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COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

UNITED STATES SENATE

HEARING TO RECEIVE A BRIEFING ON INFORMATION SURROUNDING THE MARINES UNITED WEBSITE

Tuesday, March 14, 2017

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON COURT REPORTING 1155 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 200 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 289-2260 www.aldersonreporting.com

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2	INFORMATION SURROUNDING THE MARINES UNITED WEBSITE
3	
4	Tuesday, March 14, 2017
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6	U.S. Senate
7	Committee on Armed Services
8	Washington, D.C.
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10	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:00 a.m. in
11	Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. John
12	McCain, chairman of the committee, presiding.
13	Committee Members Present: Senators McCain
14	[presiding], Inhofe, Wicker, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst,
15	Tillis, Sullivan, Graham, Cruz, Sasse, Strange, Reed,
16	McCaskill, Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Donnelly,
17	Hirono, Kaine, King, Heinrich, Warren, and Peters.
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OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN McCAIN, U.S. SENATOR
 FROM ARIZONA

3 Chairman McCain: Well, good morning.

The Senate Armed Services Committee meets this morning
to receive testimony on information surrounding the
unfortunate matter of the Marines United Facebook group.

I want to thank each of our witnesses for appearing before the committee this morning: Acting Secretary of the Navy Sean Stackley; General Robert Neller, Commandant of the Marine Corps; and Sergeant Major of the Marine Corps Ronald Green. Sergeant Major, good morning and thank you for coming and thank you for your appearance here.

13 The committee is saddened and disturbed by allegations 14 that female marines have been subjected to online harassment 15 and abuse, including denigrating comments and nonconsensual 16 sharing of images apparently in some cases by fellow 17 marines. Our witnesses are here to inform us about these allegations and what is being done to address the impact on 18 19 the service, especially those marines who have been 20 victimized.

All who love the Marine Corps are embarrassed and outraged by these allegations, none more so than our witnesses today. General Neller, since these allegations were made, you have been unequivocal in communicating to the men and women you lead that behavior like this is

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unacceptable and fundamentally opposed to the values of the
 Marine Corps.

3 I want to reemphasize the Commandant's message to marines last week. The members of this committee share your 4 5 hope that marines who have been victims of harassment and 6 abuse will report that conduct to their chain of command, 7 chaplain, or victim leader counsel. It is our expectation 8 that Marine officers and leaders will support those victims, 9 protect them from reprisal, and do all in their power to prevent abuse of any marine. 10

11 At this time, we do not know how many marines were 12 involved in these allegations of harassment and abuse or 13 what motivated those who were to engage in such disgraceful 14 and unprofessional behavior. We do not know the origin of 15 images of female marines on the Marines United Facebook 16 group, some of which may have been taken or shared without 17 their consent. And we do not know how many marines may have been targeted. 18

19 This committee expects the Department of the Navy and 20 its senior Marine Corps leaders to provide updates on the 21 investigation into these issues when appropriate, as well as 22 keep the committee apprised of any corrective action the 23 Marine Corps may take concerning policies, procedures, and 24 the education and training of marines. We realize that much 25 of this information may be law enforcement sensitive due to

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1 ongoing criminal investigations. For that reason,

2 immediately following this open hearing, the committee will 3 proceed to a closed door session to hear from our witnesses 4 on these sensitive matters.

5 While there may be much that we still have to learn, 6 there is much that we know already. We know that the 7 actions of those marines involved in Marines United do not 8 reflect the culture and values of their service, not only 9 honor, courage, and commitment, but also mutual respect for all of their fellow human beings, values that are upheld and 10 11 lived each day by the overwhelming majority of marines. 12 That is why Americans are proud of our Marine Corps because 13 the conduct of most marines is deserving of our praise and 14 respect.

15 We also know the challenges we see in our military 16 often reflect similar challenges confronting broader 17 society. In this case, we are all confronting the unique challenges posed by the advent and proliferation of social 18 19 media which, like any technology, is an enabler, an enabler 20 of incredibly good and decent things, but also dark and troubling things. The same technology that allows one group 21 22 of marines to create a support group to help their battle 23 buddies struggling with post-traumatic stress can be used by 24 another group to humiliate and demean their fellow female 25 comrades.

1 At the same time, we know that those who serve in the 2 profession of arms must be held to a higher standard. They 3 would not want it any other way. We know that the Marine 4 Corps cannot fight and win the Nation's wars if marines do 5 not respect and trust one another. This is not just a 6 matter of good personal conduct. It is a matter of military 7 effectiveness.

8 That is why any marine who disrespects a fellow marine 9 dishonors the values of the Marine Corps and harms its 10 mission to defend the Nation. This kind of behavior is 11 unacceptable for any marine or any member of the United 12 States Armed Forces. And the actions of our civilian and 13 military leadership, not just in response to these 14 allegations, but at all times, must demonstrate that such 15 misconduct will not be excused or tolerated.

16 Finally, as members of the committee are aware, these 17 allegations surrounding Marines United are currently under investigation by the Naval Criminal Investigative Service. 18 19 Therefore, I encourage members of the committee to please 20 reserve any questions that may be law enforcement sensitive for the closed session to follow. I do not want this 21 22 committee's proceedings to be construed in any way that 23 might interfere with the swift delivery of justice to those individuals that may have engaged in criminal behavior. 24 25 Once again, I thank the witnesses for appearing before

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

3 Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for holding this very important session to give the Marine 4 5 Corps the opportunity to give an initial briefing on what 6 they know and what they do not know about reports of 7 abhorrent behavior by some of our marines using the Marines 8 United website. It is unusual for the committee to receive 9 a briefing like this one on an ongoing criminal 10 investigation, but this issue is so important that it warrants this kind of attention. However, we must take care 11 12 to ensure that we do not put the Commandant of the Marine 13 Corps in the position of making statements that later could 14 be alleged as exercising unlawful command influence and 15 therefore disrupting the criminal investigation.

16 The nonconsensual posting of explicit photos of female 17 marines on a public website is repugnant and just plain wrong and inexcusable. All of us who have had the privilege 18 19 of serving in uniform know the value of a cohesive unit 20 where all members of the unit looked out for each other and took care of each other. I can only imagine the harm that 21 22 this type of behavior can have on morale and unit cohesion. 23 Our service members must have confidence that their fellow service members always have their back. There simply is no 24 25 room for behavior that humiliates and degrades a fellow

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1 service member.

2 In my view, the Marine Corps must and will attack this 3 problem with the vigor that the Marine Corps has demonstrated time and time again. It should begin with a 4 5 good, thorough investigation to establish provable facts that can be used to hold offenders accountable for criminal 6 7 conduct. I will be anxious to hear whether the NCIS has the 8 resources and expertise to fully and completely investigate 9 this matter. If they do not, we need to help them get those resources and that expertise. Once the investigation is 10 11 complete, commanders will have the task of taking 12 appropriate action based on the findings of the 13 investigation.

14 Aside from the immediate issue of marine misconduct on 15 the Marines United website, the Marine Corps must also 16 address the culture that allowed or facilitated that 17 misconduct. I will be interested in hearing about actions the Marine Corps will take to improve the culture, 18 19 especially in a Marine Corps that is in the process of fully integrating female marines into its ranks. 20 21 With that, Mr. Chairman, I look forward to our 22 briefings, both the open and closed sessions. Thank you. 23 Chairman McCain: Thank you.

24 We will begin with you, Secretary Stackley. Welcome.25

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STATEMENT OF HON. SEAN J. STACKLEY, ACTING SECRETARY
 OF THE NAVY

Mr. Stackley: Chairman McCain, Ranking Member Reed,
members of the Armed Services Committee, thank you for this
hearing.

6 Discovery and investigation these past several weeks 7 into the toxic, predatory behavior harbored by the website, 8 Marines United, has uncovered a grievous breakdown of good 9 order and discipline, a violation of our core values, and 10 what amounts to an insider threat. Some unknown number of marines or former marines, when denigrating their fellow 11 12 marines, undermined the very honor and integrity and unit 13 cohesion that has long underpinned the strength of the 14 Corps.

Marines United is a bell ringer. Beyond the emotions that surround this issue, anger, revulsion, frustration, we are committed, dedicated to fixing this issue and our immediate actions are threefold.

First, we must take care of those marines who have been victimized by this behavior, counseling, legal services, and beyond in strict confidence inside and outside the chain of command. Every resource will be made available to those seeking support.

We are prosecuting the matter of Marines United to the full extent of our abilities, and we will hold accountable

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those who have violated the standards, going by law, by 1 2 policy, by code. Of the 30,000 members reported to be on 3 Marines United, we do not know how many are, in fact, active duty marines, much less how many in fact participated in 4 5 this denigrating affair. Getting to the facts will take 6 time, but the Navy Criminal Investigative Service is working 7 every lead, every path available to overcome the challenges 8 we are running into posed by nameless, faceless predators 9 and cyber bullying on social media.

10 Perhaps most importantly, we will get at the root 11 underlying issues in order to eradicate this cancer. The 12 task force formed by the Commandant is central to this 13 effort which today involves senior officers and enlisted. 14 We will expand to include the expertise called upon by this 15 problem and in the long run will involve commitment of every 16 tier of leadership within the Marine Corps. This, again, 17 will be a long road, but we are on the road for good and we will share with the committee our efforts, our course, our 18 progress on that course as we move forward. 19

Every young man and woman who takes the oath to support and defend our Constitution, who puts on the uniform and puts their life on the line to defend our way of life here at home is owed utmost trust and respect by every American. Any breach of that trust and respect within the very ranks of the services themselves must be dealt with immediately,

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1	decisively, unceasingly before, like a cancer, it steals
2	from us our strength, our spirit, our honor. We will be
3	immediate, decisive, and unceasing in fixing this problem
4	and in defeating this attack on our core values.
5	Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I look forward to addressing
6	your questions.
7	[The prepared statement of Mr. Stackley follows:]
8	[COMMITTEE INSERT]
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STATEMENT OF GENERAL ROBERT B. NELLER, USMC,
 COMMANDANT OF THE UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS

3 General Neller: Chairman McCain, Ranking Member Reed, Senators of the committee, normally I appear before this 4 5 committee to take an opportunity to tell you about the 6 extraordinary actions and things that your marines are doing 7 at home and around the globe. Today, however, is different. 8 I am here to discuss the details of some truly disturbing 9 and unacceptable actions that have allegedly been committed 10 on social media primarily against the women of our Marine 11 Corps.

12 The recent release of information first uncovered by a 13 combat-wounded marine reporter about the online posting of 14 explicit and lewd pictures and even more troubling 15 derogatory, demeaning, and in some cases sexually violent 16 comments about female marines are why we are here and what 17 we are going to talk about. Such actions pervert our 18 culture and bring me here.

As I am sure you did, I received this recent news regarding actions on the Marines United Facebook site with a mixture of emotions: disappointment, shock, anger, disgust, and outrage. The Marine Corps I have served for over 40 years has a problem and we intend to fix it.

I struggle with labeling the problem we face. Some say we have a problem with our culture. Some say it is an

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insider threat. My natural inclination is to resist this because I believe in my heart the Marine Corps culture is based on our core values of honor, courage, and commitment. It represents who we are. The online behavior of some individuals, whether they are currently serving marines, former marines, or others who simply wandered in, have attacked our Marine Corps values, our ethos.

8 We draw our strength from the team. Everything we do 9 in training from day one is focused on the team and not the 10 individual. But some seem to have forgotten that every 11 member of our team is an equal and a valued member of our 12 Corps. Every marine has a role to play. Every marine who 13 earns our title commands the respect of their fellow 14 marines.

15 We proudly advertise the transformation that occurs at 16 recruit training and officer candidate school, first by the 17 methods by which we recruit, train, and transform young men and women from citizens to marines, but the transformation 18 19 is not perfect in all cases. Some marines can lose their 20 way and disregard or fail to comprehend our ethos. At every level of leadership, we must do a better job of sustaining 21 22 this transformation and eliminating any behavior that 23 targets any individual as less than a teammate or a fellow marine. We must attack any behavior that has a corrosive 24 25 effect on good order and discipline of our Corps.

