

NOMINATION OF GEN. PHILIP M. BREEDLOVE, USAF, FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE COMMANDER, U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND AND SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER, EUROPE

THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 2013

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m. in room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator Carl Levin (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Senators Levin, Donnelly, Kaine, King, Inhofe, McCain, and Ayotte.

Committee staff members present: Peter K. Levine, staff director; and Leah C. Brewer, nominations and hearings clerk.

Majority staff members present: Joseph M. Bryan, professional staff member; Richard W. Fieldhouse, professional staff member; Michael J. Kuiken, professional staff member; Gerald J. Leeling, general counsel; and William G.P. Monahan, counsel.

Minority staff members present: John A. Bonsell, minority staff director; Steven M. Barney, minority counsel; and Thomas W. Goffus, professional staff member.

Staff assistants present: Jennifer R. Knowles, John L. Principato, and Lauren M. Gillis.

Committee members' assistants present: Jeff Fatora, assistant to Senator Nelson; Marta McLellan Ross, assistant to Senator Donnelly; Karen Courington, assistant to Senator Kaine; Jim Catella, assistant to Senator King; Paul C. Hutton IV, assistant to Senator McCain; Lenwood Landrum, assistant to Senator Sessions; Todd Harmer, assistant to Senator Chambliss; Brad Bowman, assistant to Senator Ayotte; and Craig Abele, assistant to Senator Graham.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR CARL LEVIN, CHAIRMAN

Chairman LEVIN. Good morning, everybody. The committee meets this morning to consider the nomination of General Philip Breedlove, U.S. Air Force, to be Commander of U.S. European Command (EUCOM) and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR). General Breedlove is familiar with the European area of responsibility as he currently serves as Commander, U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE). He is also familiar with the challenges

of wearing more than one hat, as he currently is also Commander, U.S. Air Forces, Africa.

General, we thank you for your 3½ decades of military service and for your willingness to answer the call to serve once again. We thank your wife Cindy, who is also here with you this morning. Your family, as you know better than anybody, their support and their sacrifices make it possible for you to succeed. Please feel free when we call on you for your opening statement to introduce your wife and any of your family or friends that are with you here today.

The next EUCOM Commander and SACEUR, will face significant challenges within a constrained budget environment. We received the President's budget yesterday and, like the budgets passed by the Senate and the House, it does not address the possibility of a \$52 billion sequester next year. If we don't take action to avoid this second sequester, cuts to defense spending will have a real impact on our strategy and programs in the coming years. Despite these cuts, the United States remains committed to our longstanding trans-Atlantic relationship with our European allies and to our mutual defense obligations under Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

General, we'd be interested in your thoughts on the impact of the current sequester and the possibility of a second sequester in fiscal year 2014 on EUCOM's ability to carry out its mission.

Last year the Defense Department announced reductions in the U.S. force posture in Europe, including the removal over the next couple years of two of the four Army brigade combat teams deployed in Europe. In addition, two U.S. Air Force squadrons under General Breedlove's command in Europe were designated for deactivation.

As the United States continues to rebalance its military posture globally, I hope you'd share your thoughts on the ongoing rebalance and what additional revisions, if any, to the U.S. footprint in Europe you would recommend if confirmed.

Nearly all of our North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies have undergone budget cuts of their own in recent years, raising concerns about what the capabilities of the alliance will be when the next crisis arises. Yet, after 10 years of fighting together in Afghanistan, the level of NATO cohesion is high and is unprecedented. One of the major challenges in the coming years will be capturing the lessons learned from these coalition operations and maintaining current levels of interoperability within the alliance.

The NATO mission in Afghanistan is entering a critical phase in the coming months, with the transition to Afghan security forces taking the lead on security throughout the country later this spring and coalition forces shifting to an advisory mission between now and the end of the International Security Assistance Force mission by the end of 2014.

The next NATO SACEUR will play a critical role in ensuring the smooth implementation of NATO's "in together, out together" policy for the Afghanistan mission and in shaping the post-2014 mission in Afghanistan which was discussed at the NATO defense ministers meeting in February.

While Syria is not in EUCOM's area, its impact is felt by key allies in the EUCOM region, including Turkey and Israel. As the

civil war in Syria rages on, President Assad and his increasingly small inner circle are resorting to the use of Scud missiles, air strikes, and other indiscriminate capabilities that terrorize innocent Syrians and increase further the flow of refugees out of Syria.

Last year the alliance agreed to deploy Patriot missile batteries to defend Turkey against potential action by Assad. This action by NATO is commendable, but it's not enough. The United States needs to build a coalition to ramp up the military pressure on the Assad regime, and I hope our allies in NATO will join this effort. The Arab League has already stripped the Assad regime of its seat at the Arab League and invited the Syrian opposition as the legitimate representative of the Syrian people.

General, if confirmed as Supreme Allied Commander for all NATO military operations, you will be confronted with these issues and we look forward to hearing from you on this matter today as well.

At the Lisbon summit in 2010, NATO agreed to develop missile defense capability to defend NATO European territory, population, and military forces. This is essential to protect our forward-deployed forces, allies, and partners against the existing and emerging regional missile threat from Iran. To achieve that commitment, NATO agreed to develop and finance a command and control system and the United States is contributing Phases 1 through 3 of the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) to missile defense, which remain on track to protect NATO Europe by 2018, with its defense sites in Romania and Poland.

Secretary Hagel recently stated that our commitment to NATO missile defense, "remains ironclad". He also announced that the United States no longer plans to deploy Phase 4 of the EPAA, because Phase 4 was designed to protect the United States, not Europe, and we can achieve enhanced protection of the United States from a potential Iranian long-range missile sooner by deploying 14 additional ground-based interceptors in Alaska. General Breedlove, we're interested to know your views on that issue.

As part of its 2010 Lisbon agreement, NATO also invited Russia to cooperate on missile defense. Although NATO and Russia have had different views on missile defense, there are numerous successful areas of U.S.-Russian and NATO-Russian military cooperation and the NATO-Russia Council continues to have active discussions on missile defense cooperation, including a joint theater missile defense exercise program.

The United States and NATO believe that cooperation on missile defense can enhance the security of both NATO and Russia and such cooperation could also send a vitally important signal to Iran that we are united in opposition to any Iranian efforts to acquire nuclear weapons and long-range missiles.

Other challenges facing the next EUCOM Commander and SACEUR include continuing and strengthening bilateral and NATO efforts: to counter transnational threats from terrorism; to prevent illicit trafficking, including the flow of narcotics from South Asia and elsewhere through Southeastern Europe; to counter cyber threats, including to the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defense Center of Excellence in Estonia; to counter piracy; and to maintain strategic assets, the key transit facilities for global operations, particu-

larly in support of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM).

We all look forward to your testimony today, General, on these and other issues, and again we thank you for your continuing willingness to serve our Nation.

Senator Inhofe.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR JAMES M. INHOFE

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We are faced with a little bit of a problem this morning in that at 10:30 we have a Committee on Environment and Public Works meeting and there are five members on the Republican side alone that will be going back and forth, as I've already explained to General Breedlove. So we'll be moving around a little bit.

I enjoyed very much meeting your beautiful wife and two daughters. I guess Dave is there somewhere; is that right? Yes. I didn't mean to sell you short. I just kind of walked by you to the beauty. [Laughter.] Anyway, it's nice to have your family here with you.

As I look at Iran, North Korea, and al Qaeda, as you and I talked in my office, and Mali and the conflict in the Central African Republic, and 70,000 dead in Syria, I can't understand how the President thinks that, "The tide of war is receding." On my recent trip to Korea we visited the demilitarized zone, which as you know from your time in Korea is anything but demilitarized. On my visit to North Africa we discussed the problems there, and none would indicate that the tide of war is receding. If this is what receding looks like, I'd hate to see what a threat looks like.

Through my extensive travel in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East and Asia, the critical importance of U.S. engagement and leadership abroad is readily apparent and the security dividends of our investment in NATO include the multinational operations in Afghanistan and Libya and counter-piracy missions in the Horn of Africa. I do want to cover that in my questions to you because it's probably even more extensive than people realize. It's clear that the future operations we conduct in Africa and the Middle East will be from Europe and with Europe.

I don't remember a time when the world was more dangerous than it is now. I can remember people saying that in the past, but it's for real now. Yet due in part to the wrong perception that the tide of the war is receding, we are poised to cut our defense budget by, if you take what has already been done and what we're looking at in sequestration, about a trillion dollars. I agree with our former Secretary of Defense it's devastating to our defense. While our military commanders have done a phenomenal job with the hand that they are dealt, we owe them a better hand.

Unfortunately, the President released a budget yesterday that's symbolic of his last 4 years in office. It highlights his failure to address the unprecedented resource challenges facing our military. His proposal continues his unfortunate history of saddling the men and women of our military with disproportionate and illogical budget cuts that would undermine their readiness and their capabilities.

As you and I talked about in my office, four of the six U.S. fighter squadrons stationed in Europe have been grounded, and our

tanker and airlift squadrons will revert from full mission capable to a greatly reduced status of basic mission capable. The lack of resources will make EUCOM's support of AFRICOM even more difficult. We'll have a chance to talk about that and I've expressed to you my concern there.

Over the long term, I'm greatly concerned that we'll squander our investment of our national blood and treasure in Afghanistan by precipitously drawing down the troops' capability similar to what we saw in Africa.

Now, when you're confirmed, General Breedlove, you'll be charged with guiding the most successful alliance in history through a difficult fiscal environment and be responsible for ensuring that our efforts in Afghanistan over the last decade will not have been in vain. I can't think of anyone who is more up to this very difficult task than you are, and so I'm looking forward to the successes that we'll see through your leadership in this new position.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Senator Inhofe follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT BY SENATOR JAMES M. INHOFE

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I join you in welcoming General Breedlove, who has amassed an impressive record of service. General, I thank you for your continued willingness to serve the country. Please ensure the brave men and women you lead know how grateful we are for their sacrifice, and that of their families, on behalf of our national security.

General Breedlove, we no longer have the luxury of operating in a bipolar world as we did during the Cold War—when you were cutting your teeth as a second lieutenant and when the threats to the Homeland were clear. Now, more than ever, the threats in the areas of responsibility around the globe are interconnected. What happens in Europe, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific and Africa has the potential to directly impact the security of the U.S. Homeland.

I have a hard time squaring the reality of an aggressive Iran, a bellicose Kim Jong Un, a war against al Qaeda in Mali (AQIM), armed conflict in the Central African Republic, continuing frozen conflicts in Azerbaijan, and 70,000 dead in Syria, with the President's statement that "the tide of war is receding." On my trip to Korea in January, we visited the DMZ, which as you know from your extensive time in Korea, is anything but demilitarized. It was obvious when we visited Taiwan that based on the number of missiles pointing at us from China, the Chinese don't think that the "tide of war is receding." On our visit to Northern Africa, we discussed AQIM, Boko Haram, and al Shabaab—none of which would tell you that the "tide of war is receding." If the "tide of war is receding," I'd hate to see what it looks like when the President decides it is coming in.

Iran is determined to develop a nuclear weapon, despite growing international pressure and the damage sanctions are doing to its economy. Public intelligence reports tell us that they could have a ballistic missile capable of reaching the east coast of the United States by 2015. Although I'm encouraged that the President reversed his earlier misguided decision and is now seeking to bolster our homeland missile defense system through fourteen additional ground-based interceptors on the west coast, I remain deeply concerned about our ability to defend against the growing threat from Iran. Restoration of the original planned number of missiles on the west coast helps but is late to need and does not go far enough. We need the additional protection that an east coast site would provide.

Throughout my extensive travels to Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, it has been readily apparent how critically important it is for the United States to remain engaged and a leader abroad. The return on that investment abroad is exemplified by the troop contributions of over 50 nations from around the globe to the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has served as an invaluable partner and critical platform to integrate the contributions of troops and military capabilities to bolster operations in Afghanistan, while at the same time operations in Afghanistan have transformed the expeditionary capabilities of NATO. The security dividends of our investment in NATO

include combined operations in Afghanistan, Libya, and counter piracy missions off the Horn of Africa. It is clear that whatever future operations we conduct in North Africa and the Middle East will be from Europe, and with Europe.

While the threats that our witness is tasked with confronting are growing in scope and complexity, the resources available to deal with them are decreasing. I don't remember a time when the world has been more dangerous and the threats more complex. Yet, due in part to the misperception that the tide of war is receding, we are poised to cut our defense budget by a trillion dollars over the next 10 years. The misguided policy of the President is the relentless pursuit of disarmament. As we diminish our defense industrial base, China and Russia increase theirs; nurturing militant adventurism that ultimately our military commanders must address. While our military commanders on the ground have done a phenomenal job with the hand that they were dealt; we owe them a better hand.

I remain concerned that we have a strategy-resource disconnect that puts military lives and our national interests at risk. As we speak, four of six U.S. fighter squadrons stationed in Europe have been grounded and our tanker and airlift squadrons will revert from full mission capable to a greatly reduced status of basic mission capable. This lack of resources will make U.S. European Command support to U.S. Africa Command even more difficult and further reduce our ability to react to contingencies similar to Benghazi. Over the longer term, I am also greatly concerned that we'll squander our investment of national blood and treasure in Afghanistan by a precipitous draw down of troops and capabilities similar to what we saw in Iraq.

If confirmed, General Breedlove, you will be charged with stewardship of the most successful alliance in history and be responsible for ensuring that our efforts in Afghanistan have not been in vain. As we saw very clearly in Libya last year, our strategic partnership and strategic access in Europe is the linchpin for our engagement in some of the most volatile regions in the world today. What I'm getting at here General is that there will be no shortage of challenges facing you and the men and women you will lead. The threats are growing, and the tools available to address them are declining.

I look to you to provide the committee with your assessment of how the ongoing budget crisis will impact your ability to effectively address national security challenges and whether the current strategies that you are operating under are still executable given the budget realities.

Thank you again for appearing before us today and I look forward to your testimony.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.
General.

