2015, Secretary of Defense Carter described four elements of
21 the military component of the Asia-Pacific rebalance.

22 Have you seen a doctrine that you put your strategy
23 around, which is the rebalance? Or is it a series of
24 concepts that are still being developed?

25 Admiral Harris: I believe that we have a strategy now,

1 and it is the East Asia military strategy that was put out
2 by OSD last December, November or December. I think it
3 captures it well. There are probably other things that will
4 come out on that, but I am satisfied, in reading the East
5 Asia military strategy piece -- the Asia-Pacific strategy
6 piece, rather, that it is captured in there.

7 But I think all the elements that I spoke about earlier
8 on the rebalance are in play in the Indo-Asia-Pacific
9 region. Just in the diplomatic and political spheres, for
10 example, we now have the EDCA, the Enhanced Defense
11 Cooperation Agreement, with the Philippines, which gives us
12 access to their bases. We have the new defense guidelines
13 with Japan, which is the follow-on to their peace and
14 security legislation, which allows them some limited
15 collective self-defense, which moves that relationship
16 forward. We have access agreements with Singapore, which
17 allows us to put our LCS, littoral combat ships, there, and
18 P-8, P-3 aircraft there on a routine basis.

19 Of course, all the agreements we have with Australia,
20 which is the cornerstone of our MRF-D deployment, the Marine
21 Rotational Force Darwin deployment.

22 So I am very pleased with those initiatives, which are
23 in that diplomatic, political sphere part of the rebalance.

24 The military piece is, as I said, the most visible
25 piece. You can see that. And then we have the economic

1 piece, which is the most important part to the United
2 States, in my opinion.

3 Senator Rounds: With regard to A2/AD, there seems to
4 be considerable movement, a very quick movement, on the part
5 of China in this area. Do you have the appropriate
6 intelligence-gathering information? Do you need more tools
7 than what you have right now?

8 Admiral Harris: I can always use more tools, Senator.
9 I would like to know more about China's intent. But in that
10 regard, what I need more than anything else is persistent
11 ISR to keep that never-blinking eye on Korea.

12 Senator Rounds: Specific platforms that are not
13 available to you now that you need?

14 Admiral Harris: There are platforms that are not
15 available now that I have asked for.

16 Senator Rounds: Okay. They are coming?

17 Admiral Harris: It is being considered. It is part of
18 the global allocation of forces. So I compete with
19 platforms along with Central Command, EUCOM European
20 Command, and the like.

21 Senator Rounds: In the current posture, the Chinese
22 have clearly put us in a position where they are moving us,
23 in terms of our safety zones, farther out, farther away.
24 The LRS-B is being proposed right now.

25 Is the LRS-B an asset that you would consider critical,

1 with regard to our future capabilities in the South China
2 area? Seeing how they could be deployed out of North
3 America, they basically would be in a position to make the
4 strikes necessary at that time that perhaps some of our
5 other carrier-based units might not be able to maintain,
6 just based upon size and capabilities.

7 Admiral Harris: Senator, I am sorry. I do not know
8 the acronym.

9 Senator Rounds: Long-range strike bomber.

10 Admiral Harris: Yes. It would be helpful. As I
11 mentioned before, in talking about the next-generation
12 bomber, all of that capability is important, not only the
13 next-generation bomber, but the next-generation SSBN.

14 And we need those to maintain a position of strength
15 into the 2020s.

16 Senator Rounds: Mr. Chairman, thank you.

17 Senator Reed: [Presiding.] On behalf of Chairman
18 McCain, Senator Shaheen?

19 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

20 Admiral Harris, I am so glad to hear someone in your
21 position who does not know one of the acronyms that is being
22 used. It makes me feel so much better.

23 [Laughter.]

24 Admiral Harris: Acronyms kill, ma'am.

25 Senator Shaheen: Yes, they do. That was a very good

1 pun.

2 I want to thank you both for your service. And I want
3 to start, I assume it should be with you, Admiral Harris.

4 There was a report that was just given to Congress this
5 week that suggests that Chinese investments in the national
6 security sector in the United States are growing. Is there
7 any reason why we should be concerned about that?

8 Admiral Harris: Sure. I think that, depending on the
9 area that they invest in, there is every reason to be
10 concerned. We need to look at each one of these investments
11 carefully. We have a process called CFIUS, another acronym.
12 I could not begin to tell you what it stands for.

13 Senator Shaheen: That one I know.

14 Admiral Harris: All right. But that allows us a
15 mechanism, a legal mechanism, to perhaps prevent China from
16 buying or investing in certain areas. I have used it
17 before, when I was at Pacific Fleet, to prevent the purchase
18 of some facilities, which were near our key military
19 facilities.