I came in the Marine Corps with the problems of the 1 2 1970s shortly after Vietnam. Drug use and race relations 3 were tearing us apart. Some of you were there then and you 4 remember this. Our Commandant at the time, General Lewis 5 Wilson, took a firm stance to get our Corps back to true 6 north. He improved our recruiting standards and made it his 7 personal mission to address those who cannot or do not want 8 to measure up to our standards needed to find another place 9 to perform.

10 I believe we face a similar situation today. The vast 11 majority of marines, past and present, are American citizens 12 who are good and decent people. They are as upset by the 13 behavior represented on Marines United as you and I. And I 14 am calling on all marines to take a stand against this 15 destructive conduct, to take a stand and support and respect 16 every marine, to demonstrate to the American people who we 17 really are, that we embody our ethos of honor, courage, and commitment. 18

When any Marine unit goes into action, there are never bystanders. We all have a role to play. We are all to be fully committed to the mission. The same is true in garrison and the barracks back here at home. There can be no bystanders. We must all be engaged as teammates. Every marine has a role to play to ensure that our team remains strong.

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I would ask to take this opportunity to speak directly 1 2 to every female in our Marine Corps, past and present. I 3 know I am asking a lot of you right now, but I ask you to trust the leadership of the Marine Corps to take action and 4 5 correct this problem. I ask you to trust me personally as 6 your Commandant and when I say I am outraged that many of 7 you have not been given the same respect when you earn the 8 title "marine." I know you are not asking to be labeled as 9 victims, for anyone's pity. I know you would find that as insulting as the recent behavior and comments on social 10 11 media. I know what you do for our Corps, for our team, and 12 what you have contributed, to include during the past 16 13 years of combat in Iraq and Afghanistan. I know when you 14 earn in the eagle, globe, and anchor, you wear it as proudly 15 as the marines you are.

16 To the men in our Corps serving today and those who no 17 longer wear the uniform, you are still marines. I need you to ask yourselves, how much more do the females of our Corps 18 19 have to do to be accepted? Was it enough when Major Megan 20 McClung was killed by an IED in Ramadi or Captain Jennifer Harris killed when her helicopter was shot down while she 21 22 was flying blood from Baghdad to Fallujah surgical or 23 Corporals Jennifer Parcell and Hally Ann Sherrod and Ramona Valdez, all killed by the hands of our enemies? What is it 24 25 going to take for you to accept these marines as marines?

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I am committed to making this right, and I need all marines equally committed. We all have to commit to getting rid of this perversion in our culture. Enough is enough. So, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, we will take action to correct this stain on our Marine Corps. I have no illusions or delusions about how difficult that will be, but that does not mean we are going to stand by and watch it. It cannot go on anymore. And I am prepared to answer your questions. [The prepared statement of General Neller follows:] [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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Chairman McCain: General Neller, I want to thank you for that statement. I think it is strong and it is powerful and, frankly, it is reassuring to this committee about your commitment. Sergeant Major Green, do you have any comments to add to the Commandant's remarks?

STATEMENT OF SERGEANT MAJOR OF THE MARINE CORPS RONALD
 L. GREEN, USMC, SERGEANT MAJOR OF THE MARINE CORPS

3 Sergeant Green: Good morning, Chairman. Senator 4 McCain, Ranking Member Senator Reed, and all Members of the 5 Congress. I want to thank you all for allowing the Marines 6 Corps to come before you today, the leadership, and 7 explaining exactly what we are doing.

8 I did not prepare any words, but I can tell you that no 9 one is more outraged than the leadership you see sitting 10 before you today. This tears at the very fibers that bond 11 us together as we fight for the Nation's freedom and 12 liberty.

13 We are protecting our victims. We are allowing the 14 legal system to go forward so that we can bring those who have committed these crimes before the Commandant, the 15 16 leadership, and hold them accountable. We are researching 17 our policies and reinforcing the gaps. And I am prepared to do whatever it takes to protect not just enlisted marines, 18 19 but all marines and their dependents and those who serve 20 under the eagle, globe, and anchor.

21 Thank you for the opportunity.

22 [The prepared statement of Sergeant Green follows:]
23 [COMMITTEE INSERT]

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Chairman McCain: Well, thank you, sir, and thank you
 for your outstanding leadership.

General Neller, has the Marine Corps embarked an effortto communicate with and assist identifiable victims?

5 General Neller: Sir, as far as the Marines United, 6 there have been a small number of victims or people who have 7 claimed that they were targeted by this website. And so we 8 are talking to those, and NCIS is working investigations on 9 those that they are aware of. But the number is too small. 10 And, again, we need others to come forward.

11 Chairman McCain: And what are you doing to encourage 12 others to come forward, General?

General Neller: This hearing is an opportunity to ask marines to come forward, not just marines that may have been victimized but marines that have been aware of this. And I think that is starting to happen. We are getting information from other men, other male marines, that they know about this, and they are, as I stated, I believe as upset about this as we are.

20 We had a press conference the other day where, again, I 21 asked marines for their help. We have gone out to the 22 leadership, told them the path where they can direct 23 marines. I have directed commanders to go out and talk to 24 their marines about this and directed them that if anyone 25 comes forward, they can be directed toward their victim

advocate, to their chaplain, to their victim legal counsel, 1 2 or the chain of command, and they are going to forward this. We put a site up on our marines.mil webpage. If you are 3 4 aware of any actions of this or someone is being bullied or 5 harassed in cyberspace, to contact this certain number or an 6 email address or their chain of command. I know NCIS has 7 done the same. So we have gone out in any possible forum 8 that we can to ask marines to come forward if they are 9 either a victim here or they are aware of any of this 10 behavior.

11 Chairman McCain: And you are assuring them that there 12 would be no reprisal or retaliation?

13 General Neller: They have my word that the leadership 14 will not take retribution against them. And I know that is 15 a big issue. And I have talked to some of the members here 16 about that. That is why I know it is difficult because I 17 cannot necessarily guarantee -- social media -- one of the insidious natures of this problem is there is a certain 18 level of anonymity out there. And so if you were to push 19 20 back on any of this, you immediately get attacked by the crowd and they are anonymous. I think for many of us who do 21 22 not participate in that type of behavior, that is foreign to 23 us.

And I will admit this is something -- I am not a social media person. We use it to message marines and talk about

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the good things that marines do. But sites like this are not a place that I would think any of us would frequent, even for the altruistic and positive things, as you mentioned, Chairman, that Marines United was set up to do, how veterans deal with whatever issues they had coming back from the fight.

7 So there is risk. I cannot protect people necessarily 8 on social media. I can ensure that the chain of command is 9 going to take action, and I can direct commanders to take any allegations that anybody makes. And they are going to 10 11 take them and follow them through and report them to NCIS or 12 do an investigation. But our ability to -- and this is not 13 an excuse -- manage what happens on social media, if it remains up, is an issue. 14

15 I will say, though, that when we have seen this type of 16 behavior and we have gone to the organizations that host 17 this, they have, in general, been very helpful with us with taking these sites down. But when they do that, what we 18 have also seen is then they move. And I would prefer to get 19 20 into it in the closed discussion about what the legalities are about certain things that happen in cyberspace because 21 22 there are certain things about the law that are not always 23 going to be helpful to us getting accountability. Again, that is not an excuse, but I think there are some things 24 25 that we may need your help with.

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1 Chairman McCain: I agree.

2 Secretary Stackley, can commanders use the UCMJ, the 3 Uniform Code of Military Justice, to hold personnel accountable for transmitting, receiving, viewing, possessing 4 5 of photos without the consent of the person in your view? 6 Mr. Stackley: Yes, sir. And now what we are trying to 7 do is actually run to ground each instance, each example 8 that we can find where we have the perpetrator, we have the 9 evidence that frankly has been preserved so we can hold them accountable in accordance with articles 120 and 134 of the 10 11 UCMJ.

12 Chairman McCain: And, obviously, General Neller 13 pointed out one of the challenges we face, and that is of 14 these websites just morphing over to another site after they 15 are shut down.

16 Mr. Stackley: Yes, sir. I used the term

17 "nameless/faceless." It is very difficult to identify the individuals that are on these websites. And as we work with 18 the owners of the websites, we have to deal with First 19 20 Amendment rights. We have to deal with Privacy Act issues. So we are pushing it as far as we can to get every piece of 21 22 evidence that we can find. And a key to this, as the 23 Commandant described, is to have individuals come forward. So we are trying to reach out, not just get the word out for 24 25 people to come forward, but also provide an environment

where they feel safe and secure to bring their case forward.
 Chairman McCain: Senator Reed?

Senator Reed: Well, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.
And I would just like to ask one question because I
know there is great interest of my colleagues in the public
session, and then we have a closed session later.

General Neller, this is not the first experience recently the Marine Corps has had. In 2013, there was a cyber bullying of female marines. How did you react to that issue, and what lessons have you learned, and how are you applying those lessons to this situation?

12 General Neller: Senator, we went back and looked at 13 that and looked at all the actions. And I can give you a 14 long list of things that we did as far as addressing sexual 15 assault, changing values-based training at all our different 16 levels of training. There was a policy written about 17 conduct on social media in 2010, but it was not focused on this type of thing. We are in the process of actually 18 issuing out today an updated policy on conduct on social 19 20 media and what is acceptable and not acceptable and what is a violation of a lawful order or article 134 or article 21 22 120(c).

23 So there was a lot of training that we did, but looking 24 back at it -- I mean, I can only speak for myself, Senator. 25 We were focused on the issues of sexual assault which were

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1 very important at that time. And I do not think we got at 2 the social media thing to the level that we are going to get 3 at it now.

4 I put myself in that category. I went back and I 5 thought about all the stuff we talked about and all the 6 things that the Commandant, General Amos, did with the 7 Heritage brief, about our values, about how we treat each 8 other, the things we have done since about discussing 9 alcohol abuse and protect what you have earned, and even the message I put out after the first of this year stating we 10 11 need to treat each other better. But when I wrote that, I 12 did not have in my mind this particular -- so I have no 13 excuse for that. We were dealing with a lot of things. 14 So now this is front and center. And I think part of 15 it is I think victims were afraid to come forward because if 16 they came forward, they were going to be attacked tenfold on 17 social media again. And I think for those that do not participate in this domain, I think we are ignorant. I am 18 19 not ignorant anymore. I am trainable and I accept 20 responsibility for that. But we were focused on other

21 things that we were trying to get at. And I do not think

22 social media was absent from that, but I do not think it got

23 front and center like it should have at the time.

24 Senator Reed: Thank you very much.

25 Again, I think we all recognize the seriousness of this

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1 issue. It goes to the very heart of the Corps, not just the 2 Marine Corps but every service. You cannot have individual 3 marines, soldiers, sailors, airmen, coast guardsmen who are 4 marginalized because of gender or any other characteristic. 5 So we have a lot of work to do, both you and the United 6 States Congress.

7 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

8 Chairman McCain: Senator Inhofe?

9 Senator Inhofe: General Neller, the first quote that I 10 heard from you was that those who are involved will be held 11 accountable. I know your background. I know you. I have 12 every confidence that is what is going to happen. I have no 13 questions.

14 Chairman McCain: Senator Shaheen?

15 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

16 Secretary Stackley, a November 2015 report from the 17 Government Accountability Office found the Department of 18 Defense measures to assess the effectiveness of its sexual 19 assault prevention efforts were not fully developed and 20 missing key attributes. Can you tell me if anything has 21 been done since that GAO report to address that?

22 Mr. Stackley: Yes, ma'am.

23 Senator Shaheen: And can you tell me specifically
24 what?

25 Mr. Stackley: Okay. There are a list of initiatives

1 that have gone out in terms of first identifying cases of 2 sexual assault. And this gets right down to everything from 3 anonymous surveys, to interviews, to capturing reports and 4 then running reports to ground.

5 I could provide examples of things that have been done, 6 but when we look at the statistics and the results, what we 7 are trying to do is correlate measures that were taken with 8 results that we are getting. And, frankly, we are 9 challenged to do that. The statistics move around, and within the Department of the Navy, within our SAPRO, I am 10 11 trying to correlate what actions are we taking that are 12 giving us positive results that we have confidence in so in 13 fact we can grow those actions versus a number of 14 initiatives that we cannot quite correlate to the results 15 that we are looking for.

16 Senator Shaheen: Well, I would argue that one of the 17 challenges is that people are not being held accountable in 18 a way that sends a very strong message to others that they 19 serve with that this is unacceptable behavior.