STATEMENT OF GEN. PHILIP M. BREEDLOVE, USAF, FOR RE-APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE COMMANDER, U.S. EUROPEAN COMMAND, AND SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER, EUROPE

General BREEDLOVE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Inhofe, and distinguished members of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

I would like to introduce my family, sir. I'd like to introduce first my wife, Cindy. She's been beside me for 34 years. She's moved our household 21 times, 9 of those times across the oceans, and she completely raised the 3 wonderful children who have already been acknowledged, Samantha, Rebecca, and Daniel. I know that I would not be here today without her and my family.

I'm honored to have my oldest daughter, Samantha, here. She's a world-class triathlete in my mind. Her husband Kevin serves in the Army National Guard and has accomplished two 1-year tours in Iraq.

I'm also honored to have with me my daughter, Rebecca, and my son-in-law, Clay, both of whom proudly serve their Nation as lieutenants in the U.S. Air Force. Clay is a third generation Air Force

officer. His father, Master Sergeant Mike Hardy, is also here with him today.

My son Daniel is here and is a freshman in college and he makes me proud every day with what he does.

Chairman LEVIN. Is he going to the University of Michigan, I hope?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, no, sir. I'm off to a bad start. [Laughter.]

Senator DONNELLY. We have some other suggestions for that as well.

General BREEDLOVE. My mother-in-law, Ms. Lib Thompson, is here today with us as well. Her husband, Don Thompson, now deceased, served in the Marine Corps and they have both supported Cindy and I throughout our Air Force career.

Ms. Regina Hagerty is also here in support. She has been a part of our family for over 28 years, since her husband was my most influential commander in my early years.

Finally, I'm proud to have Chief Master Sergeant Craig Adams here. He is the most important half of my command team at USAFE.

It's a tremendous honor for me to be here today and I'm humbled to have been nominated by our Commander in Chief for the position of Commander of U.S. European Command and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. Allow me to publicly thank Secretary Hagel and General Dempsey for their recommendation and for their trust and confidence. I'd also like to say thank you to Admiral Jim Stavridis for his 36 years of service to our country. His leadership of our joint and coalition forces as our longest serving combatant commander has truly been inspiring.

The nations of Europe make up the majority of an alliance key to our collective defense strategy. They have been our most reliable allies for over 70 years. These partnerships are irreplaceable. We cannot rebalance or pivot towards Asia without Europe.

I have served in Europe for a third of my career and if confirmed this will be my eighth assignment. I have worked hand in hand with our partner nations to advance U.S. and alliance objectives. While it's a tremendous honor to be nominated to this position, I believe leadership is a responsibility that must be earned through action, a daunting task for anyone selected to lead the great men and women responsible for a coalition that has ensured the trans-Atlantic security of our Nation and its allies.

If confirmed, I fully acknowledge the significance of our mission in Europe and your expectations of me as a commanding general. Cindy and I pledge to give nothing less than our all to live up to decades-long standards of excellence. Our soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coastguardsmen who selflessly serve deserve nothing less than everything I have to offer.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and the committee, for allowing me to appear before you today and I look forward to your questions.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, General.

Our timing system worked very well yesterday, so we'll continue. We thank Senator Inhofe for that suggestion to use this highly advanced technology, which has been here for probably 20 years without use by this committee. [Laughter.]

General, last month Senator McCain and I sent a letter to the President urging him to work with NATO and our regional partners to pursue additional options in Syria, including the following options: to degrade the Assad regime's air power with precision air strikes or the possible use of Patriot missile batteries; to target Syrian aircraft and missiles; to create with Turkey's initiative, a safe zone within Syria, with a limited no-fly zone; to provide additional assistance to vetted opposition groups.

Can you give us your personal assessment of these options? Are they viable and are they desirable in your professional military opinion?

General BREEDLOVE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the question. We have six batteries of Patriots in Turkey at this time and they are reacting to and under the command of my NATO element, Headquarters Allied Air Command (AIRCOM) NATO. They are voluntary national contributions to an Article 4 request by Turkey to participate in the defense of a stalwart ally.

Two of those batteries are U.S. batteries and four are NATO. In order to be able to use any of those batteries in a safe zone protection of Syria, of course, we would have to engage Turkey and NATO about the four additional batteries. As you and I have discussed, sir, clearly the U.S. batteries could be used in a role to project into Syria. They have the capability to do it. Their range is somewhat limited, as we have discussed, at doing that, but they have full capability to do that. If Turkey and the United States were to look at doing this in a bilateral fashion or if we could convince our NATO partners to come alongside of us to also be a part of that, then we could do that.

The fact of the matter of being able to project power into Syria is physically possible. There is both good and bad at creating this impression into Syria. I think that it enables some of the things that we discussed that you are concerned about as far as a safe zone in northern Syria. What it would do is ask us then to reorient the defense away from what they are defending now, and I guess that's the down side of reorienting where those Patriots are.

Creating a no-fly zone. I think General Mattis in his last testimony to this committee put it pretty much the way I see it: A safe zone could create opportunity to engage with the opposition, but creating a safe zone in northern Syria would have to be much more than Patriots. It would probably require fixed wing air and other capabilities that we would have to bring to the problem.

As I know you and I have talked and your staff have talked, creating a no-fly zone first starts with having to take down the integrated air defense system of the enemy, which would be something that would have to be done kinetically. I know that CENTCOM has thought through those issues and their recommendation at this point is they don't see a military value in that.

Chairman LEVIN. Excuse me. CENTCOM has said they don't see a military value in taking down air defenses of Syria—I'm sorry.

General BREEDLOVE. I'm sorry, Senator. Let me say that a different way. What they have said is they don't believe that there are good military options or outcomes by creating a no-fly zone.

Chairman LEVIN. Over a safe zone?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir.

Chairman LEVIN. Who have they said that to?

General BREEDLOVE. I think, Senator, that was General Mattis in this committee. Maybe I have that wrong.

Chairman LEVIN. Yes, I don't think so. But we'll review that testimony. Senator McCain I know has been very actively involved in this issue.

Senator MCCAIN. Let me. Could I?

Chairman LEVIN. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. With your indulgence, sir, General Mattis said, "The United States and our allies could identify and destroy quite a fair amount of Assad's operational aircraft on the ground using precision strike and standoff weaponry," General. So your statement is in direct contradiction to what General Mattis said in testimony and has told me.

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, I sit corrected. You have it exactly right, what General Mattis said in your testimony.

Chairman LEVIN. Okay, thank you for that important clarification. The stakes here are very significant.

Yesterday an administration spokesman, senior administration official, said that, "The President has directed his national security team to identify additional measures so that we can increase assistance." I would hope that would happen quickly, and I know Senator McCain and other members of this committee have spoken on this subject as well.

I'll leave the subject of Syria, I'll leave it at this point, in order to be able to ask some additional questions. But we do hope, General, that when you're confirmed that you will take back to our NATO allies the feeling of many members of this committee, who will all speak for themselves, and hopefully by then an administration position that we be much more forward-leaning in terms of putting additional military pressure on Assad, which would really require NATO support, and it obviously would require Turkey to decide that it is willing to create a safe zone in northern Syria, providing it has NATO support. We would hope that you would be able and ought to make this case to NATO as we've just outlined.

On the missile defense issue, on European missile defense, is it your assessment that our European allies are supportive of our new missile defense policy in Europe?

General BREEDLOVE. Mr. Chairman, thank you again for that question. I have talked to numerous of the major allies that are a part of AIRCOM since AIRCOM, which is my NATO current hat, is in charge of the missile defense, which is in its nascent form now, our initial capability. As I understand the feedback from all of my NATO counterparts at this point, as long as we remain steadfast in our support to Phases 1 through 3, which was the portion of the missile defense that was about Europe, as long as we are unfaltering in our support to proceed apace with those first three phases, our NATO partners are comfortable with the announcement.

Chairman LEVIN. That is our new policy, is that correct?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir.

Chairman LEVIN. In your response to prehearing questions you said that we should continue to seek zones of cooperation with Russia and that we should continue to believe that cooperation with

Russia on missile defense could enhance the security of both NATO and Russia. Can you describe ways in which you believe that missile defense cooperation and transparency with Russia could enhance our security, including whether such cooperation could send a powerful signal to Iran that we oppose jointly, NATO and Russia oppose Iran acquiring nuclear weapons and long-range missiles?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I agree with the opening statement that was made, and that is that we have to find ways to cooperate with Russia. I think in the opening statement it made reference to the signal to Iran. What a powerful signal to Iran if the U.S. and Russia were cooperating on missile technology and missile defense.

I think we do need to press hard to move forward with that. I've started in my current job connecting to senior Russian leaders and actually have hosted at my headquarters there their commander of long-range aviation as a first step to get to the senior leadership. I'm committed, if confirmed, to continue that pursuit to bring Russia alongside of us in these important endeavors.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you.

Senator Inhofe.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your drawing attention to the family. I think a lot of people don't understand the sacrifices that are made. To me, Cindy, when I hear something like you've been married for 34 years and moved 25 times or whatever it was, it's inconceivable to me. My wife and I have been married 54 years and we've never moved. Same house that we were originally in. It's hard to see that. But that's a lifestyle that you've become accustomed to and you've made great sacrifices.

I'm not going to do it, but for the record, because of your current position, not the position for which you will be confirmed, I hope, I am concerned about where we are in our Phase 1, 2, 3, and 4, and the fact that cancellation of the fourth phase in terms of the capability of our SM-3s, the 1A, the 2B, 2As, and what we don't have. I'd like to get, for the record, from your past experience where you really think that puts us today. You and I talked about this in the office, but I'd like to have it down so that we can have that in writing.

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I have that for the record.

Senator INHOFE. All right, sir. That's good.

[The information referred to follows:]

After announcement of the change to European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) by Secretary Hagel, it is clear that the U.S. contribution to defense of NATO Europe will be unaffected. Phases 1-3 of the EPAA will still provide defense of Europe, and Phase 3 in particular will allow coverage of all European NATO populations and territory to the extent technically feasible. The indefinite hold on Phase IV does not affect deployment of Phases 1-3.

The goal of EPAA Phase 4 was defense of the United States against an intercontinental ballistic missile attack from the Middle East. We will now meet that goal sooner by additional ground-based interceptors deployed in the United States, which will also enhance protection of the United States against the growing threat from North Korea.

- The U.S. European Command has already deployed a radar to Turkey and Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense ships to the Mediterranean Sea as part of Phase 1.
- The United States stated commitment to Phases 1-3 includes the development of Aegis Ashore sites in Romania (2015 timeframe) for Phase 2 and in Poland (2018 timeframe) for Phase 3.

- As Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (Dr.) Miller stated at a press conference, “We will still go forward, as planned, with Phases 1–3. Phase 3 for the European Phase-Adaptive Approach will involve deploying about 24 SM–3 IIA interceptors, SM–3 interceptors including the IIA in Poland. Same timeline, same footprint of U.S. forces to support that.”

Senator INHOFE. Now, you mentioned in my office and I mentioned in my opening statement that four of the six U.S. fighter squadrons stationed in Europe have been grounded—and our tanker and airlift squadrons will revert from full missile capability to a greatly reduced status for basic mission capability—how long does it take to make that up?

I’m thinking more because of my personal background in what’s happening to our fighter squadrons stationed in Europe, because you have a problem. You’re going to have to get them back up ready. What do you do with them during this period of time? You have four of them that are down there and you also have the pilots. There’s only so much you can do on simulation. What do you do with them and how long will it take you to get back and the kind of comparable cost should we see fit to address this in our National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2014?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, it is a great question and we have been thinking about this ever since we have begun to contemplate that we would have ground forces. As I have explained to some, the forces actually degrade over time. Our youngest pilots after about 30 days lose their qualifications. Our older pilots after about 45 days, they lose their qualifications.

Once they lose their landing qualifications and other combat skill qualifications, then we essentially have to put them through a re-qualification process. If we were to receive funding to be able to start flying them very shortly after they’re grounded, that would be a shorter process. If we had to wait all the way to the end of the fiscal year to get budget authority for flying hours in the next fiscal year and they are grounded for say 3½ months, then it would be much longer.

We’ve looked at that, sir, and I think for the fighter aviation a rough number is 2 months, a little more than 2 months to get the squadron back on track. For the lift squadron, when they lose some of their exquisite capabilities like paradrop, precision drop, supporting the Army in their parachute training, etcetera, those are harder to regain simply because we have to get the training opportunities to do it. It’s not like you can just fly sorties the next day. We have to marry with the Army and other things. That could take significantly longer, and that concerns me, Senator.

Senator INHOFE. I think that as we go into our development of our NDAA and we start our discussions, we want to get from you some more specifics, because should we do what I consider to be the responsible thing, we need to know the costs and what we have sacrificed in this interim period of time.

Just one real question I normally do ask. It’s becoming less relevant, but it still is relevant. That is on the sequestration. If we were, as I suggested some 7 weeks ago, able to take the same top line and give the commanders in the field more flexibility, would that—I have talked to all the Service Chiefs. I have them on record here. But would you agree with them that it would be far less dev-

astating if we could have some flexibility at the discretion of the Service Chiefs?

General BREEDLOVE. I do, Senator.

Senator INHOFE. One of the areas that I've been very much concerned with is, of course, in AFRICOM. You'll have that responsibility. It's an awesome responsibility because of your shrunken resources and the problems that are happening there. Now, we're used to problems in Africa. We've never, prior to September 11, really addressed them to any real degree.

Everyone is aware of what happened in Somalia. They're aware of piracy on the east coast. But, as you and I talked, I'm reminded when I go over there that, with the new finds of the oil and the resources in West Africa, we have a new problem that's developing there and that's piracy in West Africa.

Now, just when you look at the fact that you are up in Stuttgart and you have to get your resources down to that huge continent of Africa, how are you going to handle that? It's hard enough as it is today, but as this expands, and with the resources you have—and I'm talking about maybe lift resources. Maybe this is something we need to reevaluate.