20 Senator Shaheen: And so does the economic reliance on
21 China by some of our American allies create complications
22 for our security strategy, as we are thinking about Chinese
23 investments in our national security sector and what is
24 happening with some of our allies with respect to their
25 reliance on what is happening in the Chinese economy?

1 Admiral Harris: Clearly, Senator, it does.

2 China is the principal trading partner of many of our
3 friends, allies, and partners, not only in the Indo-Asia-
4 Pacific, but globally. So that is a factor that each
5 country has to make, and it is a factor in how we regard
6 their reliability in certain cases.

7 I am often asked, well, we have this size of the
8 Chinese military and we have this size of the U.S. military
9 west of the dateline, but surely, if you added to that all
10 of our capability resident in our friends, allies, and
11 partners, they would match the Chinese, in terms of numbers.
12 You cannot always count on that in every case, because each
13 country will make their independent, sovereign decision on
14 whether to participate in a given operation or whatever.

15 And so China's investment in those countries, in those
16 countries' trade relationships with China, is important. It
17 matters, just as it matters to us.

18 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

19 General Scaparrotti, in your testimony, you mentioned
20 North Korea's recent actions that suggest that it will do
21 whatever it wants to defy U.N. Security Council resolutions
22 and other norms.

23 A couple weeks ago, we passed additional sanctions on
24 North Korea here. To what extent do those help or hurt, as
25 we are trying to influence North Korea's actions?

1 General Scaparrotti: Senator, thank you. I appreciate
2 the action that Congress took here in terms of sanctions,
3 because I do believe they have an impact. We know that we
4 have slowed his capability to develop his munitions,
5 missiles, et cetera. He is somewhat cash-strapped. I think
6 additional sanctions, which there are steps we have not
7 taken yet, I think the more that we do, the more pressure we
8 then put on Kim Jong-un.

9 He has a fairly shaky economy, not a good hand. So
10 these sanctions, I think, could create a big problem for
11 him, certainly to someone who puts 30 percent of his economy
12 into his military.

13 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I am, certainly, a big
14 proponent of our having passed those sanctions.

15 I would like to say for the record, Mr. Chairman, that
16 one of the things that I am very concerned about, with
17 respect to the sanctions and their enforcement, is the fact
18 that we have still have sitting in the Banking Committee the
19 nomination of Adam Szubin to be the person at the Department
20 of the Treasury who is charged with enforcing those
21 sanctions. And yet, he has not yet been officially
22 approved.

23 So I would hope that we could enter that into the
24 record, and I would urge that we see some action on his
25 nomination.

1 I am out of time, Mr. Chairman, but can I ask one more
2 question?

3 Senator Reed: Yes.

4 Senator Shaheen: Given the recent action by North
5 Korea, have we seen that affect that Chinese thinking or
6 support for North Korea and their willingness to try and
7 encourage them to pull back on their nuclear efforts? For
8 either of you, both of you.

9 General Scaparrotti: As you know, they denounced the
10 actions as well. They stated their concern with them. I
11 think they are in active conversations with us now.

12 But to this point, we have not seen the steps we would
13 like them to take, in my opinion, and that they could take.

14 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. Thank you both very much.
15 Thank you for your service.

16 Senator Reed: On behalf of Chairman McCain, Senator
17 Graham?

18 Senator Graham: Thank you, Senator Reed.

19 General, let's pick up with what you just said.

20 Are we overly relying on China to discipline and
21 regulate North Korea? Every time somebody mentions North
22 Korea, the first thing out of their mouth is, "Well, we have
23 to have the Chinese help us."

24 General Scaparrotti: Sir, in my opinion, I do not know
25 that we are overly reliant. But, certainly, there are

1 actions -- for instance, unilateral actions that this body
2 just took -- that we could, certainly, apply as well.

3 Senator Graham: Could you give me a list of things
4 that we could do that we have not done regarding North
5 Korea? Not right now, but later.

6 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I could.

7 Senator Graham: Okay. Have you ever found a situation
8 in military history, modern military history, where
9 sanctions stopped a dictator from acquiring weapons?

10 General Scaparrotti: I am not aware. I would have to
11 look at that, Senator, to be honest with you.

12 Senator Graham: Do you think he cares how his people
13 live?

14 General Scaparrotti: No, he does not.

15 Senator Graham: Do you think if he had a missile that
16 could reach the United States, he would actually use it
17 against us?

18 General Scaparrotti: I think that his stated purpose
19 is to protect his regime. If he thought his regime was
20 challenged, he states that he would use WMD.

21 Senator Graham: Is it in our national security
22 interests to allow the North Koreans to develop missile
23 technology that could hit the homeland?