General Neller, according to a 2014 RAND military workplace study, the Marine Corps has the highest rate of sexual assault among the service branches. And I know that we are not talking about sexual assault directly as we often think about the definition in this scandal, but I do believe there is a correlation between the two. So can you just

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1 respond to why you think that is?

2 And I appreciate your statements and the statements of 3 everyone here about needing to address this issue, but understand that this committee has heard those kinds of 4 5 statements for as long as I have been on the committee and I 6 think much longer. So it is hard to believe that something 7 is really going to be done when we hear this repeated again 8 and again and we see these kinds of situations again and again. So why should we believe that it is going to be 9 10 different this time than it has been in the past? 11 General Neller: As I stated earlier, Senator, this 12 particular issue -- I mean, we can talk about sexual assault 13 and the numbers. As the Secretary said, we have struggled. 14 I had expected that the numbers would go up when we started 15 our training back in 2013 to try to get after sexual assault 16 per se -- and I have talked to Senator Gillibrand, Senator 17 McCaskill about this -- and that they would flatten out and then they would go down. And they flattened out but they 18 19 have not gone down. 20 I can give you some other statistics. I can track every one of these allegations to show you how it was 21 22 culminated in some sort of action or no action.

23 Why is it going to be different now with the social 24 media? I think we addressed the action of individuals which 25 is sexual assault or bullying, but I think the bigger issue

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is within the culture, we have just a fact with all marines 1 2 that all marines are marines. And the female marines that 3 are there are a small group in our Corps, and for whatever 4 reason, there are still some number -- and I do not think 5 this is separate from the sexual assault issue, but this 6 issue of denigration of women, objectification of women, 7 misogyny, however ever you want to articulate it are just 8 bad behavior. It is tied to the way that some group of male 9 marines look at women in the Marine Corps.

10 And I think we can fix that. I think we can fix it by 11 holding those accountable who do not want to accept the fact 12 and we make it part of -- we got to tell commanders, hey, 13 look, there are things you can do out here within the UCMJ 14 if that parameters are met. But this is a very difficult 15 problem.

16 On the sexual assault thing, I am not going to give up 17 on any of this. I still think part of our -- I mean, I could give you the demographics and that is an excuse. You 18 know, the percentage of the marines and what their ages are 19 20 and all that and the numbers. We are a young force. Okay. But they are marines and they are expected to conduct 21 22 themselves at a higher level. You expect that. I expect 23 that.

I think that alcohol abuse is another problem that we are going to have to deal with that I think we will get

1 after that. But this is all about our leaders going out 2 there, setting the example, and expecting the behavior is 3 going to be in a certain way.

Is it going to be different? It has got to be 4 5 different. And that is my charge to myself. I have got to 6 go out there and, as the senior marine, say this is the way 7 it is going to be, and if you are not going to get along --8 if you have a problem with this, then, as I mentioned in the 9 video I did, you need to ask yourself do you really want to be a marine. If that is not going to change it, then -- I 10 11 believe it is. I have heard enough from enough men and 12 women that are seniors out there that they realize -- why 13 they did not realize it before I have no excuse -- that we 14 are going to change and that we can change. And all I would ask is an opportunity to address this. I know you have 15 heard that before, but that is my ask. 16

Senator Shaheen: Thank you, General. I would suggest that you use the term "survivor" rather than victim for those people who have been attacked.

20 General Neller: Yes, ma'am.

21 Chairman McCain: Senator Fischer?

22 Senator Fischer: General, this behavior has to change. 23 It has gone on for too long, and we need to see those 24 changes.

25 You spoke about social media and the lack of

1 recognition that you had on what is going on on social 2 media. The Corps does have a policy on social media. Is 3 that correct?

4 General Neller: Yes, ma'am, we do.

5 Senator Fischer: And you have spoken today about 6 making changes to that policy. Do you have any ideas on how 7 that policy needs to be changed? What would make a new 8 policy different and more effective at this point?

9 General Neller: I believe the policy that we revised is focused more on certain behaviors such as the one we are 10 11 here to discuss today on social media and that to tell all 12 marines that these types of things are unacceptable. They 13 are not part of the inner marine and they are also 14 punishable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The previous policy said that, but it did not say it quite as 15 16 directly.

But it is also going to take leadership to go out and reinforce that, to not just hide -- not hide, but to use a piece of paper. But they are going to have to go out and sell it. They are going to have to talk about it. They are going to have to make commanders and senior enlisted understand that this has got to change.

Our marines -- they use social media. They use it for a lot of good things, as was mentioned by the chairman. We use social media to tell the story of the Marines, and that

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1 is fine. But marines have got to understand that using the 2 social media to degrade, denigrate, be disrespectful to 3 another marine is not just not who we are but it is illegal 4 and that if you are found doing this, then you are 5 potentially subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice. 6 Senator Fischer: And I assume marines are educated on 7 the current policy?

8 General Neller: They are, but I do not believe -- I 9 cannot tell you, Senator, that it is done with enough time or reinforcement. We start talking to marines about the 10 11 values and ethos of the inner marine when they are still 12 waiting to go to recruit training. Whether or not there are 13 specific discussions about this type of thing, I cannot say 14 to you that it is done in a manner that is satisfactory to 15 me both in the quality of the discussion and the quantity. 16 But it will be.

17 Senator Fischer: Have there been any punishments for marines who have violated the current policy that you have? 18 19 General Neller: Senator, I cannot give you a specific 20 quote that this individual did X and was found guilty at Y. I would ask to take that for the record and get back to you. 21 22 I asked that question myself. But much of this type of 23 behavior should be held, could be held accountable at a nonjudicial punishment, which is an administrative action, 24 25 and I do not have the data to give you that answer.

1 Mr. Stackley: If I could add. We have been able to 2 track individuals who have used government computers to 3 access these types of websites, and then we are able to 4 identify the individual and clearly bring punishment to 5 bear.

6 Senator Fischer: That was my next question. Were 7 government computers used to access these websites or to 8 post anything on them?

9 Mr. Stackley: We have not been able to find any 10 incidents of government computers being used to access or 11 post, but we are continuing with the investigation.

12 Senator Fischer: General, how well do we understand 13 the membership of this group and how it breaks down between 14 former marines and active marines and also retired marines? 15 Do you have any information on that right now?

General Neller: Senator, all I can tell you is we believe the numbers of individuals that belong to Marines United was about 30,000 on their public facing Facebook page. How many of them are active or former or other services or civilians I do not have the answer to that. The NCIS is looking into that.

The place where these individuals went to post these pictures and make their comments was a link to a server hosted by another Internet provider, which has since been taken down. The numbers that we believe had access to this

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site was much, much smaller than 30,000. I would ask for
 NCIS to give you that number in the closed session.

3 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

4 Chairman McCain: Senator Gillibrand?

5 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

6 General Neller, the military, the Marines, have been 7 aware of online victimization, online exploitation of other 8 marines since 2013 because there is a letter here from 9 Jackie Speier to Chuck Hagel and General Amos with 10 screenshots. So there is no mystery that this has been 11 going on for a very long time. It was right in front of you 12 and the command to do something about it since 2013.

We have countless victims who have come forward, and they are not just being harassed online. Once their name, face, where they are stationed is posted, do you think the harassment ends online? It does not. I spoke to a marine yesterday. Excuse me. I spoke to a civilian yesterday who has been continued to be harassed in her community because her ex-boyfriend exploited her online.

20 So I have to say when you say to us it has got to be 21 different, that rings hollow. I do not know what you mean 22 when you say that. Why does it have to be different? 23 Because you all of a sudden feel that it has to be 24 different?

25 Who has been held accountable? I very much align

1 myself with Senator Fischer's comments. Who has been held 2 responsible? Have you actually investigated and found 3 guilty anybody? If we cannot crack Facebook, how are we 4 supposed to be able to confront Russian aggression and cyber 5 hacking throughout our military?

6 It is a serious problem when we have members of our 7 military denigrating female marines who will give their life 8 to this country in the way they have with no response from 9 leadership. I can tell you your answers today are 10 unsatisfactory. They do not go far enough.

11 And I would like to know what do you intend to do to 12 the commanders who are responsible for good order and 13 discipline. All of this behavior is in violation of article 14 120 and article 134 as so stated. They are violating the 15 Code of Criminal Justice. Why are commanders who have asked 16 for all responsibility to deal with sexual assault and these 17 behaviors for the 5 years this committee has been focused on this issue -- you have demanded that you maintain control of 18 19 all these issues. But where is the accountability for 20 failure? Who is being held accountable for doing nothing since 2013? Who? Which commander? 21

I am very concerned that this is part of a culture that is resulting in the high levels of sexual assault. We know from the fiscal year 2014 SAPRO report that 60 percent of men and 58 percent of women who experienced sexual

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harassment or gender discrimination in the previous year throughout all the services indicated that a supervisor or unit leader was one of the people engaged in the violations. That is a problem with our command.

5 So if you are dedicated to fixing the culture of the 6 marines and all the services, what do you plan to do to hold 7 commanders responsible who fail to get this done?

8 General Neller: Senator, I understand and share your 9 concern. If I were aware or I would expect that any 10 commander who was aware of someone who has reported any 11 allegation of anything, but particularly something as 12 serious as sexual assault, and the chain of command did not 13 do anything, that that commander would be held accountable.

I do not have any statistics for you on that. I can tell you that of all those individuals who have come forward with allegations of sexual assault, what has happened to individuals that the charges ended up with some sort of process and ended up with an adjudication, but those are just numbers.

As you clearly and rightfully state, this is a problem with our culture. I mean, I do not have a good answer for you. I am not going to sit here and duck around this thing. I am not. I am responsible. I am the Commandant. I own this. You know, you have heard it before, but we are going to have to change how we see ourselves and how we treat each

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1 other. That is a lame answer, but ma'am, that is the best I 2 can tell you right now. We have got to change and that is 3 on me.

4 Senator Gillibrand: My time has expired.

5 Chairman McCain: Senator Cotton?

6 Senator Cotton: I was very disappointed and troubled 7 to read this news recently, as were all members of this 8 committee and most Americans no doubt. I am reassured by 9 the comments of General Neller and the Sergeant Major this 10 morning about how serious they take it and the gravity with 11 which they treat it.

General Neller, you mentioned that there are 30,000 members of this group. You do not have the breakdown of active versus reserve versus retired. Any indication yet of the breakdown between marines, NCOs, and officers?

General Neller: Not in specific numbers. I think we are going to get that information, Senator. I am not going to speculate on what the level of officer involvement is or is not. But I think the NCIS folks can tell you that. I do not know the number. I would be speculating. I would not say this is -- it is highly unlikely this is just enlisted. It does not really matter.

I would just remind, not to stick up for Marines United, but the great majority of people that went to this site -- and there are other sites. We find sites all the

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1 time. We are looking out there and NCIS is looking, and 2 people are telling us about other sites. So Marines United 3 is not alone in this despicable, disgusting behavior.

But I think eventually we will know the breakdown, not
just who was a member of Marines United but who went to this
other link and participated in this behavior.

7 Mr. Stackley: Sir, if I could add.

8 Senator Cotton: Yes, Mr. Stackley.

9 Mr. Stackley: To date, we are dealing with cooperative information. In other words, we are trying to draw 10 11 information -- short of probable cause in which we can seize 12 the information, we are gaining it cooperatively. NCIS has 13 opened up a tip line. They have received as of yesterday 53 14 calls on that tip line that is opening up other avenues to help to identify individuals but also to identify these 15 16 other sites that the Commandant has referred to.

17 In my opening statement, I called this a bell ringer. This is a bell ringer. We are not going to go back. We 18 need dive, plumb the depths of this issue to understand how 19 far, how wide it is, and then working up and down the chain 20 of command, whether you call it culture, whether you call it 21 22 good order and discipline, get not just every marine, every 23 man and woman in uniform to understand what our standards are, what is and is not acceptable on one hand and, on the 24 25 other hand, prosecute these other avenues where this

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1 behavior is taking place to the extent of our ability. We 2 are not going to go backwards.

3 Senator Cotton: We have spoken at this hearing this 4 morning quite a bit so far about law and policy, and those 5 are important questions. I want to speak about the 6 expectations we have for the young men and women we have in 7 uniform putting aside law and policy.