How can you handle that with these new problems coming in, that vast continent of Africa?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir. I think that my last several assignments in USAFE where we supported Africa before AFRICOM and now as the Africa commander, I have learned the definition of geography and what geography means, time, distance, and heading. I often show a picture, a map of Africa, where you can literally put almost exactly four continental United States in the continent of Africa. I understand now as an operational commander just how hard access is to Africa even if it's unopposed. Time, distance, and heading becomes a real problem.

Being able to have forces forward deployed in the southern tier of USAFE so that they can reach into Africa is incredibly important. Our basing in these southern states—Spain, Italy, and others—are critical to us. I believe that we are now in northern Africa looking to see where are there lily pads inside of Africa that we can establish relationships with nations whereby when we need to we can move forces forward, to cut that time, distance, and heading problem down.

Senator INHOFE. I think that's important because that's a moving target. Not long ago no one was really concerned about Mali and Chad and some of that area in there. However, we are. When we look at the five African brigades that we originally talked about building, not that we're on schedule for doing it, which would be another question for the record, it concerns me that we are already to the point where you have to have these resources, you have to have them developed.

Initially when we, as you well know and most of the people at this table know, when we established AFRICOM, it would have been better to have that headquarters down more centrally located, maybe even in Africa, maybe in Ethiopia. But we know the political problems down there that made that impossible.

With the reduction in the resources that are already there and the escalating problems already in eastern Africa, but now in West

Africa, that's going to be one that's going to be a huge problem for you. I'd like to have you be sure to let us know as we go into the development for 2014 just what those problems are so we can help you to address those problems when that time comes.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

For everyone's information, the vote is now scheduled at 11:00 o'clock.

Senator Donnelly.

Senator DONNELLY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General, thank you for your service, and to all of your family. I noted that you graduated from college the same year I did. I consider you as young as I am, and it's wonderful to see your family here with you today.

You will help in your new position coordinating our reduction in forces from Afghanistan. As we look at that process moving forward, what do you consider as the most significant challenges for the Afghan army, for the police, for their government, as we move forward in this process?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, it's a great question. As we look at what are the sizes that are being contemplated for the long-term force structure and what are the capabilities that are being contemplated, it is center in our discussion. I think first and foremost we need to continue the pressure on making sure the professionalism of the military meets the requirements of the Nation. I think that, quite frankly, we are doing pretty good there in the armed forces piece and we have some work to do in the Afghan police piece.

But we need to make the military creditable, capable, and responsive and appear creditable to the Nation of Afghanistan and the people that they would protect. I would offer that their recent performance in the military realm has been quite respectable. Almost 90 percent of the nation now is back to the Afghans. They have led now some very large formation attacks and complex military maneuvers, which are fairly encouraging in this matter.

Senator DONNELLY. Do you have, as we move forward on this, almost a set of metrics as we head closer toward the end of 2014, that at this point we hope to be here, at this point we hope to be here?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, the short answer is no, I do not. But I know that Joe Dunford, who is a long-time friend, we have served together many times, I know that he is working on that. If confirmed, my pledge is to get there to talk to Joe and then go down and see Lloyd Austin immediately thereafter, to do just that: How can we develop metrics and thoughts that will inform this Congress and inform our leadership on the way to go ahead?

Senator DONNELLY. What do you see as the biggest challenge in this process of transition?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, my initial response now, not having been there, will be colored by the color of my uniform. As I talk to the other NATO nations and as I have talked to the commanders there in my past trips as an Air Force officer, they are very concerned about enablers. They are very concerned about being able to do the intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance that we do,

to be able to do the personnel recovery that we do, to do the medevac that we do, inter- and intra-theater airlift.

These are all things that they are not capable of doing and that NATO has been providing by and large during the time, and I think those are things that we need to be concerned about.

Senator DONNELLY. Admiral Stavridis had told us a few weeks ago that the remaining bases in EUCOM were forward operating bases needed for access and that we could conceivably draw down further. I met with the Army this week and they briefed us on their plans. Their plans, they told me, were to reduce the infrastructure in the region by 51 percent between now and 2016. How do we match those goals and the previous testimony that we heard?

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, let me just talk to what I've been doing as the air commander there and what I've watched my fellow commanders around do the same thing. When I took command about 9 months ago, I immediately started looking at what is the enduring mission of USAFE as it supports Africa and Europe and the Middle East, the Eastern Med, and Africa?

I do believe that we have more infrastructure that we can draw down in the Air Force. I have heard my fellow component commanders speak to the same. I know very much less about what Bruce Clingan is looking at in the Navy, but I do know that the Army thinks that they can bring down further.

I think it's in all of our best interests to do that, because these bases cost money and the infrastructure that we can draw down saves money for flying aircraft.

Senator DONNELLY. One of the things I just want to try to get your commitment for, the Indiana National Guard, we're extraordinarily proud of them. They have ongoing relationships with European state partners, and I just want to make sure that we can get your commitment that the longstanding relationships between National Guard units and the European state partnership countries will remain with the Guard as we move forward.

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, I can absolutely assure you in that respect. For EUCOM, 21 state partnership programs servicing 22 nations. As I talked to the staff in preparation for this hearing, they tell me that literally one-quarter of our interaction with our partners are done by the state partnership program.

[The information referred to follows:]

During the hearing, I referred to 21 state partnership programs servicing 22 nations in the U.S. European Command area of responsibility. I misspoke and should have said there are 23 state partnership programs.

General BREEDLOVE. Specifically in the Air Command, I could not run by air operations center either in peacetime or in conflict without the support of two Guard units that bring people and expertise to my area of command.

Senator DONNELLY. As we look at Syria, obviously we're concerned with all the border areas, but one of the border areas that we're concerned about conflict threatening to boil over is in Israel. We are wondering the coordination between EUCOM and the Israeli Defense Forces, as well as coordination with our other friends and allies in the area. What kind of coordination is occur-

ring now and what do you plan moving forward in this extremely challenging situation?

General BREEDLOVE. The coordination level now is higher than I've ever seen it. I have been participating in working with Israel since I was a colonel in Europe. I have flown in Juniper Falcon from Nevatim Air Base twice in my life during large exercises with Israel.

At the senior staff level, in preparation for last year's Austere Challenge 12, which you have heard billed as the largest missile defense exercise ever, we could not have been more tightly lashed to Israel in how we plan to do missile defense of that area should we need to.

I think that it is very strong. It continues to grow stronger and it should as we bring ourselves closer and closer together, to dealing with a neighborhood that has been altered, I think, by the Arab Spring.

Senator DONNELLY. Right. That's with our other allies, too, I presume.

I'm almost out of time, so I want to ask you one last question. As you look at this region, as you look at your new potential command, what is your greatest concern as you look, as you move ahead? What keeps you up at night, other than your children?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I think my first focus is going to be getting the transition in Afghanistan right. I need to get over there, engage with the commanders, come back and engage with the leadership here in Congress and our Nation, and make sure that we have force sizing, drawdown schedules, and what we leave behind in residual capability right. I have to focus on that.

I'm running over a little bit, but, sir, I think it's really important that as we begin this drawdown in Afghanistan that we don't take a peace dividend and, as was mentioned in the opening comments, back way off of the gains that we have made with our European allies in interoperability and their investment in defense and in participating in Afghanistan.

Senator DONNELLY. General, thank you. To your family, thank you very much for all your service.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Donnelly.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, General, for you and your family's service. You mentioned all the different duty stations and I'm sure that your time at Luke Air Force was by far the most enjoyable of all of those.

General, I mentioned to you in my office both Admiral Stavridis and General Mattis have been very candid with this committee, which is one of the questions that's asked of you on your confirmation. I hope you will follow in their footsteps, and I would remind you again on the issue of Syria. Admiral Stavridis testified before this committee that Patriot missile batteries could be deployed from their current positions closer to the border with Syria, where they could help defend civilian populations in Syria and serve as a powerful deterrent to Syrian pilots. Do you agree with that?

General BREEDLOVE. I do, Senator.

Senator MCCAIN. Can Patriot missiles shoot down Scud missiles?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir. In fact that's their primary duty as they're aligned right now.

Senator MCCAIN. Can they shoot down aircraft?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir, they can.

Senator MCCAIN. General Mattis also testified that a fair amount of Assad's operational aircraft could be destroyed on the ground using standoff weaponry. Do you agree with that statement?

General BREEDLOVE. I do, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. So we really aren't putting pilots at risk and there's not a requirement to take out the air defenses around Damascus in order to assure the security of a no-fly zone. I think we all know that if pilots think they're going to fly into areas where their risk is incredibly high, as it would be with the Patriot missile and other capabilities, they would not do that.

Both former Secretary of Defense Panetta and General Dempsey, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, both testified before this committee that they had supported supplying weapons to the rebels. Have you reached a conclusion on that? In Syria?

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, I think that if we could assure that the weapons were going to the right people and that we would not have to face them in the future, that it would be helpful to removing the regime.

Senator MCCAIN. I thank you for that answer. Obviously, the best way to assure that would be if there were a safe zone, such as Benghazi was in Libya, for the resistance to organize and control the flow of weapons. I think we all know, and I know you agree, that the situation has worsened over time, to the point where the jihadists are playing a greater and greater role in Syria, which obviously post-Assad, which will happen some day, is going to be incredibly complicated.

Do you believe that, as opposed to 2 years ago, that Lebanon and Jordan are more or less stable than they were before the last 2 years?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I would say they are less stable, not because their intent is not good, but there is so much instability with the Arab Spring and, sir, a pretty large refugee problem at this point.

Senator MCCAIN. Of course you are aware that the Russians continue their flow of weapons into Bashar Assad's forces; and even now, later reports that the Iranians are not only providing weapons, but they're training, actually training people in Iran and sending them back into Syria. Have you heard those reports?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I have not, but I do know that in general we would not categorize Russia's support to us as helpful in this area now. I am not privy to those reports yet.

Senator MCCAIN. I think it's good to give them flack jackets. I don't think there's any way that can really seriously affect the equation on the ground. I—well, my opinion is well known.

General Mattis recommended 13,600 U.S. troops and about half as many international troops in post-2014 Afghanistan to do counterterrorism and train and assist missions. Have you had a chance to look at that assessment of General Mattis?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I have looked at General Mattis' testimony and other thoughts on 13,600. I think that it relates back to

a comment I made earlier, Senator, that I think that our eventual number in Afghanistan is yet to be determined, but influencing that will be do we remain at 352,000 in the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) or do we come down to what was proposed at the Chicago summit of 230,000 and when that happens. If we keep the ANSF high through 2018, it should give us more flexibility on numbers. If we don't keep the ANSF number high, then that would probably cause input.

Senator MCCAIN. One of the things that is a little frustrating to some of us is we're sort of seeing a repeat of the Iraq scenario, in that we delay and delay and delay on these decisions. Meanwhile it puts Karzai and our friends in the region in an uncertain position. I hope that as soon as you are confirmed that you would in the deliberations urge a decision soon on the post-2014. We're into 2013. We need to have a firm decision as to what our troop strengths are going to be, what our presence, and what their role is going to be. I greatly fear the same kind of unraveling that we are seeing in Iraq today.

Finally, you made a very strong statement to me in my office when we had the pleasure of our visit about sequestration. You mentioned that certain squadrons are having to stand down, that there are certainly decisions having to be made that are basically no-win decisions.

When I asked you about the effect, especially since you have a couple of young members of your family here, the effect of sequestration on the decisions that these young officers, junior officers and mid-level officers, are going to be making about whether to remain in the Air Force and in the military, what's your personal view of that particular situation?

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, it's a great question and I'm happy to have an opportunity to comment. As I took command, the chief and I, we got out and talked to our troops. What I will do is just report to you things that I'm hearing from the troops. This concerns them greatly. It concerns them, will we have the wherewithal to do what we do? Will we be able to continue educational benefits that we thought were a part of our business? Will we be able to train and fight at the level that we expected to train and fight at?

I would just say that, from the number of questions that the chief and I got as we have circulated the battlefield forward and in Europe, that this is a concern on the mind of our troops. I am concerned that it will impact the long-term retention, health, and welfare of our troops.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, General.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator McCain.

Senator King.

Senator KING. First, General, thank you very much for your service, and I am delighted to have you here. I, too, was struck by the number of times you moved. I, as a young man, worked on a moving truck for Allied Van Lines and we used to say that four moves equals a fire. You've been through it.

As NATO reflects—and you mentioned this a bit in your testimony—on the experience in Afghanistan, what are the major

learnings from that experience and how do you see that reflecting itself in future activities?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, there are a couple of very positives that I think we should take from this experience. First of all, NATO in general and some of the partners has become much more interoperable. Much more of the troops have come up to the same level of standards. We use an acronym "TTP" for "tactics, techniques, and procedures". We have standardized tactics, techniques, and procedures. We have brought their special forces very close to the level of ours. Their joint tactical air controllers (JTAC) on the ground, are acting almost interchangeably with our U.S. JTACs.

I think the most positive gain out of a horrific situation is that our alliance has really begun to be much more jelled in its ability to employ interactively and mixed together because of the skill and capability of all.

Sir, I would tell you that's also my number one concern. You asked about my concerns. That is that if we come out of Afghanistan we cannot allow what we have gained to fall back because it was bought with precious time and effort of our people. I think it's going to be important for me, if confirmed, to keep pressure on not only defense investment, but to keep pressure on our ability to train together and keep the standard of excellence high so that we can remain interchangeable.

I believe one of the reasons that Libya went so well with NATO in the lead is because we have become so much more like each other in the way we do business.

Senator KING. I think that clearly is an important lesson.

Just to be clear on the record, you've talked several times about the grounding of the, I think, it's four squadrons you said in Europe. Is that because of the sequester?

Senator KING. Sir, that's because of the budget effects of sequester, that's correct. It's not just Europe. These squadrons are grounded in the United States. In your States we have squadrons grounded.

The lift and tanking squadrons are equally as affected. As was mentioned earlier, the effect of going from a fully mission capable air crew in a lift aircraft to an air crew that can simply do air-land, load, reload, it is a big effect on our military capability in a time, as has been captured by the chairman, a very volatile time.