24 General Scaparrotti: No, sir.

25 Senator Graham: Would you suggest we use military

1 force, if necessary, to stop that?

2 General Scaparrotti: If military force was necessary,
3 yes, sir. But I think there should be --

4 Senator Graham: But that should be on the table? But
5 that should be one of the options?

6 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir.

7 Senator Graham: Do you agree with that, Admiral?

8 Admiral Harris: I do.

9 Senator Graham: I just want the committee to
10 understand that we are about to have to cross a road here
11 eventually.

12 Don't you think that, in the coming few years, we are
13 going to have to make a decision about this?

14 Does that make sense to you, admiral?

15 Admiral Harris: It does, Senator, in my opinion.

16 Senator Graham: So say in the next 5 years -- I am
17 just picking a date out of thin air here -- the United
18 States is going to have to make a tough decision regarding
19 North Korea, whether or not to let them know that if you
20 continue down the missile development road, we will attack
21 that program?

22 Admiral Harris: At some point, it may come to that.

23 Senator Graham: Do you think it would be good for
24 North Korea to understand that is the consequence of what
25 they are doing?

1 Admiral Harris: I think they do understand it,
2 Senator.

3 Senator Graham: Do you think they really believe we
4 would use military force to stop their missile program?

5 Admiral Harris: I do not know what they believe.

6 Senator Graham: Okay.

7 What about you, General?

8 General Scaparrotti: Sir, I would say the same. Our
9 difficulty is really understanding their --

10 Senator Graham: Could we make it more clear to them?
11 Is it possible to make it more clear to them?

12 General Scaparrotti: I think it is possible to make it
13 more clear to them.

14 The second thing I would add, Senator, is that, as you
15 look to the future, I am concerned as well not only about
16 his nuclear missile capabilities, developing cyber
17 capability. He is developing a strategic-launch ballistic
18 missile, and he is developing his air defense capabilities.

19 All of those things, in about 5 or 6 years, are going
20 to be a more formidable problem.

21 Senator Graham: So in light of the threat that could
22 emerge over the next 5 years from North Korea, if
23 sequestration goes back into effect, does that affect the
24 Army's ability to participate in South Korea effectively?

25 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir, it does.

1 Senator Graham: If sequestration goes into full
2 effect, Admiral, what does that do to your ability in your
3 theater?

4 Admiral Harris: I think it hurts me greatly, not only
5 for forces that are forward-deployed, but also follow-on
6 forces. I worry most about those follow-on forces.

7 Senator Graham: So we have a 5-year window here of
8 where North Korea is advancing missile technology and cyber
9 capability. They are becoming more of a threat in the next
10 5 years, unless something changes. Is that correct? Is
11 that what you are telling the committee? In the next 5
12 years?

13 Admiral Harris: You said 5 years. I did not.

14 Senator Graham: Okay. I am just picking 5 years.

15 Admiral Harris: Right.

16 Senator Graham: Let's just say in the next 5 years, if
17 nothing changes, they are going to be a bigger threat to the
18 United States?

19 Admiral Harris: Clearly. Clearly.

20 Senator Graham: Is that true of you, General?

21 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I agree.

22 Senator Graham: So we have that dynamic. And the
23 Congress' response is to reduce your capabilities in the
24 next 5 years.

25 Is that what Congress is doing to you?

1 Admiral Harris: If sequestration remains the law of
2 the land, as I testified during my confirmation hearing, I
3 think it will hurt us significantly in the 2021, 2022 time
4 frame.

5 Senator Graham: So from a policymaker point of view,
6 your military advice to us would be to change that
7 construct?

8 Admiral Harris: My military request of you, Senator,
9 would be to end sequestration.

10 Senator Graham: Yes, because what we are doing is we
11 are having the enemy increasing capability, and we are
12 decreasing your ability to confront the enemy. That is a
13 bad combination.

14 Admiral Harris: And it is not just North Korea.

15 Senator Graham: In your theater.

16 Admiral Harris: In my theater. It is globally.

17 Senator Graham: What does North Korea want, General?
18 Just survivability?

19 General Scaparrotti: Sir, he wants to protect his
20 regime, the Kim family regime. And he wants to establish
21 himself as a recognized nuclear state.

22 Senator Graham: Okay.

23 Admiral, would the TPP be helpful, if passed, in your
24 region?

25 Admiral Harris: It would be helpful to pass.

1 Senator Graham: What if we failed to pass it?

2 Admiral Harris: Then the countries in the region will
3 question the seriousness of our commitment to the rebalance,
4 one. And two, they will turn somewhere else.