8 Back when I was a company grade officer and we had to 9 do safety briefs every Friday afternoon to ensure that if our soldiers misbehaved on the weekend, we could tell our 10 11 chain of command that we had ordered them not to do so. 12 Rather than getting into single detail that soldiers might 13 do over the weekend, I would simply say obey your general 14 orders and the law and be a good soldier, a good citizen, 15 and a good man. I assume that your company grade officers and company grade NCOs do something similar on weekends or 16 17 before passes.

Putting aside the requirements of law and policy, General Neller, do you believe every marine should know that this kind of conduct violates the spirit and the ethic of the Corps?

General Neller: Senator, you would think, after all the discussion and all the training and things that we have done, that people would understand that this type of behavior was unacceptable. But apparently whatever we have

done or tried to do has not worked or we have not been clear 1 2 or people think that they can go on social media with some 3 persona or avatar character. But as Senator Gillibrand 4 rightfully stated, I mean, some people use their full name 5 and their unit, and because they participate, the 6 frustration is what is a crime and what is not as opposed to 7 boorish, stupid behavior. And this is beyond that. So that 8 is where we are in working through that right now.

9 Yes. And I believe even they do not, they should now. 10 I am going down Camp Lejeune tomorrow. I am going to talk 11 to people and make sure they try to make this as crystal 12 clear as I possibly can.

13 Senator Cotton: Sergeant Major, if I could just ask 14 you one question.

15 Chairman McCain: Your time has expired.

16 Senator Blumenthal?

17 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You used the words, Commandant Neller, "despicable and 18 19 disgusting." That certainly is a feeling that everybody on this panel shares with you. I think also many of us share 20 the passion and impatience that Senator Gillibrand expressed 21 22 very powerfully because there have been instances in the 23 past, and your acknowledgement that perhaps the past 24 violations of trust and law have not been addressed 25 sufficiently aggressively may give us some comfort here.

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But I think we are all going to watch closely and demand 1 2 from you not just the words that you have given us, which we 3 trust, but also action which speaks louder than words. Do you know personally of any commanders who had 4 5 knowledge of this site before it was disclosed? 6 General Neller: No, Senator, I do not. 7 Senator Blumenthal: And do you believe that the same 8 kind of aggressive discipline should be focused on the chain 9 of command, as well as on the perpetrators who were involved 10 in the immediate conduct, if they had knowledge? General Neller: I do. 11 12 Senator Blumenthal: And will you assure us that you 13 will take aggressive action against them? 14 General Neller: I do. Senator Blumenthal: You mentioned earlier that you 15 16 thought that nonjudicial punishment was appropriate for the 17 marines who may have been involved or at least many of them. Would you agree that the Uniform Code of Military Justice 18 19 should be applied as aggressively as possible in these 20 instances and that violation should be prosecuted to the full extent of penalties that can be achieved? 21 22 General Neller: Let me clarify my comment. When I 23 said nonjudicial punishment has applicability, it does, but whether that is the level at which these allegations are 24 25 adjudicated is up to the chain of command. All I was trying

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1 to imply is that that is a tool available to commanders. If 2 the act is more egregious, then there would be other venues, 3 more serious venues available to commanders.

Senator Blumenthal: Would you agree that the chain of command may be unable to prosecute as aggressively as possible if in fact there are allegations within the chain of command that ought to be pursued?

8 General Neller: I do not think that should make a 9 difference. I mean, it might cause a commander if someone 10 or their subordinates was complicit in this, but a violation 11 is a violation. We are all accountable.

12 Senator Blumenthal: But that might make it more 13 difficult for someone to take action against a fellow marine 14 who was within the chain of command. Would there be some 15 process even now under existing law? And we have sought to 16 reform or change it to make sure that there is 17 accountability.

18 General Neller: We select our commanders based on 19 their skill and their ability and their potential to 20 command. They have got to make the hard decisions. And so 21 if that involves -- we have all done it. If that involves 22 disciplining somebody that is in our own chain of command or 23 that you know, then that is what you do.

24 Senator Blumenthal: And two articles of the Uniform 25 Code of Military Justice have been mentioned, 120 and 134.

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Neither specifically prohibit cyber bullying. My thought has been that perhaps there ought to be a specific provision that is applicable to the conduct involved here which, in effect, is a form of cyber bullying. Would you support such a provision?

6 General Neller: We have had discussions about whether 7 or not the UCMJ has the ability to address this. To me, we 8 have stated what behavior in cyberspace is acceptable, not 9 acceptable. To me that has the weight of an article 92 disobedience of an order. So 120(c) addresses specifically 10 11 taking someone's picture without their permission and using 12 it and 134 would address good order and discipline and those 13 things. So I believe the tools are there if that is the 14 level of punishment or administrative action you wanted to 15 go to if the facts support that.

But I think there may be some discussion about -- I think that is something that we are going to get into with this task force whether there are provisions within the UCMJ that may need to be more specific about this particular type of potential offense because this is not new, but there have got to be some tools for commanders to be able to address this specifically.

23 Mr. Stackley: Senator, if I could add. On cyber 24 bullying, we hypothetically are talking about ways we could 25 prosecute it through the UCMJ, but it has not been tested

yet. And so your question regarding is there value in getting into greater detailed specifics within a specific article, I think the task force which the Commandant has launched, I think that is central to one of the areas that they are, in fact, looking at. And we need to keep it on the plate, and we need to come back to you with specific recommendations.

8 Chairman McCain: Senator Ernst?

9 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

10 Those who participated in these disgusting and horrible 11 actions have not only failed our Marine Corps, they have 12 failed the men and women who wish to join your ranks and 13 they have failed our country. I am not as eloquent as some 14 of the other members on this panel. All I can do is express 15 to you how disappointed I am. I am very disappointed.

General Neller, I hope that you can convey the concerns you have delivered to this committee today directly to your marines, not through a press conference, not through your designees, but directly to as many marines as you possibly can. Implementing change to this type of behavior begins at the ground level, and you are a leader, sir.

As reports continue to come in across the DOD, it is clear that this seems to be service-wide. This is servicewide. And so we need a service-wide approach to addressing this issue. This is a cultural problem not just in our

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1 military but society at large. And hearing that many 2 individuals were not surprised about these reports 3 disappoints me. Hearing that there may not be a way to hold 4 many of the people that were involved in this accountable --5 that angers me.

6 Illegal or not, members of our community need to know 7 this type of activity creates a culture that leads to sexual 8 assault. Those that sat complacently by as this unfolded 9 from the NCOs to the officers are all contributing to this issue. There is no excuse, and you have stated that, 10 11 General Neller. I appreciate that greatly. There is 12 absolutely no excuse for this, especially for those who wear 13 our Nation's uniform.

The steps that you now take moving forward following this event will define each of us before this committee. Regardless of what legal or administrative action you are able to take, I hope this leads to you personally sitting down and you, Sergeant Major, as well and educating our marines.

A social media handbook has been discussed by a number of folks here on the panel, but how many marines actually read that? How many sit down and read it? It is up to all of us to educate our marines.

The Marine Corps has a high turnover rate. We have thousands of marines coming through every year, and we have to make all of them aware of what they represent. They need to know that the actions they take here at home and online can take away from the success of their brothers and their sisters in arms.

5 This is an absolute issue that impacts our entire 6 society. It is an absolutely horrible issue impacting us, 7 but it is one that we must stop. And I say we. It is not 8 just the Marine Corps. It is those of us who are sitting 9 here today.

We will be evaluating how to give you the right tools, the necessary tools to combat this issue, and absolutely you must hold those marines accountable.

In the meantime, I hope that you will continue to evaluate what we need to do to combat this issue, not just in the Marine Corps but service-wide, and what we need to do to impact society at large.

17 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

18 Chairman McCain: Senator Donnelly?

19 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The marines who did this have betrayed their fellow marines, and these women marines stood up and said they would put their lives on the line for this country and give them up, if necessary. And this is the treatment that they got in return.

25 But they have also betrayed those marines who fought in

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1 Anbar Province and Helmund Province, in the Gulf, in Vietnam 2 and Korea and Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima who built the Corps inch 3 by inch, step by step. And these marines who have done this 4 have disgraced themselves, but they also let down the Corps 5 and all of those other marines who fought for our country to 6 help create the Corps.

7 I went online and found that there is already a Marines 8 United 2.0 posting links to the same materials, that already 9 has over 3,000 members. What can be done about this, and 10 what does that say? General?

11 General Neller: Sir, if the Marines United 2.0 is 12 there for their original mandate to help veterans, that is 13 fine. But if there is a link that takes anybody who can get access to a similar page where there are posted pictures of 14 15 anybody, but more likely female marines, and when they are 16 making commentary, we will go like we did before, and we 17 will ask the provider to take it down. But that is where we find ourselves. 18

Now, whether we can get the information or make them hold that data for us -- you know, we have recently in this investigation with Marines United -- NCIS recently got some more information, so that should allow us to get to that. But, again, we are addressing the symptom here. The problem is that anybody would even want to do this in the first place. That is the part -- this does not make any

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1 sense to me. Okay, they are doing it. Why? What is it 2 that makes anyone feel that they are going to make 3 themselves feel better by being degrading about any 4 individual, whether it be based on their gender or their 5 race or their sexual preference? If they are, indeed, a 6 marine or anybody -- it does not matter -- that is not who 7 we are and what we do.

8 So our folks now and with NCIS's help -- we are out 9 there looking and we are finding other sites. And we go 10 through the legal process. They go to the provider and ask 11 them to take it down. I think NCIS can give you more information in the closed session because there are other 12 13 sites out there. Marines 2.0 is just one. And again, some of them are legit and they do good or proper things for 14 veterans or anybody that belongs. Others not so much. Not 15 16 at all.

17 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan?

18 Senator Donnelly: I would suggest, General, that they 19 are also disrespecting you.

20 Chairman McCain: The gentleman's time has expired.
21 Senator Sullivan?

22 Senator Sullivan: Mr. Chairman, I believe he had a 23 minute and 23 seconds left.

24 Chairman McCain: Please proceed.

25 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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1 What I wanted to say is they are basically challenging 2 you, General. They are thinking that they can get away with 3 this. You are the Commandant of the Corps, and I think it 4 is up to you -- and I trust and believe you will tell them 5 and show them that they are not bigger than the Corps, that 6 they cannot treat their fellow marines like this.

How can women marines feel that the Corps has their back? When a young woman makes a decision that, number one, she wants to serve the country and put her life on the line for us, why will she choose the Marines? How do we reinstate that trust that we have her back?

12 General Neller: The only way we can, Senator, is 13 through our actions and show that anyone who sticks their 14 hand up to support and defend the Constitution of the United 15 States and has the willingness to earn the title of marine 16 is going to be a full-fledged member of the team like the 17 two female marines sitting behind me here. We have got to make them believe it. We have got to earn. They do not 18 19 just have to earn the title of marines. We have got to earn 20 their belief that they are going to get the same opportunity as anybody else to compete and be the best person they can 21 22 be. So I can sit here and say it. We have got to re-earn 23 the trust and not just of them, this committee, and the American people. I understand that. 24

25 Senator Donnelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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Chairman McCain: My apologies, Senator Donnelly, for
 cutting you off.

3 Senator Donnelly: Do not worry, sir.

4 Chairman McCain: Senator Sullivan?

5 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to begin by thanking Senator Gillibrand for her
calling for this hearing and her unfailing advocacy for
women in the military.

9 Like you, General, I am a father of three daughters and 10 also spent a lot of my civilian career focused on combating 11 the problem that Senator Ernst mentioned is a problem not 12 only in the military, but across the country of domestic 13 violence and sexual assault. And I think Senator 14 Gillibrand's focus on this benefits the military and the 15 country.

I also appreciate your and the Sergeant Major's opening statement to say you are going to take responsibility for this.

I think like everybody on this committee, General, when I first read the news about the marines attacking and degrading other marines -- it was what Senator Donnelly just mentioned -- I was outraged, disgusted, embarrassed as a citizen, as a lawmaker, and as a marine. And I am here in this capacity as a U.S. Senator, but earning the title of marine is the proudest personal achievement of my life. It

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1 always has been, always will be.

You know, we talk about that there has been no more formidable fighting force in the world, but the Marine Corps in my view goes much deeper than that.