Senator KING. You listed earlier all the qualifications that were being limited and the mission abilities that were being limited.

I think it's important to emphasize that the sequester is not a 1-year deal. At least it's not according to current law. If nothing happens, it keeps going. This condition that you are in, unless it's alleviated in some way, would continue and, in fact, accelerate.

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir. I think that in my specific command as we service not only Africa but Europe, but our mission in Africa is growing now, which is a strain as well on our budget.

Senator KING. I heard recently on the news a member, not of this body, but a member of our Government, characterized the sequester as a "home run". I hope this gentleman will talk to you about the effect on our readiness, on our retention, and on our military.

Another question, changing the subject, under your area of responsibility comes both Turkey and Israel. What's your assessment

of the current relationship between Turkey and Israel, and are we headed for a better relationship? What are you hearing from your counterparts?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, a month ago I probably would have had a negative report. There has been some work done by our senior leadership and Israel has come forward and talked to some of the problems that they've had with Turkey in the past. I now am cautiously optimistic. I think that this relationship is headed in the right direction. If confirmed, I will continue to try to foster that relationship.

In my current capacity, I do today, because these are two incredible allies—Turkey is absolutely critical to us. Their geopolitical position, their moderate voice in this world—there are so many things about Turkey that are absolutely dear to us. We cannot have two of our most important allies in an adversarial state.

Senator KING. Thank you.

One final question. As we've been focused so much on the Middle East and on Afghanistan, attention has been shifted from the Balkans, which was a major area of concern a decade ago. What's the situation there? Are we comfortable with the circumstances and is there any need for concern or new attention to that region?

General BREEDLOVE. Sir, I would tell you that I am not comfortable with the Balkans. Progress has been made. We have brought the troops down to just about 5,000 now, of which about 800 are United States. We need to bring that down lower. But I have heard the situation in northern Kosovo described as stagnant. We were making progress and now we have slowed down in that progress. That worries me because I think that our Nations are a little weary of that situation and want to move on. What I don't think we can do is totally take our eyes off of a situation that if not watched could possibly go in a direction we don't want it to go.

I think that there are good things happening. There are great things happening in the training of the Kosovo Defense Force. But we need to keep our eye on the ball.

Senator KING. Thank you very much, General, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator King.

Senator Ayotte.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank you, General Breedlove and all of your family, for being here and for your service to our country.

I wanted to ask you about our relationship with Russia, and in particular looking at the advance questions, you described Russia will remain the primary actor of regional concern through 2020. Why do you believe that Russia is the primary actor of regional concern?

General BREEDLOVE. Thank you, Senator. I think that I would try to put that in some context, and that is that Russia remains a very important influence with many of the nations on its periphery and nations that have been leaning more west than east and have become good allies—not allies, but have been great partners with us in places like Afghanistan and others.

But these nations are clearly still tied to Russia for such things as energy needs, transportation, and others. There's lots of tenta-

cles that go back and forth. Russia's ability to either help us or hinder us as we work with these nations I think is still very great.

I do and I have been quoted often saying that I think we would be better off if we quit treating Russia or thinking of Russia as an enemy and try to bring them into a partnership as we deal with Europe and other places around the world. Russia has been very helpful with us in counter-piracy and other things outside of the European theater. I think that Russia still has deep influence in Europe. We need to try to find out how to work with them, as opposed to at them.

Senator AYOTTE. General, one of the things I wanted to get your view on is you said we need to stop treating Russia as an enemy. That strikes me as in line with when the administration, the Obama administration, came into office, the whole reset of the Russian relations. Yet if you look at the Russians' actions both in the United Nations and also on numerous issues, we have not gotten the reaction that we had hoped. In fact, if you think about issues like the adoption issue that obviously all of us have heard from our constituents on, which is just outrageous, to use children to advance a policy objective like that or to somehow think that they're going to punish the United States.

I hear and I understand what you're saying, but we're not, in my view, getting the reaction that we would hope in turn from the behavior of the Russians. What is your view on that, and what are the differences that remain between us and how in your view are we going to improve our relationship with Russia in a way that protects our interests and those of our allies?

General BREEDLOVE. Ma'am, I could not agree with your assessment more. In fact, I've described the reset as sort of on pause. We had made some progress. There were some political changes in Russia and we are now sort of very much slowed down.

I think that we have to continue to reach out. I do agree with your concern that this not become a one-way street and that we just give, give, give. I think that the principle of reciprocity is how we need to think about our work with Russia. But I don't think that we should stop. We need to keep working with them.

As I mentioned, ma'am, before you were here, I have reached out to several very senior levels in their air force to establish dialogue so that we can begin to get some normalization of conversation and then do some mil-to-mil work. If confirmed, I will continue the effort as the SACEUR and as the Commander in Europe.

Senator AYOTTE. I would agree with you on the reciprocity issue very much, because I feel like it has been a one-way street at the moment. The Russians, for example, if you look at conflicts like Syria, could have a major influential role, and yet they are actually fueling that conflict with their arms provisions. It's outrageous really. I think in many instances they have as much the blood of some of the Syrians that are being murdered on their hands as the Assad regime. I can't imagine why Russia would want to stand for that.

One of the things that concerns me as well is the arms control agreements that we have with Russia. Do you understand whether, or if you can give us some insight, whether the Putin Government

is in full compliance with all existing arms control agreements that we hold with them right now?

General BREEDLOVE. Ma'am, I could not comment on that at this time. But I will get back to you on that with a position and an answer.

Senator AYOTTE. I would appreciate that, because the administration, of course, has made some announcements in the press that there is some thought of further reducing our nuclear arsenal in some types of negotiations with the Russians. I think it's very important for us to understand what their posture is on existing arms agreements right now.

[The information referred to follows:]

Since U.S. European Command does not participate in the verification process for arms control treaties, I would refer you to the President's annual report, submitted through the Department of State, on "Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments" required by section 403 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended (title 22, U.S.C., section 2593a).

Senator AYOTTE. I would also express the hope, to the extent you weigh in on these issues, that they would, the administration, would seek to go through Congress on these types of issues, particularly with what we see happening in the world right now. You have in your area of responsibility, of course, Israel, with Iran marching toward a nuclear weapon, what we have happening in North Korea. I think this is a very important issue for Congress to weigh into, rather than just a unilateral agreement between Russia and the administration.

Certainly in your role, if you're asked for advice, I hope that you will recommend that Congress be given the role, its constitutional role in this?

General BREEDLOVE. I will, Senator.

Senator AYOTTE. Okay, I appreciate that, General.

You talked about your area of responsibility with Israel and the relationship that you have had based on your experience with the Israeli military. Do you believe it's important that Israel maintain its qualitative military edge over any potential adversary in the region?

General BREEDLOVE. I do, Senator, and that is one of the primary duties of EUCOM, to continue to make sure that that is upheld.

Senator AYOTTE. Why is that critical in light of the position we are in right now?

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, I think that it's pretty clear to all that Israel is in a tough place and the neighborhood is unsettled. I think that the Arab Spring has further unsettled the area, and the strategic depth that we talk about Israel having or lacking is only getting less. We need to make sure that Israel is able to respond capably with the weapons that enable them.

Senator AYOTTE. When you're confirmed for this position, what do you think that you could do to further deepen our relationship with Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, I think that, building on the success of Austere Challenge 12, we made a huge leap forward in our ability to interact in missile defense. We have been doing exercises

such as Juniper Falcon and others that I've participated in, and Juniper Stallion, which I flew in, where we bring the interoperability of our conventional forces closer together.

I believe we need to be very straightforward in our ability to interact with and come to those same TTPs we talked about before, make sure that our interoperability is high and our ability to support Israel is ready.

Senator AYOTTE. Thank you, General. I appreciate your being here today and look forward to supporting your nomination.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Ayotte.

Senator KAINE.

Senator KAINE. Thank you.

General Breedlove, what a treat to have you here, and to see your family and hear you talk about them with such pride is something that makes an impact on all of us. I have three youngsters, one a newly minted second lieutenant like one of your own and two artists. They all grew up eating the same food and breathing the same air, but they've all gone in very different directions, but we're proud of all of them.

I want to start where Senator McCain finished with you, which is as you look at these budgetary uncertainties, sequester, we can talk about Air Command units standing down. We can talk about the effect on logistical operations, refueling, and airlift capacity. We can talk about a lot of things in the here and now, but there is a concern about tomorrow as well.

As I talk to my son and his colleagues and others—recently I was at University of Virginia talking to a Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) group and one of the youngsters training to be an officer there said: I sign up voluntarily, knowing that I'm potentially going to face hostile fire, and I'm willing to do that. I'm willing to make a career decision that involves doing that. But I kind of have to wrestle with whether I want to make a career decision to do that if the support for me from Congress, budgetary support, is so uncertain.

That was kind of a chilling thought of anything that I've heard about sequester as I've traveled around the Commonwealth of Virginia, and I've heard a lot about it because we're so connected to the military. The thing that probably has struck me the most is what it is as a young person being willing to face hostile fire, but having to ask yourself the question of should I do it if I'm not sure whether Congress is going to be there with the right kind of budget support for the work that we do.

You testified about that a good bit already, but I'm really struck by that and it's a sobering thought for all of us. I wonder if you have any additional comment on that from what you've heard from your own troops?

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, you have it exactly right. Our troops, including my daughter and her husband, are concerned about these things and we've had these conversations. As I took over U.S. Air Force Europe and Air Force-Africa 9 months ago, the chief and I set a mantra: mission, airmen, families. We have to be able to keep the mission going. That is driving everything we do. But the way we get the mission done is through our airmen, and we have to set the airmen so that they can focus on their mission.

If the families are not set, the airmen are not going to be set. These are inextricably tied.

If confirmed, going forward in Europe, one of the concerns that I've talked about to my fellow commanders in Europe are the three things that my wife talks about every time we move: schools, housing, and access to medical care. If confirmed, Senator, that will be one of the first focus items I have across the broader EUCOM Command, because, as I said in the "Mission, Airmen, Families," if we can keep the family, which is at the base, squared away, then the airmen can focus on the mission, and that's where we have to be. In the case of EUCOM, then it would be our soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, and coastguardsmen that we would be enabling.

Senator KAINE. Excellent, excellent.

Let me jump around a bit. What an awesome thing to be up for nomination to be SACEUR. Some pretty amazing people have had that title. That has to be—well, it's a good thing, but it's a humbling thing, too.

Talk to me a little bit about that role, and in particular NATO lessons learned from Libya? You describe them in a positive way. We did well because we've gotten to be so much like one another in the way we approach these challenges. I'd like you to talk a little bit about that, what you meant by that, but then how you see that relationship going forward. To the extent that sequester and other budgetary uncertainty potentially jeopardize some of what we might be able to do in that NATO combined operation, I'd love to hear your thoughts.

General BREEDLOVE. Thank you, Senator. Very shortly, I would also say that, if confirmed, I would find myself sitting behind the desk that Eisenhower sat behind. I would tell you that my father from the State of Georgia would roll over in his grave at that thought, and some of my grammar school and high school teachers probably as well.

Sir, as far as Libya and NATO, as in almost every case, there are good things that we learned and there are bad things that we learned. I highlighted a couple of the good things previously and those are that we have trained so much together and now we have fought beside each other in Afghanistan and other places for some time. What has happened is it has enabled us to be much more seamless across being able to employ the NATO force and being able to interchange NATO people, having a Belgian officer be your deputy commander and having a French officer be your chief of operations and having a German officer being your intelligence officer, and expecting that we would be able to execute at a very high level because of that interoperability. I think that's very important.

Not to highlight the bad, but there are some bad things. What we did learn is that the depth of some of our partner nations and especially their sustainment to the fight is not very deep. We have work to do in weapons and the amount of weapons. We have work to do in very critical enablers that are going to be required for any force—air-to-air refueling capability and others.

I think probably the most glaring thing we need to work on as an alliance is intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance. You can be very proud of your joint force. There is no one that does it

like us. What we don't want to do is be the only supplier of that superb capability. We want to bring others along.

If confirmed, Senator, those are going to be center in the heart of the shot pattern for what I'll do in NATO.

Senator KAINE. One of the expectations that I would have as a Senator from Virginia, obviously, is the Allied Command Transformation is in Norfolk and so the working relationship with General Palomeros is something we would care deeply about as well.

The Aegis ballistic missile defense system also has a Virginia tie to Dahlgren, where much of the research and work is done. That's a critical part of EUCOM's ability to address the ballistic missile defense issues. Could you give us just a quick update on the Phased Adaptive Approach?

General BREEDLOVE. Thank you, Senator. Yes, sir. Right now, as I mentioned earlier, the announcement that Phases 1, 2, and 3 are firmly on track is a good one. The investments required to start Phase 2 are on track for putting in that first Aegis Ashore, as we call it. I believe that right now on Phases 1, 2, and 3 I have positive reports on how we're proceeding.

Senator KAINE. Finally, I'll just comment that I agree with comments you've made earlier. I think the U.S.-Turkey relationship is one of the most strategically important right now, both because of the region, but also because of Turkey's important role in NATO. I was heartened to hear your comments and heartened to hear other reports that suggest that the Turkey-Israel relationship, which has been quite frosty—for a long time the mil-to-mil connection has been quite positive, but it's been quite frosty—seems to be getting better.

Your testimony about Israel is also welcome. I'm going to be with Ambassador Oren, the Israeli Ambassador to the United States, tonight, introducing him to a large group of people in Richmond. He will be happy to hear of the importance you accord that relationship in your testimony.

Thank you for your service and I look forward to supporting you.

General BREEDLOVE. Thank you, Senator.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you, Senator Kaine.

I just have one question. Senator Inhofe has a question or two that he'll ask in round two, and then we'll be able, I think, to leave here in time to get over to vote at 11 a.m.

General, you and I have spoken in my office about what are called residual value payments. We recently completed a committee report regarding the expenditures which we've made in certain facilities overseas that are being returned to a host nation and the improvement in those investments and the payments which are made by those host nations for those improvements.