5 Senator Graham: Will that likely be China?

6 Admiral Harris: It will be China.

7 Senator Graham: Thank you, both, for your
8 extraordinary careers. Thank you, both.

9 Chairman McCain: [Presiding.] Senator Kaine?

10 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

11 And thanks to the witnesses. I appreciate this
12 testimony much. Some of us are running back and forth to a
13 Foreign Relations Committee hearing with Secretary Kerry,
14 where many of the same issues are being discussed. We
15 apologize for that.

16 Admiral Harris, I enjoyed our visit in Halifax at the
17 security conference there in November. One of the issues we
18 talked about I know was raised by Senator King in a question
19 when I was gone, but I think it was raised pretty briefly.
20 He asked you whether you thought the United States should
21 ratify the U.N. Convention on Law of the Sea, and you said
22 yes. I want to dig into that a little bit more.

23 A lot of the testimony and discussion this morning has
24 been about the Chinese island-building and other activities
25 in the South China Sea. A lot of the testimony that is

1 going on upstairs with Secretary Kerry is about the same
2 thing.

3 Admiral, you said a few minutes ago, and I quote, you
4 were asked about China and what our posture is vis-a-vis
5 China's activities. "The goal is international rules and
6 norms." I think that ought to be the goal.

7 We should be an enforcer of international rules and
8 norms, but I just find it fascinating that as much as we
9 talk about the Chinese activities in the South China Sea
10 that we are against, because they violate international
11 rules and norms, we are the only major power in the world
12 that has not ratified the U.N. Convention on Law of the Sea.

13 Now, as a practical matter, in terms of our own
14 activities, we act as if that is law. We act in accord with
15 it. But our refusal -- and it is a refusal, and it is a
16 refusal by this body, the Senate, to ratify -- means that we
17 really lack standing to hold it up against the actions of
18 anybody else and complain about their failure to follow the
19 requirements of that convention.

20 This is not only a matter with respect to China in the
21 South China Sea. It is also increasingly becoming an issue
22 with Russia in the Arctic.

23 If you could, Admiral Harris, instead of just saying,
24 "I support it," talk to me a little bit about, from the
25 security standpoint, the safety of the United States and the

1 mission that we have in the Indo-Asia-Pacific, what would
2 ratification of that U.N. convention do for the United
3 States?

4 Admiral Harris: Thanks, Senator, for the opportunity.

5 Let me begin in response by saying that I have talked
6 to quite a few folks who are opposed to UNCLOS, the United
7 Nations Commission on Law of the Sea, and I have been
8 informed by them, and I appreciate their position, and I
9 understand the position. I do not agree with it, but I want
10 to acknowledge that there are good reasons -- there are
11 reasons to oppose UNCLOS.

12 My personal opinion is, first and foremost, UNCLOS
13 gives us credibility. It gives us credibility in the
14 international space that we lack today simply because we are
15 not a signatory to UNCLOS.

16 In a purely military sense, in a projection of power,
17 whether we sign on to UNCLOS or not is not going to affect
18 that. But I think, by not signing onto it, we lose the
19 credibility for the very same thing that we are arguing for,
20 which is following accepted rules and norms in the
21 international arena.

22 The United States is a beacon, and we are a beacon on a
23 hill. But I think that light is brighter if we sign onto
24 UNCLOS.

25 We are going to find ourselves in this odd situation

1 here in a few months if -- if -- the International Tribunal
2 for the Law of the Sea agrees with the Philippines' position
3 with regard to their claim against China's nine-dash line.

4 So we are going to find ourselves supporting that
5 outcome and yet not be a signatory to it. That puts us in
6 an awkward position vis-a-vis the other countries in the
7 region.

8 You raise Russia. Russia is going to reap the benefits
9 of almost half of the Arctic Circle, because of this theory
10 of extended continental shelf, which is afforded by UNCLOS.
11 On the other hand, we are not going to reap those great
12 benefits, because we are not a signatory to UNCLOS.

13 So I think it affects us in our commerce, in our trade,
14 which is part of that rebalance. It is part of those four
15 big spheres in the rebalance.

16 Senator Kaine: So the absence of ratification does not
17 only deprive us of an argument against activities of others
18 that we would argue are not lawful, but it also deprives us
19 of some positive, upside benefits, for example, with respect
20 to the extended continental shelf argument.

21 Admiral Harris: Right. In my opinion, that is true.

22 Senator Kaine: I have no further questions. Thank
23 you, Mr. Chair.

24 Senator Reed: [Presiding.] Thank you.

25 On behalf of Chairman McCain, Senator Cotton, please?

1 Senator Cotton: Thank you. I apologize for my
2 absence. I have had presiding officer duty on the Senate
3 floor.

4 General Scaparrotti, that is the equivalent of staff
5 duty for a junior officer at the regiment, if you are not
6 aware.