5 I mentioned a story. Last year, I was walking down the 6 street on Capitol Hill. There was a mom and two young kids, 7 a boy and a girl, walking by me, and a group of eight or 8 nine marines in PT gear coming up strong, formidable, and 9 they passed this family, and this mom looked at her kids and said those are marines. They are courageous. They are 10 11 fearless, and they will do anything to protect our country 12 and keep us safe. That is what mothers in the country are 13 telling their kids.

14 This goes way deeper than this. I believe that if the 15 Marine Corps cannot prevent marines from attacking and 16 degrading women marines, that the Marine Corps is going to 17 lose what it means to the country, to the Marine Corps, to 18 other marines.

So, General, you talked a lot about a perversion of the culture. What do you mean by that?

General Neller: Well, Senator, like you I believe all marines have a belief that our motto, semper fidelis, our core values of honor, courage, and commitment are what we are, and that everything that we have seen in this Marines United event is not. And so anybody that is out there involved in this or any other site that are doing this -and as has been accurately pointed out, this is something that has been out there for some time. I do not know how they think they can reconcile the inner marine with this. I do not mentally see how you get from A to B.

6 Senator Sullivan: One of the things about the Marine 7 Corps and all military services, but particularly in the 8 Marine Corps, there is a culture and it is part of what we 9 do is we bring violence to the enemies of our Nation, and we are good at bringing violence upon the enemies of our 10 11 Nation. Is it the perversion of the culture where the 12 marines are actually bringing violence upon women marines? 13 Is that not the perversion? The culture, which every marine 14 who is honorable thinks this is a disgusting perversion? 15 General Neller: I believe that is a very accurate 16 description, Senator. Thank you for that.

17 Senator Sullivan: Sergeant Major, can I ask you a question? You both have talked about boot camp and getting 18 19 at this early. One of the things, as you know, that the 20 Marine Corps does very well in boot camp is it focuses on the history of the Marine Corps. You walk out of boot camp, 21 22 if you can make it, after 3 months, and you know about Chosin Reservoir. You know about Iwo Jima. You know about 23 all those things and you take pride in it. 24

25 General, I thought your opening statement about

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1 referencing five marine women who were killed in action 2 defending our Nation -- do you think, Sergeant Major, that 3 focusing on some of those issues with regard to our history 4 in boot camp can start to set the culture on a more proper 5 course to recognize that, hey, look at these. They are 6 marines. Right? It does not matter if they are men or 7 women. They died for their country. Could we do a better 8 job of instilling that at the outset as we shape the outlook 9 and minds and culture of these 18- and 20-year-old kids? 10 Sergeant Green: Absolutely, sir. The task force that 11 the Commandant has put together, led by the Assistant 12 Commandant of the Marine Corps -- we met a few days ago, and 13 that is exactly where we are starting. We are going beyond 14 that and starting at the delayed entry program. We are 15 looking at everything we teach marines, and we have to 16 understand within ourselves, in a 4-year enlistment 120,000 17 marines would have gone in and out of the Marine Corps. 120,000. We would have turned over two-thirds of the Marine 18 Corps in a 4-year period. 19

And we need to step back after 15, 16 years of fighting and we are still in that fight and absolutely take a look at not only how we make marines from those who walk through the door and want to be something better themselves, but also how we retain marines and families with our ethos of honor, courage, and commitment.

We are going to seriously take a look at that because 1 2 the processes that worked yesterday -- they are not working 3 today because there are other societal ills that come 4 through the door with every individual that comes in, that 5 the tools that we have are not being ask effective as they 6 need to be today. So we are going to take a look at from 7 the recruiting of our marines until the time they leave the 8 gates and also beyond that as to veteran support 9 organizations out there, to take a look at our motto, "once a marine, always a marine." And every marine that leaves 10 11 out the door, tell them they are responsible for that eagle, 12 globe, and anchor.

13 There are some bad actors that have worn the eagle, 14 globe, and anchor. They are determined to keep these things 15 going, and we know this for a fact. And we got to do better 16 with our ethos and find the tools, the ways and convince 17 those that come through the gates and those who, like you 18 said earlier, are thinking about coming through the gates, 19 the moms and dads who are talking to their kids.

I have a son at the Naval Academy. They left for spring break going to Orlando, and my wife is freaking. She is scared to death. And I just sat down with the four boys in my basement and talked about this, talked about sexual assault, talked about the ethos of honor, courage, and commitment, the fact that one day they too are going to lead

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and they may lead in combat. But first they must lead back
 here in peacetime showing that they are worthy leaders and
 lead marines and sailors in combat.

I have a 14-year-old daughter. I would like to be proud if my daughter said she wanted to be a marine, just like my son. I have to assure her I will leave the footprint, along with the Commandant, that provides a way of safety for not only my kids but all kids, sir.

9 Senator Sullivan: Thank you.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Reed [presiding]: On behalf of Chairman
 McCain, Senator Kaine, please.

13 Senator Kaine: Thank you, Mr. Chair, and thanks to the 14 witnesses.

15 This is, obviously, a very serious hearing, important 16 to have it. I am the father of a marine. I employ a lot of 17 marines in my office. My State is a State where every marine officer is trained, every marine security guard is 18 trained, a lot of other marines are trained and serve 19 20 honorably. And I think I just can say on behalf of an awful of Virginians, this is a moment when the story broke that a 21 22 lot of people's hearts sunk. A lot of people's stomachs 23 were turned.

And this is absolutely critical to get right. You are completely aware of the work of this committee under the

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leadership of Senators Gillibrand, McCaskill, and others to 1 2 tackle sexual assault in the military. And it is still very 3 much an open proposition on this committee because the question about whether sexual assault or other crimes should 4 5 be treated within the Uniform Code of Military Justice or 6 separately is something that we have resolved for now to try 7 within the chain of command, but we are testing the 8 evidence. We are looking at the data to determine if that 9 was right or not. And many of us, if we conclude that we are not getting the results that we want, even those of us 10 11 who have supported chain of command in the past, may 12 conclude that it is just not sufficient.

13 And it would be tragic for the Marine Corps if that 14 decision were to be made because of a belief that the Marine 15 Corps' bad example would cause us to make that decision for 16 all branches or the Marine Corps' bad example would cause us 17 to make a decision that would be with respect to one branch of the service and not the others. And so that is the 18 weight of this matter in a body that is still really 19 20 assessing whether the military, the Marine Corps, but the other branches have to tools that they need to tackle this 21 22 problem.

The Marine Corps does a great job of setting people aside who do not meet physical fitness standards. The Marine Corps has done a very intense amount of work to get

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into the redefinition of military MOSs to provide gender-1 2 neutral standards that people need to meet to serve in MOSs. 3 If the Marine Corps attacks this problem with the same 4 degree of attention and passion that they attack an issue 5 like physical standards, then you are going to solve it. 6 But I think I speak for everybody up here out of a 7 belief that we just have not seen that. We just have not 8 seen that level.

9 General, I want to ask you something. I thought your 10 opening statement was very good, but I did have one question 11 about it. Could you get your written statement -- because 12 we do not have copies of it here -- and just read the first 13 couple sentences of it again to me? Because I have one 14 question about what you said.

15 General Neller: The beginning, sir?

16 Senator Kaine: Yes, just right at the very beginning. 17 General Neller: Normally I appear before this 18 committee to tell you about the extraordinary things your 19 marines are doing at home and around the globe. But today 20 is different. I am here today to discuss the details of 21 some truly disturbing and unacceptable actions that have 22 allegedly been committed on social media.

23 Senator Kaine: Stop right there. "That have allegedly 24 been committed on social media." Are we talking about 25 allegations here or are we talking about something that has

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happened? I mean, it might be an allegation as to who was involved, but this is not just an allegation about something that happened on social media. This is a fact. Is that not correct?

5 Senator Reed: Senator, we are going to go into closed 6 session. That might be a question that is most appropriate 7 for a closed session.

8 Senator Kaine: But I just think it is important to 9 really make this clear. We are not talking about any individual in this hearing, and we should not for the reason 10 11 that you stated. But if in the public hearing, this is 12 described as alleged behavior, that there were allegations 13 of something on social media, I do not think we are treating 14 it with the seriousness need to. This is not allegations 15 about social media. This stuff happened. And the General's 16 testimony that Marines United is not unique and Senator 17 Donnelly's description of Marines United 2.0 -- I just think it is important that we not leave confusion with the public 18 19 that we are here just talking about some allegations of something on social media. This happened. Now, who was 20 involved -- we are not going to get into that in an open 21 22 session. But I would just put that to your attention going 23 forward because we are talking about more than just 24 allegations here.

25 Secretary Stackley, let me just ask you in close. I

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have a hard time believing that this massive sharing of information about women in the Marines would just be limited to this branch. Talk to me about investigations into whether this is also going on in the other branches of the military.

6 Mr. Stackley: I cannot speak specifically for the 7 other branches, but in the closed session, what I would 8 recommend we discuss is some of the information that NCIS is 9 arriving at through their tip line and the number of 10 websites that indicate similar activity on other websites. 11 That is very important.

Senator Kaine: Then let me just ask it this way. Do you believe this activity is limited just to the Marine Corps?

15 Mr. Stackley: No, sir.

16 Senator Kaine: Thank you.

Senator Reed: On behalf of Chairman McCain, SenatorTillis.

Mr. Stackley: But I do not want to let it stop right there. This is at the top of Secretary Mattis' priority list working across the service departments to get at this issue. This is not being managed as an isolated issue for the Marine Corps as regards the Department of Defense. We recognize vulnerabilities here and we need to prosecute those. 1

Senator Reed: Senator Tillis, please.

2 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I am going to 3 try and be brief so that we can get to the closed session. But I did want to get a clarification on the Marines 4 5 United, really the structure of what we are talking about 6 here because I think it is important and we can get into 7 numbers later. But we are talking about 20,000 or 30,000 8 marines involved in a social media network, much of which is 9 not the subject of the actions that we need to get to the 10 bottom of.

11 Can you give me some rough idea of the sub-page where 12 the illicit activities were occurring, that that is as a 13 percentage of the total people engaged in what would 14 otherwise be positive social media interaction?

General Neller: We believe there are about 30,000 total members of the page. How many active, how many former, how many reserve, how many other services --

18 Senator Tillis: But in that page --

19 General Neller: But in the link to take you to the 20 separate drive, I have been told that the numbers were about 21 500.

22 Senator Tillis: That is the important point because I 23 think a lot of people think that there are some 30,000 24 marines engaged in this activity. The number is whatever it 25 is, but it is a subset and what we think is a minor subset

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1 of the total page. I think that is very important.

General Neller: I would understand and appreciate your comment, Senator, but it does not matter if there is one. Senator Tillis: I get it.

Now I want to get to the next. For those who are in 5 6 the subset and involved in these activities, what is the 7 maximum penalty and discipline that they can receive if they 8 are found to have been engaged at any level in that sub-9 site? Can they be court marshaled? Can they be imprisoned? Can they be fined? In other words, what discipline are 10 11 these folks subject to right now based on the current rules? 12 General Neller: I think that would depend on what 13 their level of involvement was and what they were doing. 14 Senator Tillis: Let us say for the worst of the worst, 15 whatever that may be, just hypothetical. For the worst of 16 the worst, what potential penalty could they receive from 17 this?

Mr. Stackley: They could be court marshaled, sir. Senator Tillis: What about a veteran, somebody who is no longer in active service that is also engaged in this? I am assuming just based on the numbers of the Sergeant Major, there are going to be some of those involved. What consequence could they possibly suffer? General Neller: I think it depends on the State.

25 Certain States have certain laws about this, and there are

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1 certain provisions about what is consent with the use of a 2 picture.

3 Senator Tillis: I would like to find out -- you do not have to answer the question, but I want to look at other 4 5 things that we need to do here to make this a very, very 6 painful exercise for somebody caught guilty of doing this. 7 As a member of the Veterans Committee, if there is something 8 that we could do to disallow their benefits for bad behavior 9 after they are discharged, those are the sorts of things that we have to do. A part of what you need to do is change 10 11 the culture, and I believe that you will, General Neller. 12 And I think that we need to work on that, but we also need 13 to make it a very frightening proposition for people going 14 forward to be captured into this sort of activity.