Under our law, those payments must be directed towards offsetting operation and maintenance costs and they must be directed according to law towards military construction projects which are identified in the Future Years Defense Plan, and they have to be used for Department priorities that are specified.

Will you take a look at this issue and read this report when it comes out, because there's been some real significant problems in terms of the use of those payments, which are identified in our re-

port. So you can get back to us after you have read that. Will you do that?

General BREEDLOVE. I will, sir. I did some work with this last night. I'm much smarter now about it. I understand that our staffs have cooperated to get this report out and I do commit to you to get to that report early if confirmed and get back to you.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much.

Senator Inhofe.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I wasn't going to ask another question until Senator Kaine asked a question. In fact, I'd say the only answer that you gave during the course of this hearing that I would disagree with is your answer to Senator Kaine. We all know and I don't think anyone questions now that our intelligence assessment, going way back to 2007, that Iran would have the capability along with a delivery system by 2015—that's been consistent. I've often said that it's probably going to be earlier than that, judging from the miscalculation our intelligence made way back in 1998 on North Korea's ability to fire a multi-stage rocket, when they were off by 5 years.

Anyway, I think that we can say that 2015's a critical time. Then, of course, I disagree with the changes that took place 4 years ago in terms of the ground-based interceptor in Poland. But assuming that we are where we are right now—and you talk about Phase 1, Phase 2, and Phase 3. I understand that in the SM-3 Block 1A, we're already there, then 2015 for the 1B.

But then the SM-3 Block 2A, which would be necessary for the protection of our NATO allies, is not scheduled until 2018. We have a 3-year period that concerns me. I'd like to have you tell me how you think you'd like to address that 3-year period, if that concerns you, if that increases risk, and of course risk means lives.

General BREEDLOVE. Senator, you're absolutely right about my answer. My answer was not about the timing in relation to the threat, let me make that clear. What I was trying to answer Senator Kaine, was that the program and the schedule to accomplish the things that we are doing—

Senator INHOFE. Is on course?

General BREEDLOVE.—is on course.

Senator INHOFE. Yes, I understand. But I'm suggesting the course is wrong.

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir. I understand that question completely now, and there are concerns about getting the appropriate coverage at the appropriate time. I think that one of the things we are having to do right now is talk to our fellow European nations about their contribution to EPAA and their bringing some capability to the task early.

I am encouraged by the fact that we have our Dutch friends upgrading four of their cruisers to Aegis-class capability to help us in this battle. I am also encouraged by the fact that several of the nations, France, Germany, and others, are looking at voluntary national contribution of not only their short-range capability, but some of their radars.

I don't want to take too much of your time, but I do see positive movement in the nations leaning forward now to be a contributing part both kinetically and as basing nations in this effort.

Senator INHOFE. I know this is not directly in your new position, but you're the expert in this and I appreciate your background and knowledge. I would think that if you're looking for that 3-year gap to be filled by more assertive progress from our NATO allies, they're the ones that are at risk. Is there any reason they would not do everything they can to help fill that 3-year gap?

Now, obviously the chairman wouldn't want me to get into the third site discussion and I'm not going to do that. But on this one, I would think that they would be the ones that would want to go out of their way and do what is necessary, specifically looking at that 3-year gap.

General BREEDLOVE. I agree with you, Senator, and I think Admiral Stavridis has said in the past that the store is open, we're ready for your contributions. If confirmed, I will continue the pressure that he's already started on our allied nations to help us bring that capability to the table.

Senator INHOFE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LEVIN. Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

Senator Kaine, you all set?

Senator KAINE. Yes.

Chairman LEVIN. We have standard questions which we ask of our military nominees, which I'll ask you now, in order to make sure that this committee and other committees of Congress are able to receive testimony, briefings, and other communications of information. Here are the questions:

Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulations governing conflicts of interest?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, Senator.

Chairman LEVIN. Do you agree, when asked, to give your personal views, even if those views differ from the administration in power?

General BREEDLOVE. I do.

Chairman LEVIN. Have you assumed any duties or undertaken any actions which would appear to presume the outcome of the confirmation process?

General BREEDLOVE. I have not.

Chairman LEVIN. Will you ensure your staff complies with deadlines established for requested communications, including questions for the record in hearings?

General BREEDLOVE. I will.

Chairman LEVIN. Will you cooperate in providing witnesses and briefers in response to congressional requests?

General BREEDLOVE. I will.

Chairman LEVIN. Will those witnesses be protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings?

General BREEDLOVE. They will.

Chairman LEVIN. Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear and testify upon request before this committee?

General BREEDLOVE. I do.

Chairman LEVIN. Do you agree to provide documents, including copies of electronic forms of communication, in a timely manner when requested by a duly constituted committee or to consult with the committee regarding the basis for any good faith delay or denial in providing such documents?

General BREEDLOVE. I do.

Chairman LEVIN. Yes, Senator Inhofe?

Senator INHOFE. Just one comment. Of the questions the chairman asked you, the most difficult one is the second one. You have answered that correctly, but that's the most difficult one because you still have a Commander in Chief. We understand the line of command. Yet there are some things that we'll need to know, particularly with the upcoming activity we'll have, for your honest answer, and we'll be looking forward to that.

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, sir.

Chairman LEVIN. Those are the answers we received today even before you were confirmed. So we know you'll continue in that same vein after you're confirmed, which we would hope and expect will be very promptly.

We thank you. We thank your family and those many folks who have come here today to support you.

We will stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:59 a.m., the committee adjourned.]

[Prepared questions submitted to Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, by Chairman Levin prior to the hearing with answers supplied follow:]

QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES

DEFENSE REFORMS

Question. The Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 and the Special Operations reforms have strengthened the warfighting readiness of our Armed Forces. They have enhanced civilian control and the chain of command by clearly delineating the combatant commanders' responsibilities and authorities and the role of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. They have also clarified the responsibility of the Military Departments to recruit, organize, train, equip, and maintain forces for assignment to the combatant commanders.

Do you see the need for modifications of any Goldwater-Nichols Act provisions or the Special Operations reforms?

Answer. Successful operations around the world from Iraq and Afghanistan to Libya demonstrated the importance of Goldwater-Nichols. I learned the importance and value of joint training early in my career as an air liaison officer working with the Army in 1985. I am convinced the success of all of our operations over the past years is directly attributable to the joint training and doctrine that came out of Goldwater-Nichols. I do not see the need for modifications at this time.

Question. If so, what areas do you believe might be appropriate to address in these modifications?

Answer. I do not see the need for modifications at this time.

DUTIES

Question. What is your understanding of the duties and functions of the Commander, U.S. European Command (EUCOM) and NATO's Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR)?

Answer. The Commander of the U.S. European Command is responsible for giving authoritative direction to subordinate commands and forces necessary to carry out all U.S. military operations and activities across the 51 independent states in the European Command Area of Responsibility (AOR) in pursuit of U.S. national military objectives. This AOR includes all of Europe (including Turkey), the Caucasus Region, and Israel. The commander is also responsible for the health, welfare and security of the approximately 64,000 servicemembers forward deployed within that AOR.

The NATO North Atlantic Council and Military Committee assigns specific roles and duties to SACEUR. These include:

- Overall command of all NATO military operations regardless of geographic boundaries.

- Strategic planning to include military planning for the full range of Alliance missions and contributions to crisis management and effective defense of NATO territory and forces.
- Identifying and requesting forces for the full range of Alliance missions.
- Strategic Analysis: In conjunction with Supreme Allied Commander for Transformation, supports NATO's Defense Planning Process and conducts strategic level analysis to identify and prioritize type and scale of NATO's critical capability shortfalls.
- Operational Leadership: Executes military measures within the capability of the command to preserve or restore the security of NATO nations.
- Transformation: Cooperates with the Supreme Allied Commander for Transformation (SAC-T) on integrating transformation efforts.
- Crisis Management. Continually monitors and analyses the international environment to anticipate crises, and where appropriate, take active steps to prevent them from becoming larger conflicts.
- Strategic engagement and partnership building: Develops and participates in military-to-military contacts and other cooperation activities with NATO partners around the globe.
- In conjunction with Supreme Allied Commander for Transformation, conducts combined and joint training and exercises. This role will be critical to the implementation of the NATO connected forces initiative designed to maintain interoperable forces in the post ISAF environment.

The responsibilities of the Commander EUCOM and the SACEUR are complementary. The fact that they have traditionally been vested in one officer facilitates near-seamless coordination between the U.S. and NATO military command structures.

Question. What background and experience do you possess that you believe qualifies you to perform these duties?

Answer. As Commander, United States Air Forces in Europe, Commander, United States Air Forces Africa, and Commander, NATO Allied Air Command, in addition to my six previous assignments in Europe, I have had the privilege of working closely with our joint forces, NATO Allies, and coalition partners. During these assignments, I have had the opportunity to meet with several Ministers and Chiefs of Defense in Europe, providing me a unique opportunity to develop lasting relationships. Recent operations in Europe and Africa have continued to reinforce my belief in the criticality of these partnerships and inspired confidence in future of U.S. and European relations. If confirmed, I believe my knowledge of the region and familiarity with the Alliance, coupled with these personal relationships, will enhance my ability to perform command duties for both EUCOM and Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE), and contribute to our Nations' shared security objectives.

Question. Do you believe that there are any steps that you need to take to enhance your expertise to perform the duties of the Commander, EUCOM, or NATO SACEUR?

Answer. If confirmed, I will engage with key officials and personnel within the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. Government to uphold and advance the national policies and interests of the United States in the European theater. To this end, I will also engage with the governments and militaries of our allies to understand the magnitude and interdependent issues within the region. I will seek the cooperation of the Alliance leadership to work together to engage on vital regional issues. I will also continuously improve my understanding of the history and culture of the region.

RELATIONSHIPS

Question. Section 162(b) of title 10, U.S.C., provides that the chain of command runs from the President to the Secretary of Defense and from the Secretary of Defense to the combatant commands. Other sections of law and traditional practice, however, establish important relationships outside the chain of command. Please describe your understanding of the relationship of the Commander, EUCOM/NATO SACEUR, to the following:

The Secretary of Defense.

Answer. The Secretary of Defense exercises authority over the Armed Forces of the United States through the EUCOM Commander for those forces assigned to the EUCOM AOR. The EUCOM Commander exercises command authority over assigned forces and is directly responsible to the Secretary of Defense for the performance of assigned missions and the preparedness of the Command.

Question. The Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Answer. The Deputy Secretary of Defense is delegated full power and authority to act for the Secretary of Defense and to exercise the powers of the Secretary on

any and all matters for which the Secretary is authorized to act pursuant to law. The EUCOM Commander coordinates and exchanges information with the Deputy Secretary on matters delegated by the Secretary. The Commander directly communicates with the Deputy Secretary on a regular basis.

Question. The Under Secretary of Defense for Policy.

Answer. A direct command relationship between the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy and the EUCOM Commander does not exist. However, the EUCOM Commander regularly interacts, coordinates and exchanges information with the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy on policy issues relating to NATO, European, and Eurasian affairs. The Commander directly communicates with the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy on a regular basis.

Question. The Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence.

Answer. There is not a direct command relationship between the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and the EUCOM Commander. However, the EUCOM Commander regularly interacts with, coordinates and exchanges information with the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence on intelligence related matters.

Question. The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs.

Answer. There is not a direct command relationship between the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs and the EUCOM Commander. The EUCOM Commander and the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs work together on coordinating international security policy and strategy.

Question. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Answer. The Chairman functions under the authority, direction and control of the President and Secretary of Defense. The Chairman transmits communications between the President and Secretary of Defense and the EUCOM Commander, as well as oversees the activities of the EUCOM Commander as directed by the Secretary of Defense. As the principal military advisor to the President and the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman is a key conduit between the combatant commander, inter-agency, and Service Chiefs.

The EUCOM Commander keeps the Chairman informed on significant issues regarding NATO and the EUCOM AOR. The Commander directly communicates with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff on a regular basis.

Question. The Secretaries of the Military Departments.

Answer. The Secretaries of Military Departments are responsible for administration and support of forces that are assigned or attached to the EUCOM Commander. The Secretaries fulfill their responsibilities by exercising administrative control (ADCON) through the Service Component Commands assigned to EUCOM.

Question. The other combatant commanders, in particular Commander, U.S. Central Command and Commander, U.S. Africa Command.

Answer. Formal relationships between the EUCOM Commander and the geographic and functional combatant commanders derive from command authority established by title 10, U.S.C., section 164. Combatant commanders closely coordinate as necessary to accomplish all assigned missions.

Question. The NATO Secretary General.

Answer. The NATO Secretary General is appointed by the 28 Alliance Heads of State and Government. He chairs the North Atlantic Council, the principal decision making body of the Alliance. The SACEUR carries out roles and missions assigned by the North Atlantic Council, and directly communicates with the Secretary General on a regular basis.

Question. Commander, International Security Assistance Force.

Answer. The EUCOM Commander has no formal relationship with Commander, ISAF; however, Commander, ISAF, is "dual-hatted": 1. As the Commander U.S. Forces in Afghanistan he reports to Commander, U.S. CENTCOM (national command and control); 2. The Supreme Allied Commander, Europe exercises command authority over the Commander, ISAF, via the Commander, Joint Forces Command Brunssum, in the Netherlands (operational command and control).

Question. The Supreme Allied Commander for Transformation.

Answer. Both NATO's Strategic Commanders, SACEUR and Supreme Allied Commander Transformation (SAC-T), carry out roles and missions assigned to them by the North Atlantic Council. SACEUR and SAC-T work together to ensure the transformation of NATO's military capabilities and interoperability that support Allied Command Operations.

Question. The North Atlantic Council.

Answer. The North Atlantic Council is the principal policy and decision making body of NATO. SACEUR carries out roles and missions assigned by the North Atlantic Council.

Question. The U.S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council.