7 I want to address something specifically that you
8 stated in your testimony on page 12. "We will continue to
9 work closely with the Republic of Korea to ensure it
10 procures the appropriate types and numbers of critical
11 munitions for the early phases of hostilities. Of note, the
12 potential ban on cluster munitions could have a significant
13 impact on our ability to defend the Republic of Korea."

14 Could you say a little bit more about that significant
15 impact, General Scaparrotti?

16 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir. Thank you.

17 There is presently a policy that in 2019 will go into
18 effect that states, basically, the use of cluster munitions
19 that have a dud rate of greater than 1 percent can no longer
20 be a part of our inventory or be employed. I rely on
21 cluster munitions in a very large way to affect operations,
22 if we go to crisis on the peninsula.

23 My concern is that we will not be able to replace those
24 cluster munitions with proper munitions, or we will use
25 unitary rounds, which, to have the same effect, I have to

1 fire three to five rounds for each one of those cluster
2 munitions.

3 So my point is that we need to work now to both develop
4 munitions that are acceptable with less than 1 percent dud
5 rate, so that we can replace them in due time. And until we
6 do, I need to be able to use those cluster munitions that I
7 have in storage now in the peninsula in the interim.

8 Senator Cotton: Is the rationale for this policy a
9 humanitarian concern, based on the nature of cluster
10 munitions?

11 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir.

12 Senator Cotton: Do you think it is more humanitarian
13 to preserve these munitions in our arsenal and, hopefully,
14 deter them or any other munitions from ever having to be
15 used, or to remove them from the arsenal and perhaps
16 increase the likelihood of a conflict in which thousands
17 could die?

18 General Scaparrotti: No, I think, particularly in this
19 case, if we were not to use cluster munitions in a crisis on
20 the peninsula, it will result in greater both military and
21 civilian casualties in the long run, because extension of
22 the campaign and also the effect it would have tactically on
23 our forces.

24 We have done some modeling on this. We have done some
25 testing on it. I am quite confident of that opinion.

1 Senator Cotton: Have your predecessors relied on these
2 types of munitions going back to the 1950s?

3 General Scaparrotti: We have used cluster munitions in
4 the past. They are being used today. For instance, the
5 Russians have used them in a devastating way in Ukraine.

6 Senator Cotton: I have noticed.

7 Admiral Harris, I would like to turn to your testimony
8 on a related topic. Page 20, under the heading "Critical
9 Munitions," you state, "Critical munitions shortfalls are a
10 top priority and concern."

11 Do you mean to say there that you actually are facing
12 actual shortfalls now in critical munitions?

13 Admiral Harris: That is true, Senator. I have called
14 for increased munitions. There is a shortfall in General
15 Scaparrotti's arena. Part of that shortfall should be paid
16 for by the Korean ally. That is a subject of discussions
17 that we have with Korea.

18 Senator Cotton: Not just in Korea, though, but
19 theater-wide, do you face this kind of shortfall?

20 Admiral Harris: I do, but the focus of that part of my
21 written testimony centered on Korea.

22 Senator Cotton: Okay. In this kind of unclassified
23 setting, is it something that you get into in more detail,
24 about the kind of shortfalls you are facing?

25 Admiral Harris: I prefer not to in this setting, but I

1 would be happy to come back to you in a closed session to
2 talk about it, or come to your office.

3 Senator Cotton: I understand. And we might submit
4 questions for the record. I think it would be the height of
5 irresponsibility for civilian and military leaders in this
6 country not to, at a minimum, have sufficient munitions to
7 fight and, hopefully, deter the wars that we might face.
8 Whatever we might disagree about on longer term, large-
9 ticket budget items, I think we need to have the rounds for
10 our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines.

11 Admiral Harris, I would like to turn to the U.S.-
12 Philippines alliance, something to which Senator McCain
13 alluded about our Mutual Defense Treaty.

14 CSIS has recommended that we should consider offering
15 an explicit guarantee to the Philippines that the U.S. will
16 respond under the Mutual Defense Treaty to an attack on the
17 Philippines military in disputed water or territory. Do
18 think this option should be considered?

19 Admiral Harris: I think we should consider it, and we
20 should have a discussion of it in the policy arena. Our
21 obligations under the treaty with the Philippines is pretty
22 clear. And whether we extend that to Second Thomas Shoal,
23 which we do not hold as Philippines' sovereign territory,
24 because we do not take a position on sovereignty, we should
25 have that discussion, I believe.