15 So I would like to get people to report back to me as a 16 member of the Veterans Committee, as the chair of the 17 Personnel Subcommittee, what more do we need to do to make this a very frightening proposition for somebody to get 18 tempted into doing going forward so that you do not have to 19 20 focus on these sorts of things. I want you to train marines to be able to be safe and lethal on the battlefield, not 21 22 doing these sorts of things. And I think we need to work to 23 make it very clear that this is going to produce dire consequences for people stupid enough to do these kind of 24 25 things going forward.

1 Thank you, Mr. Chair.

2 Chairman McCain [presiding]: Senator King?

3 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have gone from anger and disappointment to really
sadness. This is a sad day for the Marine Corps and for our
armed services.

7 What bothers me, General Neller, is that I am convinced 8 that all of us human beings have the capacity to be good or 9 evil. And how that comes out in any given situation, 10 particularly in a group situation, depends almost entirely 11 on how we are led.

And one of the things that bothers me is there was a quote in the press last week from the reporter and the former marine who really broke this story that not once on this website or on Marines United 2.0 did he see anybody say this is not what we are going to do. This is wrong. This is improper. This is disrespectful. Not once.

And that speaks to me of a culture that goes all the 18 way down. And you can have proclamations and issue letters 19 20 and everything else, but if you have got lower ranking officers and noncommissioned officers who are winking and 21 22 laughing and they deliver the statement with a little grin, 23 that undermines the whole thing. And this is an indication to me of a serious cultural problem that goes beyond the 24 25 specifics of orders. Do you understand what I am

1 suggesting?

2 General Neller: Senator, I understand perfectly what 3 you are suggesting, and I agree. You know, being a bystander for any sort of an offense is something that we 4 5 struggle with. I was told once by a senior officer that the 6 Marine Corps is built on discipline and it is a rock. It is 7 the foundation of our house. And every time you walk by 8 something you know is wrong, it is the equivalent of taking 9 a hammer and hitting that rock and putting a chip in it. 10 And if enough people walk by, pretty soon that thing is 11 going to crack. So we may be at that point.

I think marines in their mind -- they somehow separate that they do during operational things, what they do in training, and what they do when they are not out there actively engaged. They think that the social media, the Net gives them anonymity to do this type of thing. They are ignorant as to the impact. That is what I have got to make everybody understand. No, it does not work that way.

19 But this is your Marine Corps and --

20 Senator King: Beyond this posting and being dumb about 21 what they put online is the underlying -- these guys 22 apparently did not feel that they were doing anything wrong. 23 They were on this website with 30,000 people on it, and they 24 were posting it and nobody said this is not appropriate or, 25 gee, fellows, do you think this is a good idea? That

1 indicates to me that they felt empowered or enabled to do 2 this.

3 So it is really not a question of issuing orders. It 4 is issuing orders that are credible that go all the way down 5 the line in terms of not only saying the right thing but 6 meaning it and conveying it.

General Neller: Mr. Brennan, the individual that broke the story -- he said it. And I think we are finding and we are going to find that there are more that are going to come out and say what should have been said before. You know, there are a number of people out there that have the ear of whatever this group is.

Senator King: By the way, you know that they are mocking you and the leadership --

15 General Neller: I understand that.

16 Senator King: -- on this MU 2.0 and they are saying, 17 come and get us, NCIS. They are continuing to post pictures 18 as recently as this past weekend. I mean, they are not 19 getting the word here.

20 General Neller: Well, then we will have to get the 21 word to them.

22 Senator King: Let me just follow up with one quick 23 question to what Mr. Tillis asked, and perhaps this is for 24 the closed session. I think one of the real problems here 25 what is the jurisdiction, what is the accountability for a

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former marine. Under the military code, there are consequences for people who are in the Marines now, but if they are out -- again, one of the things I have read is a guy posted his discharge papers and said, try to come and get me, NCIS. So that is a separate question.

6 Mr. Stackley, can you respond in open session on that, 7 or is this going to be a matter of State law?

8 Mr. Stackley: Today it is a matter of State law. The first thing I tried to dive into is what is legal versus 9 what is not legal, and then what is acceptable versus what 10 is not acceptable. And there are a number of behaviors here 11 12 that are absolutely unacceptable and yet they are legal. 13 Within the services, we have the ability to draw that line 14 in terms of something that is not acceptable, we are going 15 to prosecute. Outside of the service, where it is legal and unacceptable, we are limited in our ability to prosecute. 16 17 So I welcome Senator Sullivan's comments -- or I am sorry --Senator Tillis' comments regarding added authorities that we 18 19 might want to look into that give us the ability to go 20 outside of uniformed services for everybody to understand, you served in our country, you left the uniform behind, you 21 22 remain accountable to the code that we hold those still in 23 uniform to behave to.

24 Senator King: Thank you.

25 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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1 Chairman McCain: Senator Graham?

2 Senator Graham: Thank you.

3 Did someone actually put their discharge online and 4 said, come get me? Did they actually do that? Who is that 5 person? Do we know their name?

6 Senator King: I will give you the citation.

Senator Graham: Well, let us make them famous right
here. What is their name? We will get it later. We will
publicly let the world know who this person is.

10 The website -- I am a little confused now. I am not 11 the best person to tell you about the Internet. That is for 12 darned sure. But the 30,000 people who are viewing this --13 were most of them doing bad things, or were they just

14 talking as marines, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. Stackley: The numbers that we are looking at right now is the majority of them were not involved in this activity.

Senator Graham: So the posting of photos, you know, somebody took a photo of a young female marine -- how many of the 30,000 went to that part of it?

21 Mr. Stackley: The number that we are carrying is about 22 500, but the investigation remains ongoing.

23 Senator Graham: I am agreeing with the General. One 24 is too many. But I am just trying to get my head around it. 25 What was the purpose of this website?

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1 Mr. Stackley: Marines United was initiated 5 or 6 2 years ago with good purposes in mind, and that was to 3 support marines who were suffering from PTSD and coming out 4 of combat action.

5 Senator Graham: So these websites started with a good 6 purpose and some people have hijacked it basically. Is that 7 right?

8 Mr. Stackley: Yes, sir.

9 Senator Graham: Sergeant Major, you got a 14-year-old10 daughter.

11 Sergeant Green: Yes, sir.

12 Senator Graham: What would you tell someone who has a 13 14-year-old daughter that does not know as much about the 14 Marines as you do about whether that daughter should join 15 the Marines?

16 Sergeant Green: First of all, sir, I am ashamed of the 17 actions of this website. We recruit marines, as I said before, 30,000 a year. And I can assure that parent, mother 18 19 or father, that the chain of command in the Marine Corps, 20 the leadership -- we are going to do everything we can --21 Senator Graham: Would you tell those parents to send 22 their daughter to the Marines given what we know today? 23 Sergeant Green: Yes, sir. And I can assure then that myself, the Commandant, and the leadership -- we are going 24 25 to pave a way that is respectful --

Senator Graham: What would you say to that young
 woman, General, who is thinking about joining the Marines?
 General Neller: I could understand why they would have
 some questions.

5 Senator Graham: Do you not think this has kind of6 stepped all over recruiting of young women?

General Neller: Senator, we are talking to our
recruiting folks because the irony of all this is we are
trying to increase the number of women in the Marine Corps.
Senator Graham: Right.

General Neller: This certainly, I would say, is not helpful.

Senator Graham: I would say this is devastatingly bad. Would you agree with me that this is one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Marine Corps, even though there are maybe 500 people involved?

17 General Neller: We have not distinguished ourselves in 18 this affair.

Senator Graham: Having said that, you are the finest fighting force in the history of the world, pound for pound, the United States Marine Corps. You have an honored tradition, but every organization has dark moments.

23 Do you agree with me this is one of the darkest moments 24 and it needs to be fixed?

25 General Neller: Yes, Senator.

1 Senator Graham: There are two ways to get people to do 2 better. Appeal to their better nature. Sergeant Major Green, do you agree with that? 3 4 Sergeant Green: Absolutely, sir. 5 Senator Graham: And scare the hell out of them. 6 Sergeant Green: Yes, sir. 7 Senator Graham: General, do you believe that people 8 are sufficiently afraid of degrading their fellow female 9 marines as of this moment? 10 General Neller: Based on their actions, no. No, 11 Senator. 12 Senator Graham: Will you promise me that there will be 13 a lot of fear coming? 14 General Neller: We will do all that we can to hold 15 people accountable. 16 Senator Graham: The Marine hymn says, first to fight 17 for right and freedom and to keep our honor clean. Do you believe you need to fight to keep that honor clean? 18 19 General Neller: Absolutely, Senator. We have to. 20 Senator Graham: Are you committed to winning that 21 fight? 22 General Neller: I am. 23 Senator Graham: Thank you. 24 Chairman McCain: Senator Hirono? 25 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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I realize that so much of this kind of behavior has to do with some attitudes and culture, and it is very difficult, General Neller, to change the culture. So I am wondering whether one of the ways that we can deal with this issue is to provide some deterrence. Would you agree that one of the ways that we could deter this kind of behavior is through court marshal where appropriate?

8 General Neller: Senator, I believe deterrence is part 9 of this, and there has got to be accountability, whether it 10 be a court marshal or other processes. Yes.

11 Senator Hirono: In terms of changing the culture, how 12 would you begin to even change the culture? This has been 13 longstanding not just in the Marines but issues that involve 14 all of our services. So how do you even begin to change the 15 culture when, for example, you have a Commander in Chief who 16 exhibits certain attitudes toward women? How do you change 17 the culture?

General Neller: The only way I know how we have done 18 this in the past when we have dealt with other issues -- I 19 20 mean, there are always going to be those that are going to not be able to adjust, and that will be addressed. But I 21 22 believe that most marines join the Marine Corps to improve 23 themselves, that they are good and decent people, and they have got to understand that there are certain behaviors that 24 25 we expect and that we recognize positively and there are

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others that we do not. And part of that is having a discussion. It has got to start at the beginning when they first see their recruiter, and it has to be modeled throughout the organization. There are, obviously, those either who are not modeling the culture that we want or they are even condoning it.

7 So as the Sergeant Major said, we are going to go back, 8 take a look where it starts. For all marines, it starts at 9 recruit training or it starts at officer candidate school. And we are going to look at how we talk about this, make 10 11 sure they understand it. But as you say, at some point 12 there has to be deterrence because -- I would like to say we 13 would be 100 percent successful, but we probably will not. 14 So for those that are not able to comply, there has to be 15 deterrence.

16 Senator Hirono: So I am assuming that you will take 17 every step necessary to identify whether certain codes of 18 behavior were violated and then to pursue court marshals, 19 that you will do that very, very strenuously.

20 General Neller: Yes, Senator.

21 Senator Hirono: I would say another aspect of all of 22 this is that what kind of message are you giving to the 23 current female marines. I do not know how many women there 24 are in the Marines, but have you brought everyone together 25 in a way that the message gets to not just individuals who

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are undergoing training or during the recruitment process,
but the current situation with all of your women marines?
Have you had any kind of a gathering of the marines, both
male and female, to talk about how this is totally

5 unacceptable?

General Neller: Senator, the only way I can address 185,000 marines or right today about 184,000 -- and there are about 15,000 women marines. About 1,500 of them are officers. 13,500 are enlisted -- is for me to use our own platforms on social media to tell them what is going on and what they should expect from their leadership.

12 Senator Hirono: Excuse me. Yes, that is you. But 13 there are also of your leaders on the bases. What are they 14 doing to get the message across en masse?

15 General Neller: And we have spoken to all leadership last Friday. We issued instructions for them to go out and 16 17 engage in this conversation. I am going to follow that up this week with even more direction. I am going down and the 18 Sergeant Major and I are going down to Camp Lejeune to 19 20 directly speak to marines in person. But it is going to take some work so that everybody gets down to the last 21 22 marine. So we have a plan to speak both personally and 23 using other venues or forums such as this hearing today to tell them what is going on and what they should expect and 24 25 what is acceptable and what is not acceptable.

Senator Hirono: So if I were to go to Kaneohe Marine
 Corps, for example, would there be a session that I could
 attend where this situation would be discussed?

General Neller: There will be or there has been. I do not know exactly when commanders have scheduled this, but I can find that out for you, Senator, and when you are home and you want to participate, I would appreciate that.

8 Senator Hirono: I will certainly check into that.9 Thank you very much.

10 Chairman McCain: Senator Rounds?

11 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General, you and the Sergeant Major have both made it very clear that you have been disgusted with this activity. I believe you when you say that you want this ended.