Answer. There is not a direct command relationship between the U.S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and either the EUCOM Commander or the SACEUR. The North Atlantic Council provides direction to NATO military authorities and the U.S. Permanent Representative is 1 of 28 members of the North Atlantic Council. The EUCOM Commander works with the U.S. Permanent Representative on matters of mutual interest, such as EUCOM military operations and security cooperation activities that support U.S. objectives and military contributions to NATO.

MAJOR CHALLENGES

Question. In your view, what are the major challenges and problems you would confront if confirmed as the next Commander, EUCOM, and SACEUR?

Answer. If confirmed, one of the biggest challenges I will face is managing the evolution of NATO, specifically past its operational focus in Afghanistan. The Alliance has evolved from a Cold War construct to one with ambitious aspirations and capabilities after integrating former Warsaw Pact and Eastern European Soviet Republics and building an out of area expeditionary capability. As EUCOM Commander, my challenge is to work diligently to support the broader U.S. Government effort to ensure that the Alliance makes the right choices to maintain its capability, capacity, and credibility.

The second challenge is the impact of the sequestration reductions and the continuation of those reductions in the out years. Sequestration negatively affects both theater operations and EUCOM's ability to support the U.S. Defense Strategy by further reducing an already declining budget. This includes an increased risk to access, degradation of the security cooperation relationships forged over numerous years, and reduced partner participation in operations.

The third challenge is the potential for a long-term continuation of the Arab Spring and its impact to Israel's shrinking strategic depth. Currently Iranian's malign influence in the politics of Syria and Lebanon are a constant concern. Of specific concern for Israel, aside from Iran's nuclear ambitions, are security considerations relative to Syrian chemical weapons and high end conventional weapons, the decline in influence of Egypt's military and the resulting instability in the Sinai and the strength of Lebanese Hezbollah. This instability will remain throughout the region for some time. Our challenge is to lead the military effort to assure Israel of U.S. resolve to guarantee its security.

The fourth challenge I see is the security impact of the European economic crisis. The result of the financial crises upon European militaries is magnified as national Gross Domestic Products (GDP) have fallen, and the percentage of GDP dedicated to defense spending has been cut as governments struggle to deal with reduced revenue and increasing deficits.

The fifth challenge I see is the growing asymmetric terrorist threat in Europe from al Qaeda and other Islamist extremist groups with extensive ties to Western Europe. Europe is an important venue for recruitment, financing, and attacking U.S. and western interests. The effects of the financial crisis and austerity measures on countries with historical terrorism and anarchism could spark new forms of politically and economically-driven terrorism.

The sixth challenge I see is dealing with Russia, which remains an aspirational superpower but is hindered by endemic deficiencies. Russia will remain the primary actor of regional concern through 2020 by virtue of its geographic position, natural resource wealth, military forces, and desire for regional influence. However, a number of systemic deficiencies, such as mounting internal stressors—politico-economic, socio-cultural, and demographic—will continue to challenge its aspirations. The U.S. and NATO will need to continue to assure our allies and partners, who live in the Russian self-declared "sphere of privileged influence," of our resolve.

The seventh challenge I see is the continued risk of conflict in the Caucasus and Balkans. Chronic ethnic enmity, virulent Islamism/Islamist influence coupled with socio-economic privations, and the general intractability of grievances plague the Caucasus and Balkans to varying degrees. Our challenge is to carefully encourage our European Allies and partners to continue their commitments to regional security, while encouraging the development of security capabilities that do not exacerbate local tensions.

Another important issue is improving our comprehensive readiness to face 21st century challenges, specifically the threat of malicious cyber activity. Our primary focus here should be assisting our allies and partners in the defense of their critical information systems, and to develop and mature their cyber defense capabilities, programs, and processes.

The last significant challenge I see is maintaining our force laydown in today's austere environment. While combat forces receive the bulk of attention during force restructuring, the capabilities garnered from critical enablers (i.e., medical, police, intelligence, logistics) are equally as important. The challenge we have is balancing our strategic pivot to the East while highlighting the critical role our European force structure plays in assuring Allies and guaranteeing continued U.S. access to a critical region of the world. This access will remain important to U.S.-led global operations across multiple theaters, and cannot be guaranteed if we abdicate our European footprint.

Question. If confirmed, what plans do you have for addressing these challenges and problems?

Answer. Despite budget reductions, EUCOM must be at the forefront of revitalizing and supporting NATO, highlighting the critical role the U.S. partnership plays to ensure the Alliance's credibility, particularly with regard to our Article 5 commitments. A significant component of this effort will be our role in a renewed commitment to the NATO Response Force. This commitment will ensure our NATO allies continue to meet high standards for interoperability and readiness. We can also incorporate NATO Smart Defense initiatives into our planning process, to guide our engagement and help ensure that NATO forces maintain a credible mix of expeditionary forces.

Next, we must recognize the unique opportunity the economic downturn presents to help European nations examine defense and force structure inefficiencies. Stark fiscal realities leave political room for serious force structure and capability changes consistent with the vision of Smart Defense. We must also continue to coordinate our efforts across a broad spectrum of actors, specifically with the interagency and other geographic and functional commands. This cooperation can be expanded, as we leverage NATO training and standardization as a global benchmark for interoperability.

As a command, we must continue to invest in interagency cooperation and collaboration to reinforce a whole-of-government approach to numerous challenges. We must also look for ways to enhance security cooperation planning by working with those allies who conduct security cooperation consistent with our interests.

Next, we will emphasize civilian-military opportunities for nation engagement, particularly in the areas of disaster preparedness and foreign consequence management by leveraging private entities. This will encourage regional approaches to collaboration within areas like the Balkans and Caucasus in order to bolster stability.

We must also emphasize technology and innovation to provide a backstop to decreasing resources, while diminishing our vulnerabilities to new asymmetric threats. The growing cyber threat must be addressed, while seeking ways to mitigate the loss of valuable border protections within the European theater. These physical border protections in many cases no longer exist. Technological solutions to tracking illicit materials, such as biological, chemical and radiological agents, must be found.

Finally, we must continue to seek zones of cooperation with Russia. Successful avenues to date have included the Arctic Council, health and bio-surveillance arenas, combating terrorism, and counter-piracy. We must encourage Russia to play a more constructive role in European and global security and foreign policy.

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT STRATEGIC GUIDANCE

Question. The January 2012 Department of Defense (DOD) Strategic Guidance, entitled "Sustaining U.S. Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense," discusses the importance of Europe as "our principal partner in seeking global and economic security." At the same time, the DOD Strategic Guidance calls for a rebalancing of U.S. military posture toward the Asia-Pacific and Middle East regions.

Do you agree with the strategy outlined in the January 2012 DOD Strategic Guidance?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. In your view what will be the major impact of that strategy on EUCOM and what changes, if any, would EUCOM need to make to implement that strategy?

Answer. The January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance mentions Europe and NATO prominently, and with good reason. As it says on page 2, "Europe is home to some of America's most stalwart allies and partners, many of whom have sacrificed alongside U.S. forces in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere." Europe is primarily a security producer, rather than a consumer, and EUCOM's strategy must endeavor to bolster this ability and commitment to providing security. To this end, one of EUCOM's key priorities is sustaining the U.S. relationship with its highly capable allies, as well as the sustainment of those allies who have recently developed capabilities and interoperability with U.S. forces. EUCOM will also look to

grow its links to NATO, bolstering the viability of this vital Alliance, which will serve to ensure that European nations continue to approach global security issues through the NATO Alliance, and ensure that European and U.S. viewpoints are weighed together in the decisionmaking process. By bringing attention to the deep and valuable contributions of the Euro-Atlantic Alliance to U.S. national security and global security efforts, EUCOM supports the unique and valuable role that these contributions make, and the strategic access and global reach they provide.

In order to implement this strategy, EUCOM must look to develop low-cost, innovative ways to emphasize force interoperability, while encouraging European allies to conserve resources by adopting the NATO "Smart Defense" program. One of these new methods will be the reinvigorated U.S. contribution to the NATO Response Force (NRF), which will mitigate force structure reductions in Europe by sustaining and improving interoperability. Over the long term, the NRF will be a vital asset for post-ISAF interoperability and NATO's Connected Forces Initiative. The NRF will also serve as a valuable tool for evaluating the status of European forces. As the most likely companions in any security effort, from humanitarian assistance to full-spectrum conflict, the United States must have confidence in the interoperability and readiness of European forces.

The planned reduction of NATO forces supporting ISAF, combined with U.S. reinvigoration in the NRF, provides a unique opportunity for EUCOM to support NATO's Connected Forces Initiative and make adjustments to both commands' exercise programs, committing to exercising high-end capabilities and training. Conducting exercises that test these high-end capabilities, once common, have reduced markedly in the face of operational commitments. Exercises that bring together several NATO nations, focused on advanced training objectives that exercise a joint force across a broad spectrum of threats, will ensure NATO force relevance and flexibility. After 10 years of combat deployments against an asymmetric enemy, NATO will need to dedicate itself to flexible training that emphasizes underutilized skill sets (for example, naval and air warfare), while incorporating lessons learned from recent conflicts. Additionally, a small EUCOM investment in some of these exercises provides the opportunity for newer (i.e. Eastern European) members of the Alliance, as well as other NATO partners, to pair with more mature Allies, continuing to burden-share security cooperation while raising the overall quality of NATO forces.

In response to shared environments of fiscal austerity, NATO has embraced the idea of collective resource pooling through the Smart Defense initiative. Alignment of EUCOM engagement with NATO capability targets will ensure U.S. bilateral efforts complement NATO's multilateral efforts. Through this improved cooperation, EUCOM can reinforce NATO's efforts to maintain a credible mix of expeditionary forces available for burden-sharing in conflicts that would otherwise be shouldered by U.S. forces alone. Supporting an initiative such as Smart Defense should not come at the expense of jeopardizing NATO's Article 5 commitments and defense spending requirements. EUCOM must ensure waste or unnecessary capabilities are trimmed and strengths are retained. EUCOM should engage with the Smart Defense structure to ensure a holistic approach to future NATO capability requirements.

Finally, EUCOM has an opportunity to enhance its security cooperation planning by reaching out to Allies who are themselves conducting some level of security cooperation in the theater. EUCOM can work together with these nations to openly discuss mutual goals and plans and gain efficiencies from knowing what engagements other nations are performing in various regions, what effects are desired in these regions, and what partnering possibilities exist for theater-wide security cooperation. Fiscal reality drives this consideration, but so does strategic sense. Such cooperation can help to smooth future operational interaction and pair high-end allies with developing nations to establish theater relationships that will bolster European security and reduce U.S. resource commitments.

NATO COMMITMENTS ON AFGHANISTAN TRANSITION

Question. At the NATO Summit in Chicago in May, NATO members committed to promoting a stable and secure Afghanistan and to "preventing Afghanistan from ever again becoming a safe haven for terrorists that threaten Afghanistan, the region, and the world." NATO members also reaffirmed their commitment to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan through 2014, when the transition to Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) having the security lead throughout Afghanistan will be completed and the NATO combat mission will end.

Do you agree with the goals and transition plan for the ISAF mission endorsed at the NATO Chicago Summit?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. What are the major challenges you foresee, if confirmed as the next Commander, EUCOM and SACEUR, in implementing the transition plan for Afghanistan?

Answer. Over the next 20 months, we must fully recruit, field and ensure the sustainment of the ANSF while we shift the main effort for security lead to the Afghans in 2013. We must prepare for the Afghan Presidential election, while redeploying thousands of ISAF forces and restructuring our basing posture so that we are ready for the post-2014 mission.

Question. How would you address these challenges, if confirmed?

Answer. I would continue the work in progress, and ensure that redeployment mechanisms and routes are feasible and practical for ISAF forces.

BUILDING AND SUSTAINING THE AFGHAN NATIONAL SECURITY FORCES

Question. The NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan (NTM-A) is responsible for building the ANSF to an end strength of 352,000 by this fall, consisting of 195,000 Afghan National Army soldiers and 157,000 Afghan National Police personnel.

What is your assessment of the NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan, and what changes, if any, would you recommend for the NTM-A, if confirmed?

Answer. The NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan or NTM-A is truly a success story. It has changed over time as the ANSF capability has developed, and will continue to do so.

Question. In your assessment, are the current target end strengths for the ANA and ANP sufficient for Afghan security forces to assume full responsibility for security and stability in Afghanistan by 2014?

Answer. Yes, they are. The target strengths are important, but so are the quality, capabilities, and competence of the force. Improving these aspects will be a significant part of the Security Force Assistance Teams work from now until the end of 2014, and beyond in the post-2014 mission.

Question. At the NATO Chicago Summit, the ISAF participating countries called for future reductions in the size of the ANSF after 2014 to be "conditions-based." At the same time, the ISAF participating countries discussed a "preliminary model" for the future size of the ANSF of around 230,000, with an estimated annual cost of \$4.1 billion, which would be subject to regular review in light of security developments.

Do you agree that any reductions in the ANSF after 2014 from an end strength of 352,000 need to be conditions-based in light of the security situation in Afghanistan at the time the reductions would occur?

Answer. The size and balance of capabilities across the ANSF after 2014 will ultimately be a decision for the sovereign Government of Afghanistan. The financial contributions by the current ISAF nations and other countries need to be channeled through a transparent and accountable mechanism that is open to audit by those contributing Nations.

Question. What should be NATO's role in assessing the security conditions in Afghanistan for purposes of determining future force requirements for the ANSF after 2014?

Answer. The future force requirements for the ANSF after 2014 will be a decision for the sovereign Government of Afghanistan, with assistance and advice from the post-2014 NATO led International Training, Advisory, and Assistance Mission.

NATO TRAINING MISSION IN AFGHANISTAN POST-2014

Question. In your view, what should be the objectives and priorities for a possible NATO training mission in Afghanistan post-2014?

Answer. The objectives and priorities were agreed by NATO Nations and partners in the North Atlantic Council (NAC) Initiating Directive at the Defense Ministerial meeting last October and reaffirmed in the February Defense Ministerial meeting. The NATO-led post-2014 engagement will train, advise, and assist the Afghan National Security Forces in line with the NATO-Afghanistan Enduring Partnership declaration.