1 Senator Cotton: Thank you. I think we should have
2 that discussion as well. I think deterrence works best when
3 deterrence is clear, as with relationships that we have with
4 NATO, Taiwan, and so forth.

5 My time has expired.

6 Senator Reed: Senator, if you would like to take
7 additional time, because we have until Senator Blumenthal
8 and Senator Sullivan return.

9 And your timing is exquisite. Thank you, Senator
10 Cotton.

11 On behalf of Chairman McCain, let me recognize Senator
12 Blumenthal, as he is seated. Thank you.

13 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
14 appreciate your great work on behalf of our country and the
15 work that you have done, particularly in the theaters that
16 you have covered.

17 General Scaparrotti, I want to come back to one of the
18 points that was raised by my colleague, Senator Gillibrand,
19 about soft targets, in terms of cyber. How vulnerable do
20 you think those targets are in the area under your command?

21 General Scaparrotti: I think, first of all, I am
22 confident in our military systems, my command and control
23 systems. We red team that. We exercise it. I think we
24 have a good defense. But with promise cyber is, it is very
25 dynamic. It changes every day, so it is something we have

1 to stay focused on.

2 I am concerned about, obviously, the civilian cyber
3 network that we are all connected to and has an influence on
4 us militarily as well in the peninsula. So that requires
5 ROK-U.S. work, and it requires ROK work with their civilian
6 counterparts, as well.

7 Senator Blumenthal: Is there, in your view, any action
8 we could take with respect to North Korea that would deter
9 their invasive action, such as we saw with Sony, such as we
10 have seen and you see in your theater?

11 General Scaparrotti: Yes, I believe there are some
12 actions we could take. I would prefer to provide that to
13 you in either a closed session or a classified document.

14 Senator Blumenthal: I understand that point. Without
15 speaking to them specifically, have you made recommendations
16 about them? And do you think there is the prospect of
17 imminent action that will widen and increase the
18 effectiveness of what we are doing?

19 General Scaparrotti: Well, in terms of the
20 recommendations, we are actively discussing some operations,
21 in terms of their effectiveness, et cetera. But that is
22 presently just a part of planning.

23 Senator Blumenthal: Admiral Harris, in terms of the
24 submarine capability of this country, we face no shortage of
25 challenges in the Asia-Pacific. And also, I think many of

1 us have no doubt about the importance of submarines.

2 And I know that my colleague, Senator Ayotte, asked you
3 about the sufficiency of the funding that we have in
4 prospect.

5 If you were to talk to the American public, how would
6 you put it so that they could understand the importance of
7 our submarine capability in the Asia-Pacific?

8 General Scaparrotti: Senator, I would say that the
9 submarine force has been our principal asymmetric advantage
10 over all the adversaries we faced in the 100 years of the
11 submarine service. It is such an asymmetric advantage that
12 every country who can builds their own submarine force.

13 Those countries that are building those submarine
14 forces are building some very capable vessels. The
15 Russians, the Chinese lead that effort. The Japanese make a
16 great submarine.

17 But I am concerned about the Russian and Chinese
18 submarines, as they increase in their capability. The
19 Russian submarine force, in my opinion, did not take a
20 hiatus when the Cold War ended. So now we have the
21 Dolgoruki class SSBN. Their newest ballistic missile
22 submarine is now in their Far East fleet in the Pacific.

23 The Chinese are building Jin class SSBNs, which has the
24 capability, if mated with the right missile, to threaten the
25 entire United States.

1 So these are submarines that we have to, we must keep
2 them at risk whenever they are underway and on patrol.

3 I face a submarine shortage in the Pacific. My
4 requirements are not being met, and that is a function of
5 numbers and global demand. I get all that. But I am also
6 worried about that delta, that shortfall between requirement
7 and presence.

8 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you.

9 Thank you both. My time has expired.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Senator Reed: Thank you very much.

12 On behalf of Chairman McCain, Senator Tillis, please?

13 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

14 Gentlemen, I am sorry I was not here for a lot of the
15 committee meeting. I have Judiciary and Veterans' Affairs
16 going on at the same time. But thank you for coming before
17 the committee, and thank you and your family for your
18 service, and all the folks that back you up.

19 I have a question that I hope it has not been asked,
20 but it has to do with the buildup that we see in China.

21 Admiral, when you and I had a briefing, you made the
22 comment that we have a qualitative advantage, but quantity
23 has a quality of its own. As China continues to expand
24 either its geographic footprint or it continues to build
25 ships and other assets, has there been any modeling or any

1 focus on what it is going to take to continue to operate
2 these things, in terms of fiscal sustainability? Is there
3 anything in your analysis to say, at some point, you have to
4 maintain them, you have to operate them, and with their
5 financial woes? Is there is any thought on that or analysis
6 being done?