At the same time, I am just wondering when you first heard about this and you were working your way through it, did it come to mind that this may very well be an outgrowth of the discrimination that we have seen in terms of men who may very well have thought that we just simply do not think this is the place for women in the military?

General Neller: Senator, we talked about that, and I am sure there are going to be people that have that particular view. But okay. But I do not see how that gets you from that particular view to where you have to take a picture of somebody, post it online, and then mock, haze,

1 harass, degrade, or even potentially assault them online. Ι 2 mean, whether that is their motivation or not, I do not 3 know. And I have heard it described as the dark humor of 4 That is a copout. But we also know that there veterans. 5 are marines that are participating in this who never have been shot at in their lives. So they are just trying to get 6 7 credibility. I do not know.

8 It really does not matter what their motivation is to 9 me. It is the behavior. And whatever made them think that 10 they were going to do this or watch it and not report it, 11 that is what we have got to get after.

Senator Rounds: The reality is that we cannot go to war without women anymore. Can we?

14 General Neller: No, Senator, we cannot.

15 Senator Rounds: There are 500 individuals that we 16 believe have participated in the inappropriate activity on 17 this particular website that has been brought to light. Do 18 we know how many of the 500 would perhaps have been former 19 members versus the number that are current members? Do we 20 have the numbers there yet?

General Neller: No, Senator, we do not. NCIS in the closed session -- they may have more because they just got access to some more information, but right now we do not know.

25 Sergeant Green: Senator Rounds, sir, if I can say

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1 something about --

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Senator Rounds: Yes, sir.

3 Sergeant Green: -- that you just talked about.

One of the worst parts, besides the victim or the 4 5 survivor, about this whole ordeal, if there are men in the 6 Marine Corps that have served in the uniform or that feel 7 that women are not supposed to be in the Marine Corps, they 8 have absolutely captured a voice with this social media 9 venue and denigrated women that are serving, that may want to serve, and those that have served. And if we do not get 10 11 this right, they can absolutely drive women out of the 12 Marine Corps and give women a reason not to want to serve 13 with us. And that is why we must get at this because if 14 there are men that exist in the Marine Corps outside that do 15 not want women in the Marine Corps, this is absolutely a 16 mouthpiece for them, and we would not allow them to have 17 that voice.

Senator Rounds: So in order to address specifically 18 19 the actions that have occurred here, we have to make certain 20 that we have within your ability to discipline clear and appropriate guidelines within the code that allow you to 21 22 address the specific actions for people that are still in 23 the military, but then we have also got to find a way to address the actions of those who were formerly in the 24 25 military and who are no longer a part of it but who are

1 still displaying this type of activity. Is that a fair

2 statement? And we have got to be able to break it down into 3 those two?

4 Sergeant Green: Yes, sir, it is.

5 Senator Rounds: Thank you.

6 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Chairman McCain: Senator Heinrich?

8 Senator Heinrich: General Neller, would you agree that 9 taking down a site is not going to solve this problem?

10 General Neller: I would agree with that, Senator. It 11 is only a symptom.

12 Senator Heinrich: I think it is really important that 13 we recognize that this is not a digital problem. It is not 14 a social media problem. It is not Facebook's problem, that 15 that is a whack-a-mole approach. And we have tried it in 16 the past. It does not work. This is a conduct problem. It 17 is a criminal problem, and unfortunately it is a cultural 18 problem.

You said in your opening testimony that it is your inclination to resist that description of cultural, but I think it is important to recognize that until we recognize that for what it is, this will not change.

Now, this pattern of social media groups pasting
pictures of female marines without consent -- I have seen
some pictures, screenshots glorifying horrible sexual

violence. It has happened before. I got an article here 1 2 from 2014. I will not share it with you because I do not 3 want to share the marine's name. But she said, I was freaked out. I would not even look at it at first. I have 4 5 all of my social media set up so it is private. So I was 6 really confused how in the world they got a photo of me. I 7 was terrified of the comments I was going to be receiving. 8 And then subsequent comments were not only overtly sexual, 9 but some threatened sexual violence.

10 So you have asked for the trust of female marines. You 11 have asked for the trust of survivors. I just want to ask 12 you given that this has happened again and again -- it is 13 pervasive in the social media environment in particular --14 what would you say to those female marines to demonstrate 15 that Marine Corps leadership has earned that trust?

16 General Neller: That is why I am asking them to trust 17 me because my ability to sit there and say I have earned your trust -- because we have not gotten after this. I 18 19 acknowledge that. But I cannot get after it if they do not become part of the solution. And I know that is a big ask 20 because, as you rightfully mention, if they are out there 21 22 within these venues, all the haters will be back there 23 attacking them again tenfold. And I think that is part of the problem. It is the worst part of retribution in cyber 24 25 bullying that if you make a comment, that you end up getting

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shouted down or threatened or all the hate. I am sure you
 deal with that. I know I am going to deal with it. I have
 dealt with it. I am going to certainly deal with it after
 today.

5 Senator Heinrich: A big part of that problem -- and 6 you mentioned this -- is anonymity. Are active duty marines 7 allowed to participate in social media in that space 8 anonymously? And have you looked at that issue that maybe 9 the rights of active duty marines in a social media 10 environment might be different from just the general public? 11 General Neller: This is where it gets difficult. I 12 would ask that we get with the lawyers because I am not an 13 attorney. But it becomes an issue of free speech, and as 14 the Secretary said, what is criminal and what is not, what 15 is consent to a picture and what is not consent to a 16 picture. But there are individuals out there that put their 17 name, their unit, and there has to be accountability for 18 that. So that is what I am asking our women to help us 19 with.

20 Senator Heinrich: I would ask you to help us if there 21 are specific changes to the UCMJ that you need to be able to 22 address these sort of abusive behaviors. If there are 23 specific statutory changes for people who have already been 24 discharged, we need to know what those potential tools are 25 that we need to help you get ahead of this problem.

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1 Chairman McCain: Senator Cruz?

2 Senator Cruz: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3 Gentlemen, thank you for being here today.

This is a sad day for the Marine Corps, and it is a sad day for our armed forces. All of us on this committee are agreed that the conduct at issue here was despicable, that we owe a sacred trust to the women and men who join our volunteer military and put it all on the line to keep us safe. And to find themselves abused and victimized by fellow marines is completely unacceptable.

I appreciate your addressing this issue with the seriousness that it deserves. And my question to each of you is twofold. How do we ensure that this never happens again, and what needs to happen so that those who violated the rights of their fellow marines are held accountable? General?

17 General Neller: Senator, to ensure that it does not happen again, we have got to change the way we see each 18 19 other as marines. And that is not going to be easy, but it 20 has got to be done. I do not know how many people we are dealing with here. Some of them maybe they are just --21 22 whatever their beliefs are or they just happen to be piling 23 on or they are just misguided or ignorant. But if they are in this organization, they cannot participate in this 24 25 anymore.

I honestly believe that the leadership out there and 1 2 particularly the sergeant majors and the senior enlisted and 3 the NCOs -- they are the ones that have their finger on the 4 pulse of the organization. And I have got great trust in 5 marines. I have seen what they can do. I know their 6 spirit. I may be wrong. I pray to God I am not. But I do 7 not believe this is indicative of the great majority of the 8 marines that wear this uniform. So they are going to solve 9 this. I cannot do this myself. The Sergeant Major cannot do this. We have got to solve this together. 10

11 Now, for those that do not want to be part of that 12 solution, then there has got to be accountability. And we 13 will work our way through this, but there are, as we 14 discussed -- we have got to clarify for our leadership what their actions can be if this behavior is identified and what 15 16 they can do to hold these people accountable. And we are 17 looking at a whole number of things in addition to what is in the UCMJ. So that is our path forward. 18

So we have got a training piece. It starts at the beginning, but it is really a leadership piece, a discussion piece, but then at the end there has to be accountability because, as Senator Graham said, there are those -- they understand what is right and what is wrong, and there are others -- they understand it, but they may feel like they have to do this. And then they are the ones that are going

1 to have to be deterred and held accountable.

Senator Cruz: Sergeant Major?

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Sergeant Green: Yes, sir. Sir, we have to build an 3 4 environment. You know, if a marine walked into anyplace, 5 the Salvation Army, the Red Cross, and they already have an 6 idea of what that organization does, they walk in there and 7 they realize that where they are going -- the door that they 8 walked through -- they are not really doing what my thought was when I went in or what they advertise, then in real 9 10 life, if they are doing something illegal, if they are doing 11 something to denigrate and disrespect people, I am going to 12 report it.

13 We have to build that environment in our Marine Corps 14 where they go in the social media world and to really 15 understand the meaning of friend because when you hit the 16 button and you give somebody the right as a friend, that is 17 not the same meaning as in I meet someone. And that is the reality of today in the virtual world. Just because you tag 18 19 somebody as a friend, that does not mean you actually know 20 that person, and that is not really your friend. Some people just learned that day, see people, tag them as a 21 22 friend, let them in, not understanding in the social media 23 world everything on your page you have just given the right to because they can screenshot it. They can do what they 24 25 want, take it and do what they want. And understanding the

1 laws that we have right now today that protect an

2 individual-- we have to explain that to our marines, our

3 leadership and those that we recruit.

4 Senator Cruz: Thank you.

5 Chairman McCain: Senator Warren?

6 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

So we are here today to discuss marines using social media to share intimate photographs of female service members and veterans without their consent. And it seems like every time we shut down one of these websites that a new one pops up.

General Neller, I appreciated your strongly worded message last week, but we have already seen that at least one new website seems to have appeared in defiance of your guidance. We can keep playing digital whack-a-mole, but we will keep losing until we have better tools to prosecute those who are responsible.

18 So I want to go back to a question about the Uniform 19 Code of Military Justice, but I want to ask it from a 20 different perspective. General Neller, it is my 21 understanding that if the original photo was taken 22 consensually, the UCMJ may not allow for the strictest 23 penalties under article 120(c) even if it was subsequently 24 shared without consent. Is that accurate?

25 General Neller: Senator, my understanding is, as the

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Sergeant Major was discussing, if you are on a public facing 1 2 webpage and you post a picture, that in itself can be 3 construed as consent, and if someone else takes that 4 picture, that there is no criminal action. I am not saying 5 I agree with that, but that is an interpretation. 6 Senator Warren: So let me ask this question. Many 7 States have implemented laws that make so-called revenge 8 pornography a criminal offense. Do you believe that we need 9 a change like that to the UCMJ? 10 General Neller: I think that would be helpful in the 11 accountability process. Some of these pictures of these 12 women where they were fully clothed -- and it is the 13 commentary and all that stuff. 14 Senator Warren: I understand. 15 General Neller: But, yes, I do agree. 16 Senator Warren: But are photographs that were taken 17 consensually and then someone else posted them or they were posted in a different context and then forwarded --18 19 General Neller: That is correct. 20 Senator Warren: I know you are committed to pursuing

21 this, but if we are going to shut down this conduct, then 22 you ought to have every possible legal tool at your

23 disposal.

Now, I want to ask you a second question about this.
Every Marine Corps base maintains a list of places that are

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off limits for service members. In 2013, one of your predecessors, General Amos, told Congress that the Marines were examining whether you could legally make certain websites off limits in the same way. You cannot visit there any more than you can go into town and visit these particular places.

7 What was the result of that assessment? And do you 8 need additional authorities to be able to do that? 9 General Neller: Senator, I am not aware -- I will take that for the record, and maybe my SJA can talk to you about 10 11 that. But I am not aware that we ever, because of right of 12 free speech and other things, placed a website off limits. 13 On a government computer, we block certain websites, but 14 when someone is on their individual device, I am not aware 15 that we have said the following websites are off limits and 16 to frequent these sites, if we were even able to determine 17 if the marine had, that you would be in violation of a lawful order. 18

Senator Warren: I think this may be something that may be worth exploring again so that you have the maximum number of tools available to you to stop this behavior.

I have one more that I want to ask, and that is, General Neller, you are not the first Commandant to attempt to address this issue, and in all due respect, it does not seem to be working. And I think it is because the social

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media scandals are symptoms of a much larger problem. It happens in the barracks and it happens in the field, and it starts as early as basic training. Are you willing to reconsider the role that Marine recruit training plays in this and reevaluating the Marine Corps' policy of gender segregation at basic training?