Question. If confirmed, what recommendations, if any, would you have for modifying the NATO training mission in Afghanistan after 2014?

Answer. There is still much work to be completed on the post-2014 mission. In particular, the Concept of Operations is currently being developed for endorsement by the Military Committee and subsequent approval by the North Atlantic Council. Once this is approved, the Operation Plan will be developed.

INSIDER THREAT IN AFGHANISTAN

Question. The recent rise in the number of attacks by individuals in Afghan uniform on U.S. and coalition soldiers, so-called “green-on-blue” attacks, has raised concerns about the safety of our soldiers and the success of the transition plans in Afghanistan. ISAF and Afghan military leaders have announced a number of new or expanded precautions to address the insider threat, including increased Afghan counterintelligence efforts to identify Taliban infiltrators, additional cultural sensitivity training, and expanding the “Guardian Angel” program to protect against the insider threat in meetings between coalition and Afghan forces.

To what do you attribute the recent increase in the number of green-on-blue attacks?

Answer. These attacks are an insurgent tactic, just like the threat of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs).

Question. What is your assessment of the measures that have been taken to address the insider threat?

Answer. We have analyzed these attacks, and developed tactics, techniques, and procedures to counter them. The measures we have taken to mitigate these attacks in conjunction with the Afghans are working. (20 incidents July–September 12, 10 incidents October–December 13, 3 incidents January–March 13)

Question. If confirmed, what additional steps, if any, would you recommend?

Answer. It is important to recognize that the number of insider attacks has decreased since the summer of last year (20 incidents July–September, 10 incidents October–December, 3 incidents January–March). The measures taken across the force are having a positive impact, and I want to ensure we continue to aggressively implement those measures while maintaining the strong personal bonds that have proven effective at the tactical level.

Question. What is your assessment of the impact of these insider attacks on morale among U.S. and allied forces in theater?

Answer. These attacks do have the potential to damage trust between coalition and Afghan forces, however close cooperation and our strong relationship with the ANSF have been invaluable to tackling this common threat.

Question. In light of the insider threat, do you believe ISAF should reconsider its plan to embed small units of U.S. and coalition military personnel with Afghan military units to advise and assist those units as the Afghan forces transition to the security lead?

Answer. No. The plan is correct and will ensure the ANSF continue to advance their military capability. The security of U.S. and coalition military personnel is improved by building close personal relationships with the ANSF they advise and assist.

EUCOM’S STRATEGIC MISSIONS

Question. In your view, what are the key strategic missions of U.S. European Command?

Answer. We derive our key strategic missions from the Command’s formal mission statement: “U.S. European Command conducts military operations, international military engagement, and interagency partnering to enhance transatlantic security and defend the United States forward.” Given this mission statement, as well as the Guidance for Employment of the Force issued by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, EUCOM’s key strategic missions are:

- Posture EUCOM forces to execute high-priority contingency operations;
- Sustain the trust, relationships and interoperability forged over the past decade with our Allies and partners; aligning our efforts with NATO Targets and Partnership Goals;
- Contribute EUCOM forces and enable European force generation to support an effective and responsible transition in Afghanistan, ensuring Afghanistan’s security while assuring our NATO allies and partner nations of the U.S. commitment;
- Nurture strategic relationships and maintain the necessary force posture to enable continued access—thereby ensuring United States freedom of action and global reach;
- Prevent violent extremist organizations (VEOs) from establishing footholds in Europe or obtaining or using weapons of mass destruction; through close coordination with the other global and functional combatant commands, minimize the seams that these VEO’s often operate in;
- Advance NATO European Ballistic Missile Defense through an integrated approach built on balanced contributions;

- Ensure secure cyber access to enable our other missions and improve collaborative information sharing across all security levels;
- Combat transnational organized crime to reduce the effects of trafficking and the monies available to fund illicit activities;
- Support continued defense reform and prevent the escalation of local crises into regional conflicts, particularly in the Balkans and Caucasus.

Considering these missions in the context of near-term challenges, EUCOM derives the following Command priorities:

- Ensure readiness to execute EUCOM's high-priority contingency operations;
- Preserve our strategic partnerships to include:
 - Sustain our relationship with high-end allies ensuring a strong NATO Alliance;
 - Preserve the recently developed partner capability and interoperability;
 - Maintain regional stability and security;
- Enable a successful ISAF transition;
- Counter transnational threats, focusing on missile defense, weapons of mass destruction, counter-terrorism, illicit trafficking, counter-piracy and threats from cyberspace;
- Maintain United States' strategic access across Europe in support of global operations;
- Focus on four key countries:
 - Israel, to maintain a strong partnership;
 - Russia, to encourage areas of cooperation;
 - Turkey, to reinvigorate our relationship;
 - Poland, to enhance the realization of its potential.

U.S. FORCE STRUCTURE IN EUROPE

Question. The January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance stated that there is a strategic opportunity to “rebalance the U.S. military investment in Europe.” Currently there are approximately 70,000 U.S. military personnel stationed in the European area of responsibility. In January, the Department of Defense announced additional reductions in U.S. forces in Europe, including the drawdown of two of the four Army Brigade Combat Teams (BCTs) stationed in Europe by the end of 2013 and the inactivation of one A-10 squadron from Germany in 2013. In addition, U.S. Army Europe has plans to consolidate and reduce its footprint from 16 garrisons today to 7 garrisons by 2017.

In answer to questions in advance of the hearing in July on his nomination to be Chief of Staff of the Air Force, then-U.S. Air Forces Europe Commander General Mark Welsh said that he would support further consideration of reductions and consolidation opportunities in the Air Force posture in Europe.

Do you support the reductions in U.S. force posture in Europe announced earlier this year?

Answer. Yes. The risk posed by the force reductions announced in 2012 is manageable, and can be reasonably mitigated by employing rotational forces, to include a CONUS-based brigade fully dedicated to NATO, as well as implementing the posture initiatives described below. Our successful efforts to revitalize the transatlantic link, our unwavering commitment to the defense of Europe, and 65 years of transatlantic cooperation have lowered threat levels on the continent, and continue to serve the United States as a vital geostrategic platform to support our enduring global security requirements. Combined with the drawdown of operations in Afghanistan, this creates a strategic opportunity to modernize the U.S. military investment in Europe, moving from a focus on current conflicts toward a focus on future capabilities. While maintaining our enduring relationships and security commitments, our force structure in Europe is evolving to meet a broad range of 21st century challenges, including missile defense, cyber security, counterterrorism, and countering weapons of mass destruction. To that end, as announced previously, the plan is to enhance EUCOM's ability to address ballistic missile threats by forward stationing four Aegis-Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) capable ships in Spain and establishing land-based SM-3 BMD sites in Romania and Poland, which adds to the capabilities already provided by the AN/TPY-2 radar in Turkey. Additionally, we will enhance the responsiveness of Special Operations Forces in the region (increasing our overall air and ground capabilities in Europe). We also recently established an aviation detachment in Poland, enhancing their fixed wing training opportunities.

Question. Do you believe that additional reductions in U.S. forces stationed in Europe, including the Army and the Air Force, should be considered consistent with EUCOM's key strategic missions?

Answer. We must ensure that our posture adapts and evolves in ways that respond to, and anticipate, changes in the international security environment. The persistence of conflict, the diffusion of power around the world, the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons technologies, and rising pressures on the freedom of the global commons pose new security challenges that require innovative adjustments to our defense posture. To this end, we will seek a new cooperative architecture, one that generates opportunities to work together with allies and partners on shared regional and global security opportunities and challenges. We'll continue to align our posture to achieve our national strategy goals and objectives.

Question. If confirmed, would you agree to undertake a review of the U.S. force posture in Europe to determine whether additional reductions are appropriate?

Answer. Yes. EUCOM is currently supporting an internal DOD European infrastructure consolidation analysis. I look forward to reviewing the recommendations of this effort and working with the Department and Congress to ensure our military presence in Europe continues to effectively and efficiently support our national strategy.

USE OF ROTATIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE

Question. The January 2012 Defense Strategic Guidance stresses the importance of a U.S. rotational presence for building partner capacity and promoting interoperability.

What role do you foresee for U.S.-based forces in maintaining a rotational presence in Europe and promoting interoperability with our NATO and other European partners?

Answer. EUCOM leverages the Global Force Management system to meet force requirements in order to build partner capacity and promote interoperability with allies and partners that cannot be addressed by our assigned forces. This includes employing U.S.-based Navy and Marine Corps forces for NATO exercises and our annual Black Sea Rotational Force program of training and military-to-military activities with allies and partners in the Black Sea/Caucasus region. The reinvigoration of U.S. participation in the NATO Response Force and rotation of U.S.-based battalion task forces to Europe will create additional opportunities to build partner capacity and promote interoperability that complement the activities of U.S. Army Europe. These efforts, by our assigned and rotational forces, are critical to preserving the gains in interoperability and ally/partner nation expeditionary capability that have been forged over the past decade of operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

U.S. COMMITMENT UNDER ARTICLE V OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

Question. A cornerstone of the NATO alliance is the principle of collective self-defense as codified in Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty.

In your view, how important to U.S. strategic interests is the U.S. commitment to its obligations under Article V?

Answer. The United States is unquestionably committed to its Article 5 obligations. The formal, demonstrated, and sustained commitment to Article 5 collective defense by the United States has provided the backbone for the most successful Alliance in history. For the past 64 years, this commitment has contributed to an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity in Europe and North America. But the strategic value of the U.S. commitment is not a win/lose proposition. Both sides of the Atlantic have benefited from America's unwavering commitment. While Europeans have enjoyed the benefit of a powerful security guarantee, the United States has gained a voice in European security affairs and an economically strong trading partner resulting in a Transatlantic Alliance that represents 50 percent of the world's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Moreover, it is our allies' commitment to NATO which has enabled interoperable European and Canadian forces to deploy alongside the United States in Afghanistan, to stay the course in Kosovo, to take the lead in Libya (enabled by the United States), and to conduct maritime missions in the Mediterranean as well as counter-piracy in the Indian Ocean. Today, NATO remains the world's premier security organization and an essential component of the transatlantic security bridge. It provides a forum for political and military combined action, and is exhibiting an increasingly global perspective. It has become a hub to cooperate with like-minded partners such as Australia, South Korea, Singapore, New Zealand, and Japan. All of this is made possible because of how seriously the United States takes its Article 5 obligations. In my view, the U.S. commitment to Article 5 is a strategic imperative.

RUSSIA

Question. U.S. European Command has responsibility for the Russian Federation in its area of responsibility.

How do you see the NATO-Russia relationship evolving in the future?

Answer. Our goal for building NATO-Russia relations is to find ways we can collaborate to address areas where our interests intersect in the complex security environment of the 21st century. We continue to believe that NATO-Russian cooperation can enhance the security of the United States, our allies in Europe, and Russia. However, differences remain, and we look to the NATO-Russia Council as a forum to discuss both our differences as well as our shared interests. The NATO-Russia Council has achieved much through political dialogue over the last few years. There remains a robust military to military cooperation program between NATO and Russia. If confirmed, I look forward to working with my Russian counterparts and furthering these important relationships.

Question. What do you believe are appropriate objectives for U.S.-Russian security relations, and what do you believe are the areas of common interest between the United States and Russia in the security sphere?

Answer. We continue to seek cooperation with Russia in zones of mutual interest and benefit, particularly in the military-to-military areas of combating terrorism, counter-piracy, peacekeeping in unstable regions, and maritime interoperability. Additionally, we look for ways to support interagency efforts in areas beyond direct Russian Defense Ministry oversight, particularly in counternarcotics, humanitarian assistance/disaster response, and support to capacity-building for Afghanistan security forces through 2014 and beyond, such as the Afghanistan Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund.

EUROPEAN PHASED ADAPTIVE APPROACH TO MISSILE DEFENSE

Question. In September 2009, President Obama announced that he had accepted the unanimous recommendation of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to implement the European Phased Adaptive Approach to missile defense, designed to provide capability against the existing and emerging missile threat from Iran. Phase 1 was successfully deployed by the end of 2011, including an Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense-capable ship on patrol in the Mediterranean, an early-warning missile defense radar in Turkey, and a command and control center in Germany. Future phases will include Standard Missile-3 interceptors based at sea and on land in Romania and Poland.

Do you agree that the European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) will provide the capability needed to protect U.S. forces in Europe and our NATO European allies against existing and emerging Iranian missile threats?

Answer. Yes. EPAA Phases 1–3 are designed to address the increasing missile threat. The United States remains firmly committed to Phases 1–3 which is the United States' contribution to NATO missile defense. In the words of Secretary Hagel: "Let me emphasize the strong and continued commitment of the United States to NATO missile defense. That commitment remains ironclad." EUCOM has already deployed Phase 1 capability including a radar to Turkey, which is now under NATO Command and Control, and Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense-capable ships to the Mediterranean.

The United States' commitment to Phases 2 and 3 includes the development of missile defense sites in Romania (2015) as part of Phase 2 and in Poland (2018) as part of Phase 3. Both deployments remain on schedule and on budget, and coordinated with both countries. Construction on the Romanian site is scheduled to begin this year in addition to equipment purchases for the Phase 3 site in Poland. The goal of Phase 4 of the EPAA was to defend the United States against an ICBM attack from the Middle East. Though we are no longer planning for Phase 4, we will achieve its intended effect sooner by additional GBIs deployed in Alaska, which will also enhance protection of the United States against the growing threat from North Korea.

Question. Do you believe that it is important to develop the Standard Missile-3, Block IIB interceptor in order to have the capability to defend against potential future long-range Iranian missiles that could reach all of Europe as well as the United States?

Answer. We support the Secretary of Defense's decision and we believe the solution that has been described is the most technologically sound decision at this time.

MISSILE DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA

Question. The United States and NATO are seeking options to cooperate with Russia on missile defense against common missile threats from nations such as Iran. President Obama has announced that such cooperation would not limit U.S. or NATO missile defense capabilities.

Do you agree that such cooperation could enhance the security of the United States, NATO, and Russia against common missile threats from nations such as Iran?