7 Admiral Harris: It is a great point, Senator. I have
8 not done that analysis, nor have I seen analysis of China's
9 fiscal sustainability of their military out beyond -- pick a
10 date, 2020, 2025 or whatever.

11 But what I have seen is an increased number of
12 frontline-capable ships, submarines, and aircraft well into
13 the 2020s. So I am worried about that.

14 But I have not looked at their ability to fiscally
15 sustain that force.

16 Senator Tillis: Another point that you made that
17 really struck me was the difference when you talk about our
18 qualitative advantage. It is not only our technological and
19 our power projection capability, but it also has to do with
20 important things like survivability.

21 We are clearly going to have to spend more and
22 sometimes take longer to increase the assets that we have in
23 the area, because of the premium that we place on force
24 protection and survivability.

25 I just think that is important for people to

1 understand. We would never feel like, given China's
2 priorities today, that we need to match them ship for ship.
3 But we need to figure out when those ratios -- I think your
4 concern is that, even with our advantage, the ratios are
5 getting to a point where you expressed some concern. Is
6 that correct?

7 Admiral Harris: It is correct. But I am less
8 concerned about managing the Chinese ship for ship than I am
9 matching them missile for missile. Their missile ranges far
10 exceed ours ship to ship.

11 Senator Tillis: That is a very good point.

12 Admiral Harris: But I am pleased that in the 2017
13 budget, we are going to put some funding against improving
14 our surface-to-surface missile capability.

15 Senator Tillis: Now, if I can flip it for a minute, we
16 are viewing China as a kind of emerging threat or growing
17 that in that area of the world. What sort of work can we do
18 to identify instances, particularly as it relates to North
19 Korea, to find partnerships and common interests? What
20 kinds of things, either General Scaparrotti or Admiral
21 Harris, are we working on that you think could potentially
22 bear fruit?

23 Admiral Harris: So I have talked in public before
24 about -- there are more things that bind and link China with
25 the United States than separate us. The things that

1 separate us are not insignificant. But let me talk now
2 about those things that we can do together in shared
3 security spaces.

4 So we have a military consultative working group with
5 China where we meet with them on a regular basis to discuss
6 incidents at sea and in the air. We have our rules of
7 behavior working group. And we have all of these positive
8 fora where we can engage in discussions with our Chinese
9 counterparts.

10 They are active globally in positive areas, and we
11 should talk about those and commend them for it. They were
12 involved in the removal of chemical weapons from Syria.
13 They were involved in an evacuation of noncombatants from
14 Yemen. They have been involved in counterpiracy operations
15 off the Horn of Africa now for years. They are on the 22nd
16 iteration of that. They had the largest number of ships off
17 the west coast of Australia in the search for the missing
18 Malaysian airliner.

19 So these are all positive things, and they are doing
20 good things in that international space.

21 It is just those provocative things that they are doing
22 in Southeast Asia and the South China Sea, which raises
23 tensions and provocations, which causes problems in that
24 area that we have to work with them on.

25 Senator Tillis: Thank you.

1 In closing, two things. I suspect that my colleague
2 here is going to bring up the 4/25. I would associate
3 myself with any concerns that he may have with that. I will
4 be sticking around for his questions. But I think it is
5 also to continue to communicate back to us how the current
6 budget request helps you, what the priorities should be,
7 communicating those back to our office, and continue, I
8 think, to pound the table to say, at all costs, avoid
9 sequestration.

10 And I look forward to working with you, and thank you
11 for your service.

12 Senator Reed: On behalf of the chairman, Senator
13 Sullivan, please?

14 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My
15 colleague, Senator Tillis, is wise in terms of his ability
16 to anticipate questions. I did want talk a little bit about
17 some of the force posture.

18 Admiral Harris, in your testimony, you talked about the
19 tyranny of distance and the importance of forward station
20 forces at high levels of readiness that can rapidly respond
21 to a crisis in terms of a full range of military options.
22 The President, when he announced the rebalance, which I
23 think has broad support here on this committee, bipartisan
24 support, he talked about no force reduction in the Asia-
25 Pacific theater.

1 Despite that, as you may be aware, and we talked about
2 a little bit yesterday, the Army has decided to essentially
3 get rid of the only airborne brigade combat team in the
4 Asia-Pacific, the 4/25, also the only Arctic trained and
5 mountain trained. They are, certainly, a brigade combat
6 team that brings a lot of onlies to the fight. And although
7 it is an Army decision, it certainly impacts the two of you.