General Neller: Senator, we are taking a very long look at how we do recruit training right now. I would not couch our recruit training as segregated, and I would, at this time, invite you down to see how we do what we do. Senator Warren: We are not separating men and women anymore in the Marines?

13 General Neller: All recruits in all the services live 14 separately because they live in an open squad base. And our 15 training is done by platoons, men and women in platoons. A 16 good portion of their training, as we do it now at Parris 17 Island where all our women get trained, they do things with male recruits, the swim tank, the rifle range, the crucible, 18 19 the field training, even now their final fitness exams. So 20 to say that we are segregated I do not believe is a fair statement, but we do do it differently than everybody else. 21 22 That said, we are looking --

23 Senator Warren: Can I just clarify, General? Because 24 I just want to make sure I understand, and I am past my time 25 here, but I want to make sure I understand. Are you saying

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1 no activities are segregated other than sleeping, or are you
2 saying that some activities are segregated and some are not?

3 General Neller: Some are and some are not.

Senator Warren: The question I am asking is whether
you want to take another look at that.

6 General Neller: We are looking at the entire way that 7 we do recruit training, from how we educate and train our 8 drill instructors to how we do the entire program of 9 instruction for men and women.

10 Senator Warren: Thank you, General.

11 Service members who disrespect their fellow service 12 members dishonor the service and dishonor our Nation. And 13 we have got to put an end to this conduct so none of us is 14 here again. Thank you.

15 Chairman McCain: Senator McCaskill?

Senator McCaskill: General, I think there are two issues I want to talk about during my brief time here.

The first one is I want to make sure that you all 18 respond to the point that has been made previously, but the 19 20 idea that this had to be discovered by a journalist and not discovered by you. There is a fundamental flaw in oversight 21 22 in terms of good order and discipline and conduct unbecoming 23 if we are not ferreting out this kind of ugly, ugly representation of the Marine ethos without journalists 24 25 having to do it.

So I will look forward to a plan. And I am going to 1 2 ask my colleagues to join me in a letter to Secretary Mattis 3 because I think this is something that needs to be done in all the services. What are you all doing internally to 4 5 monitor online conduct that is related to active service 6 members, and how are you addressing that in terms of not 7 just the vitriol that was on these sites, but also cyber 8 bullying that could be impacting morale? And I want to get 9 to the bottom of that.

10 The second one is accountability. Now, I am going to 11 tell you a brief story, and that is when I was a prosecutor 12 in Kansas City, I wanted to do more on domestic violence. 13 And the detectives came to me and they said, well, Senator--14 I was not a Senator then -- prosecutor, you need to 15 understand that many times the victim does not want to 16 cooperate, and if we do not have a victim, we cannot 17 prosecute. And I said, well, let us shut down the homicide unit then because we do not have victims in homicide and we 18 figure out a way to make the case. 19

And I bring that up because for 134 and 133, conduct unbecoming and good order and discipline, it does not matter if the victims cooperate. If you can prove that this was an active marine and they went online and said these things and referred to fellow marines in this manner, then I mean, the prosecutor in me tells me you have got a prima facie case.

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And I know you cannot comment on that because of undue influence, but I just want to point out that it is very important to understand that accountability is possible here even if the survivors are not interested in coming forward to be, quote/unquote, part of the case. Could you acknowledge that, General?

7 General Neller: Senator, I understand your point. 8 Again, no excuse, but it would require us to be out there --9 I mean, we surveil our network for people that are passing 10 information. We look for malware. We do a lot of things. 11 That is why Major General Reynolds behind me -- she is our 12 MARFORCYBER commander. Our ability to look at all these 13 potential websites where there is this kind of nefarious, 14 disgusting behavior -- I mean, it goes to the point where 15 there is a certain -- where is the right of the marine to 16 express free speech and where does it go into an illegal 17 act.

18 Senator McCaskill: Well, I get that.

19 General Neller: And so our ability to monitor that.
20 So we are having that discussion now, and I take your point.
21 Senator McCaskill: And I think it is really important,
22 and we can talk about this in closed session more. It is
23 not something that has to be in closed session, but NCIS is
24 the one that I want to talk to about it.

25 We have detectives all over this Nation that are posing

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as bad guys online to catch horrible people that are 1 2 trafficking children and doing other illegal activities. It 3 would not be hard for someone to pose as an active marine 4 looking for a spot where they can see what these guys 5 obviously were interested in looking at. This is something 6 that you could do on a random basis. And once it is known 7 that that is out there, it is amazing the deterrent effect 8 that that would have in terms of this being seen as 9 acceptable.

I also want to say that I think this accountability 10 11 piece -- you know, there are crimes you can deter and there 12 are crimes you cannot deter. I quarantee you you throw some 13 marines out of the Marine Corps, you say you are no longer 14 welcome here and you are dishonorably discharged for this 15 behavior, you do that in a high profile way -- and 16 obviously, I do not want you to comment because I do not 17 want to get into undue influence territory. But let me just say for the record if you go after the active marines that 18 you have evidence on and if they are dishonorably 19 20 discharged, that will begin to send a signal that many of us up here are desperate for you to send. 21

And then I would close, Mr. Chairman, just by pointing out that there has been some progress made. The 2014 SAPRO survey was cited by Senator Gillibrand. I do want to say that in 2015 -- I want to say this for all the survivors out

there -- 77 percent of the survivors that were surveyed in 1 2 2015 recommended that other survivors come forward. So that 3 is a positive that we are having that increase in numbers of survivors advising other survivors to come forward. And I 4 5 wanted to get that publicly on the record today so survivors 6 out there in this incident hear that those who are coming 7 forward who now have services and support available to them 8 can expect a more positive experience as we all try to hold 9 these jerks accountable. And "jerk" is a kind word.

10 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 Chairman McCain: Senator McCaskill has her usual 12 reticence. I thank you for your passion. I thank you for 13 your involvement in this issue for many years. Many of us 14 do appreciate your commitment, Senator McCaskill. Thank 15 you.

16 Senator Peters?

17 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have to agree with my colleagues up here that today 18 is, indeed, a very sad day for the Marine Corps and for our 19 20 services. Without question, disgusting, absolutely reprehensible behavior that needs to be aggressively dealt 21 22 with, and it has to be dealt with immediately. I know, 23 General Neller, you know the entire country is watching today. Although I appreciate your strong words, I know that 24 25 you know that we also need strong action, that words will

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not be enough. We are going to need to immediately take action. In my experience with you, I know that that is the type of leader you are, and we will be working with you in any way that we can to be helpful to you.

5 My colleagues have made some very important points 6 regarding the culture in the Marine Corps. I want to build 7 on that and specifically talk a little bit about recruit 8 training, which has been brought up, particularly though at 9 Parris Island. As all of the witnesses here know, Marine Corps recruits from the eastern half of the United States, 10 11 including my State of Michigan, as well as all female 12 recruits attend basic training at Parris Island in South 13 Carolina. And without question, basic training is the place 14 where the Marine Corps instills its core values. A marine 15 is always a marine. So those are values that stay with that 16 individual for their entire life.

17 Last year, the Marine Corps completed three command-18 level investigations into hazing and abuse of recruits and 19 even hazing among drill instructors at Parris Island. 20 Allegations include the targeted hazing of recruits for 21 their ethnic background or religious beliefs, including a 22 Muslim recruit who was placed in an industrial clothes dryer 23 multiple times.

A separate Muslim recruit from my State of Michigan died at Parris Island by jumping over a stairwell after

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enduring abuse by the marines entrusted to train him. 1 The 2 command investigation into the recruit's death found that, 3 quote, maltreatment by his drill instructor team, leadership failures at multiple levels of command, and administrative 4 5 and process failures contributed to his death. The 6 investigation also found a senior drill instructor at Parris 7 Island taught subordinate drill instructors to, quote, hate 8 recruits -- end of quote -- in order to train them.

9 And I am very concerned that the poor practices in the 10 training of Marine recruits at Parris Island as a result of 11 some of these instances may have contributed to some of the 12 inexcusable behavior that we are discussing today. As you 13 know, General Neller, respect is a fundamental core value, 14 respect for every aspect of that individual.

15 So I know you have referenced a comprehensive review of 16 recruit training, but could you let the panel know what will 17 the scope of this review be, how it will be conducted, and 18 has it already resulted in some corrective actions in 19 recruit training at Parris Island?

20 General Neller: Well, Senator, after the 21 investigation, we sat down and went through and looked at 22 what was going on at recruit training. And what we found 23 was that we had rules and regulations, but there was a 24 failure in leadership and in supervision. So we have done a 25 number of things to clarify what the rules were, what they

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were not. We have increased the supervision at the recruit
 depots and by increasing the numbers of officers. We have
 gone back to look at how we train our drill instructors.

There were some practices that had crept in over time that were not in compliance with the orders. There were a number of officers, to include a battalion and regimental commander, who were relieved due to their inability to maintain good order and discipline and follow the rules and regulations.

10 The individuals that you mentioned, plus others, are in 11 the process of going through the military justice system. 12 And I will leave it at that. And you probably will have 13 read or hear about where they are within that process in the 14 next few weeks.

15 So with this, I hate to say that this provided an 16 opportunity, but again, to look back at, okay, so how does 17 this -- this just does not happen here. It starts somewhere. And so we are in the process, and we are already 18 19 in the process of going back and talking to drill 20 instructors about what it is to lead, what it is to coach, teach, mentor. We have got a number of things we are 21 22 looking at, and we have already implemented as far as 23 changing the attitude. The commanding generals that are there at both San Diego and Parris Island are all in with 24 25 this. They understand what we are trying to do. And I

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1 think they are making progress. But we have to prove that 2 we have changed.

3 So I agree with you that part of this -- part of what 4 has to change at the recruit training and in officer 5 candidate school is a discussion of how we view each other 6 as marines, whatever our race, our gender, whatever, because 7 that is where you learn what right looks like. And so we 8 are in the middle of that. I believe we have a plan. It is 9 not going to change overnight, but it is going to change. Ι am confident of that, and we will correct this. And if 10 11 there are others that do not want to follow the rules, they 12 will be held accountable.

13 So I believe we are headed in the right direction 14 there. But, again, you want to see results. I am 15 responsible to give you those results, and it is not going 16 to happen overnight. But, again, I would ask and invite you 17 to come down and see what we do at Parris Island or San 18 Diego and see some of your Michigan marines because I 19 believe we are on the right path.

20 Senator Peters: Thank you, General.

21 Chairman McCain: Secretary Stackley, thank you for 22 your appearance today and thank you for your input as we 23 recognize the civilian stewardship of our military.

24 Sergeant Major Green, your leadership is probably now 25 more necessary than most times in the past as we repair the

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damage that has been done and to put into proper perspective that this is a terrible thing. And from time to time, these things have happened, but at the same time, we recognize the United States Marine Corps and their service and sacrifice that is going on today as we speak, and we do not want to ever diminish that service and sacrifice that they have made.

General Neller, you came before this committee with candor. We have now, I believe, embarked, thanks to your testimony and your commitment, on an effort that may take a long time. But I think this hearing was an important beginning to fixing a problem that apparently has been out there for some period of time. I believe you are facing it head on.

15 And the one request I have from this committee is that you keep us informed not only of the progress that you make 16 17 but in the challenges that you face because we are looking at a new form of communication amongst our citizens, and it 18 19 is called the Internet. And as I mentioned in my opening 20 statement, it has provided knowledge and information in a way that has never been available before. There is also a 21 22 dark side, and we are looking at the dark side today. 23 And we are going to look forward to your and Secretary Stackley's recommendations if it is necessary to pass 24 25 additional legislation. We cherish the right of all

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citizens to have a right of privacy, but I think when we are seeing this kind of outrageous and offensive behavior, then we need to provide some protection to our fellow citizens and those who have served our country with honor because when we do something like this, we harm the reputation of all. A few have done that and it is our obligation to try to see that this kind of thing is not repeated.

8 Senator Reed?

9 Senator Reed: Mr. Chairman, I simply want to concur and thank you for holding this hearing. It has been very 10 important, and it will be a foundation for further work by 11 12 all the military services, not just the Marine Corps, all 13 the military services, and this Congress to get it right. 14 Chairman McCain: We will meet in 10 minutes in Russell 15 220 to continue this conversation in a classified setting. 16 Thank you. 17 [Whereupon, at 123 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.] 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25