8 I know, General Scaparrotti, you view the 4/25 as an
9 important strategic reserve that can get to Korea within 7
10 hours. We have a huge strategic lift capability coupled
11 with the 4/25.

12 Admiral Harris, you actually own those forces, in terms
13 of operational command.

14 General Milley, to his credit, has said he is going to
15 take a look at this decision. He has actually put the
16 decision on hold. I was up in Alaska with him. He was on a
17 fact-finding mission just a couple days ago.

18 If he were to reverse that decision, would you support
19 his decision to do that, if he were? Both of you?

20 General Scaparrotti: Yes, sir. I would. It brings a
21 very specific set of capabilities to the theater, as you
22 just stated. I would just say that General Milley, as you
23 know, with the downsizing of our force, has to make a
24 decision to take that someplace.

25 With that comment, I would just say my personal opinion

1 is that we need to reconsider the downsizing of the Army at
2 this point, given the challenges that we have around the
3 globe. We have a mismatch between the requirements and our
4 strategy and the force that we have today.

5 Senator Sullivan: I could not agree more with you on
6 that, General.

7 General Milley, again, to his credit, is looking hard
8 at the tooth-to-tail ratio. If he has to cut anybody, the
9 infantry, armor, tooth element of our forces -- but I think
10 your broader point on not drawing down the 4/25 is a really
11 good one.

12 Admiral Harris, do you have any thoughts on the?

13 Admiral Harris: Sure, Senator. I will be the first to
14 say it is much more fun to be an insatiable COCOM than it is
15 to be a service chief, so I do not envy the position that
16 General Milley or Admiral Richardson or any other service
17 chiefs are in, as they have to make these difficult
18 decisions.

19 But I would say that our Nation has an insatiable
20 desire for security, and rightfully so. So I welcome
21 General Milley's decision to reconsider the reduction of the
22 4/25 and that great capacity that is resident in Alaska.
23 Now, these are follow-on surge forces that, without them, I
24 do not know where we would be, if we had a major fight on
25 the Korean Peninsula.

1 Senator Sullivan: Thank you for that. I was just out
2 at Fort Polk at the JRTC. The 4/25 is actually doing their
3 month-long training out there. To watch close to 1,000
4 airborne soldiers drop out of the sky in the middle of the
5 night on a forcible entry military exercise shows you what
6 an awesome instrument of American power this unit is. I
7 certainly think it is a strategic mistake for the country to
8 be getting rid of them.

9 Let me ask one final question, just switching gears
10 here. CSIS, in their report -- I know both of you have
11 reviewed it -- recommended that we should consider offering
12 an explicit guarantee to the Philippines that the United
13 States will respond under the U.S.-Philippines Mutual
14 Defense Treaty to an attack on the Philippines military in
15 the disputed waters or territory.

16 I think, to the President's credit, he did this with
17 regard to one of the islands, with regard to our treaty
18 obligations to Japan recently.

19 Should this option be considered? And what do you
20 think the effect of such a declaration would be? And what
21 do you think the effect of the President's previous
22 statement vis-a-vis Japan and our treaty obligations to
23 Japan on one of the islands, what do you think the impact of
24 that was?

25 Admiral Harris: I am trying to decide which question

1 to answer first. I will start backwards.

2 I think the Secretary of Defense and the President's
3 unequivocal declaration that the Senkaku Islands fall under
4 the protections afforded by the mutual security treaty with
5 Japan had a positive effect on the situation in the East
6 China Sea.

7 I responded to a question earlier about CSIS's
8 recommendation about the Philippines.

9 Senator Sullivan: I am sorry. I was --

10 Admiral Harris: No, no.

11 I believe that our obligations to the Philippines under
12 that treaty, which every treaty is different, is clear, and
13 I understand my obligations. I think we should consider it,
14 for sure.

15 We should consider clarifying our position on the
16 Philippines marines that are on the Second Thomas Shoal. We
17 have maintained as a Nation that Second Thomas Shoal, that
18 territorial maritime dispute there, we do not take a
19 position on that. So we are going to have to study this and
20 get into it. But I think it clearly should be considered.

21 Senator Sullivan: Your first statement about the
22 President's statement, you said you thought it was positive.
23 Why? Why do you think so? What did it do?

24 Admiral Harris: It sent a clear signal to China that
25 we would defend the Senkakus just as we would defend Tokyo.

1 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

2 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Senator Reed: Thank you, Senator Sullivan.

4 Admiral Harris, General Scaparrotti, on behalf of
5 Chairman McCain, thank you for your testimony and your
6 continued service.

7 And again, on behalf of the chairman, let me adjourn
8 the hearing. Thank you.

9 [The information referred to follows:]

10 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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[Whereupon, at 11:35 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]