Answer. Yes. Constructive cooperation with Russia in fields of mutual interest, such as missile defense, is a EUCOM goal. If confirmed, I would look to continue supporting U.S. interagency efforts to increase cooperation and transparency with Russia. Cooperation with Russia demonstrates our transparency and develops trust between nations. In turn this trust underpins and enhances our security.

Question. Do you believe that such cooperation could send a powerful signal to Iran and help in our efforts to dissuade Iran from pursuing nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles?

Answer. Yes. Strategic cooperation between Russia and NATO has many benefits that strengthen our security. We have seen how coordination with Russia on topics of mutual interest can send powerful messages. However, our work at EUCOM is closely aligned with the progress of the NATO-Russia Council in defining and aligning our interests in missile defense.

Question. In response to a committee question to General Martin Dempsey, then-nominee to be Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Dempsey stated that missile defense cooperation with Russia “could result in tangible benefits to the United States, Europe, and Russia in the form of a more robust common defense against missile threats, which could strengthen strategic stability and transparency. U.S. cooperation with Russia along the lines of shared early warning of missile launches, technical exchanges, operational cooperation and planning, and joint exercises would be mutually beneficial.”

Do you agree with General Dempsey’s assessment?

Answer. Yes. Both the U.S. and NATO Russia Council are working on constructive engagements with Russia on Missile Defense, to include joint technical studies and exercises when Russia is ready.

NATO MISSILE DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS

Question. The United States is deploying the EPAA as its contribution to NATO missile defense capability. As part of its decision to develop such a capability, NATO has agreed to develop and pay for a missile defense command and control network, the active Layered Theater Ballistic Missile Defense system. Various NATO nations, including Turkey, Poland, Romania, Germany, and Spain, have agreed to host elements of NATO missile defense, and they and others are making additional national contributions to NATO missile defense.

Do you agree that this current NATO approach to missile defense contributions is reasonable and appropriate?

Answer. Yes, I do. If confirmed, I am looking forward to continuing to emphasize the efforts already underway, as well as increasing allied coordination and cooperation during my time as EUCOM Commander in order to facilitate and enable additional allied contributions to the Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) mission.

EUCOM is observing that the NATO response to the ballistic missile threat is increasing, and we are actively working with our allies to explore additional capabilities that complement and are interoperable with the United States’ EPAA contribution to NATO. For instance, EUCOM just hosted (in September 2012) an Allied BMD Upgrade Conference in Berlin, Germany, with eight allies (the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Spain, France, United Kingdom, Italy) that already possess advanced land-based and maritime air defense assets that could be upgraded for BMD capability. I look forward to continuing and expanding such engagement activities with our allies.

Additionally, EUCOM has aligned our exercise program to provide increased opportunities to work with our NATO allies on the non-technical aspects of interoperability, including the ability to execute missile defense.

I think it is also important to keep in mind that the Chicago Summit called for “voluntary national contributions to NATO missile defense”. Several of the allies are already stepping up in this regard, to include: our basing allies (Spain, Romania, Poland, Turkey, Germany); allies that possess lower tier BMD capabilities, such as the Netherlands and Germany (with their Patriot PAC-3 systems); as well as allies that are considering or already upgrading existing maritime and land-based air defense systems to provide upper tier surveillance and interceptor capacity to the Alli-

ance. For example, the Netherlands recently announced the signing of a contract to upgrade all four of their Air Defense Command Frigates for BMD surveillance capability that could be used to cue U.S. Aegis BMD ships or other allied BMD assets, and provide air defense escort for U.S. BMD ships. Poland and Turkey are considering the purchase of lower tier BMD systems, such as the Patriot PAC-3. In short, many allies are already providing support to various aspects of the BMD mission in Europe, and could potentially provide additional contributions across the full spectrum of the missile defense mission, including: basing; passive defense; active defense; theater missile warning; command and control; attack operations; and consequence management. All of these are important contributions to NATO's ballistic missile defense mission.

NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL

Question. The NATO-Russia Council (NRC) has served as an important venue for discussions and cooperation between NATO and Russia, including missile defense cooperation such as the Theater Missile Defense exercise program. Recent NATO communiqués have expressed support for expanded cooperation through the NATO-Russia Council, including on missile defense.

Do you believe the NATO-Russia Council has potential as a forum for NATO-Russian cooperation, including cooperation on missile defense?

Answer. Yes, I do.

The NATO-Russia Council Work Program provides for multiple agreed areas of cooperation with Russia, including not only missile defense, but also the Afghanistan Helicopter Maintenance Trust Fund, counter-narcotics training for South and Central Asia, combating terrorism, crisis management, logistics, maritime search and rescue, counter-piracy, and others. Although missile defense remains a point of contention between NATO and Russia, discussions on possible cooperation continue. NATO has held active discussions with Russia through the NATO-Russia Council Missile Defense Working group. We continue to believe that cooperation with Russia on missile defense can enhance the security of both NATO and Russia.

Question. Do you support continuation of the Theater Missile Defense exercise program within the NATO-Russia Council?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Both the U.S. and NATO-Russia Council are working on constructive engagements with Russia on Theater Missile Defense, to include cooperative technical studies and exercises when Russia is ready. The effectiveness of these efforts will ultimately depend on Russia's willingness to engage.

EUCOM ROLE IN COORDINATING MISSILE DEFENSE WITH ISRAEL

Question. U.S. European Command has Israel in its area of responsibility (AOR) and, among other missions, has the mission of coordinating and integrating U.S. missile defense capabilities and operations with those of Israel. To this end, EUCOM has sponsored a number of previous missile defense exercises with Israel. In addition, the United States has deployed a EUCOM missile defense radar (known as an AN/TPY-2 radar) to enhance defense against missiles from Iran.

Do you agree that this EUCOM mission of coordination and integration of U.S. and Israeli missile defense capabilities and operations is a critical component of our security posture in the EUCOM AOR?

Answer. Yes, I do. Cooperation between the United States and Israel is important to the security of the Middle East, and reflects a common understanding of the global security environment. Periodic missile defense exercises such as Exercise Austere Challenge 12 provided an excellent opportunity to train our military forces to respond to a regional crisis. This training is essential to building and maintaining defense interoperability and ensures Israel's qualitative military edge.

Question. If confirmed, would you continue to make this mission a high priority as Commander of EUCOM?

Answer. Yes. EUCOM has a robust program to support co-development, integration, and exercises focused on the missile defense of Israel. If confirmed, the defense of Israel will continue to remain a EUCOM high-priority mission under my command.

NATO-LED KOSOVO FORCE

Question. Approximately 5,600 troops from 30 contributing nations, including nearly 900 U.S. troops, are deployed as part of the NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR). KFOR's mission is to assist in maintaining a safe and secure environment in Kosovo consistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 and to support the

development of the Kosovo Security Force (KSF). NATO has sought to gradually draw down the KFOR presence as the security situation has improved.

What do you see as the major challenges in Kosovo, including in connection with the establishment of the Kosovo Security Force?

Answer. The principle challenge facing Kosovo is solidifying the gains of independence and continuing to build the institutions of a modern democratic state. Much progress has been made, but more work remains. A key to allow Kosovo the space to undertake key reforms is the quest for and implementation of an acceptable political agreement with Belgrade that will resolve the long-standing impasse over northern Kosovo. Setting the stage for successful negotiations and peaceful resolution remains the top priority. Resolution of this impasse is critical for Kosovo's and the region's long-term stability.

Subsequently, the Kosovo Security Force (KSF) has matured, under its limited mandate, into a professional, multi-ethnic, civil response focused, security organization. However, the KSF does not yet possess the capabilities to replace KFOR as Kosovo's enduring security and defense organization. Our goal is to start building these additional capabilities with the KSF early next year after Kosovo legislative restrictions are lifted this summer. It is essential that NATO is an active partner in shaping the future KSF with U.S. support, so that the future KSF contributes to, not detracts from, regional security and is not viewed as a threat to its neighbors. Some allies who do not recognize Kosovo's independence are slow to support increasing competencies of the KSF which could pose additional challenges in the future.

Question. If confirmed, what additional steps, if any, would you recommend to enhance the ability of KFOR to carry out and complete its mission in Kosovo?

Answer. KFOR must act within its mandate and mission and we must not allow KFOR's role to include the realm of law enforcement, yet this is the predominate capability required to maintain peace in Kosovo. KFOR's most effective role is to deter violence through a strong presence, and to respond as a third provider to unrest that exceeds Kosovo Police and European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) capabilities. Within this context, our best approach includes: (1) strong support for continued dialogue; (2) urging Europe to maintain or increase their contributions to EULEX and encourage EULEX to robustly fulfill its mandate; (3) urging allies to fully meet force commitments to KFOR to present a strong and unified KFOR presence; and (4) maintain the U.S. plan to provide a timely military response after NATO response forces become committed in the event of crisis.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

Question. What are your views on whether NATO would benefit from further rounds of enlargement?

Answer. The policy on enlargement is set out in Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty. NATO has an "Open Door" policy of further enlargement that was agreed to by the Alliance Heads of States and Government at the Lisbon Summit in 2010 and reaffirmed at the Chicago Summit this year. The decision of which Nations are offered, and when they join, is political and will be ultimately decided by the 28 member states of NATO.

Question. What criteria should the United States apply in evaluating candidates for future NATO enlargement?

Answer. The criteria are well established in the Membership Action Plan mechanism, which I support. It supports stable, democratic, and reform-driven Nations who wish to contribute to security.

Question. In your view, is there a limit on the extent to which NATO can be enlarged and still be an effective military organization capable of making decisions and acting in a timely fashion?

Answer. NATO has gone through several rounds of enlargement, and has continued to prove itself effective.

GEORGIA

Question. In your view, how should the United States and NATO proceed on the issue of NATO membership for Georgia?

Answer. This is a political issue and outside the role and responsibilities of SACEUR. As I stated previously, Article 10 of the Washington Treaty, and the agreed Open Door policy for further NATO enlargement, allow for stable, democratic and reform-driven Nations to be considered for NATO membership.

That said, I believe the U.S. and NATO should continue to reaffirm support for Georgia's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and the Bucharest decision regarding Georgia's eventual NATO membership. Georgia's democratic reform progress, exem-

plified by the successful October parliamentary elections and transition of leadership between democratic parties, their unwavering and substantive support to ISAF operations, and commitment to the Geneva talks and a peaceful resolution of the South Ossetia and Abkhazia territorial disputes are all very encouraging signs that we commend. Likewise, Georgia continues to demonstrate itself as a strong partner of NATO through its contributions to our ISAF mission, where its two infantry battalions serve with no operational caveats, shoulder to shoulder with U.S. marines, in one of the most dangerous regions of Afghanistan. We will continue to encourage the new Georgian Government in its reform efforts. EUCOM is committed to assisting the new government through close partnership and continued engagement just as we have in the past.

Question. Section 1242 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2012 requires the Secretary of Defense, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, to develop a plan for normalized U.S. defense cooperation with Georgia, including the sale of defensive arms.

What is your assessment of current U.S. defense cooperation with Georgia?

Answer. The United States currently has a vigorous defense cooperation program with Georgia. We conduct hundreds of events annually in a wide-range of areas to include: cyber defense; border security; professional military education development; and counterinsurgency operations training, to name a few. Georgia has one of the most robust Foreign Military Financing programs in EUCOM, with funding at approximately \$14 million.

In January 2012, President Obama offered six enhanced engagement areas to President Saakashvili, which will help the Georgians improve their national defense. Those areas are:

1. Operational air surveillance/air defense training and education;
2. Coastal surveillance training and education;
3. Tactical level train-the-trainer instruction for Junior Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers;
4. Brigade command and staff training and education;
5. Defensive combat engineer training and education; and
6. Utility helicopter aviation training support.

EUCOM has already conducted or has planned initial engagements with Georgia in all these areas. We are aggressively using our International Military Education and Training funding to fulfill many of the educational requirements in these areas. These new areas of cooperation, which are in addition to continuing cooperation in defense institution building efforts, focus on Georgia's self-defense capabilities and NATO interoperability.

Question. What opportunities, if any, do you see for enhanced U.S. defense cooperation with Georgia, including defensive arms?

Answer. With regard to defensive equipment, the Obama administration has agreed to consider favorably the sale of air surveillance radars, coastal surveillance acoustic systems, and small arms ammunition.

NATO-EUROPEAN UNION

Question. How would you characterize the NATO–EU relationship today?

Answer. It is a strong partnership. This is reflected in the Strategic Concept from the Lisbon Summit, which determined to strengthen the strategic partnership between NATO and the European Union (EU).

That said, the characterization of the NATO–EU relationship is largely a political issue outside the purview of the role of the SACEUR. However, from a military perspective, the two organizations can be complementary partners in a comprehensive approach addressing complex crisis, and I believe the relationship is improving. NATO and the EU are now coordinating efforts to improve capabilities and the EU is using NATO Defense Planning baseline information to help establish priorities.

Question. In your view, what should be NATO's position with regard to European efforts to strengthen the European Security and Defense Policy and build military capacity within the European Union?

Answer. NATO's position regarding the strengthening of European Security and Defense Policy will be decided at the political level by its 28 member nations. However, from a purely military perspective there is no question that within Europe the military capabilities are derived from a single pool of forces which are made available to either NATO or the EU based on a political decision. Of the 27 EU member nations, 21 are in NATO. The building of the capacity and capability of forces within the EU is also the building of military capacity and capability for NATO. In a resource constrained environment it makes sense to leverage the capabilities of all NATO and EU members to ensure the best return on a limited defense investment.

If confirmed, this is an area in which I would seek to develop complementary activities in coordination with my counterpart, General Jean-Paul Palomeros of Allied Command Transformation, in Norfolk, who is leading the military effort to develop capabilities in NATO.

FRANCE

Question. What is your assessment of the impact of France rejoining the integrated military structure?

Answer. I strongly welcome the significant contributions across the Alliance made by France. France is one of the most militarily capable members of NATO, and is a critical ally of the United States. We believe France's decision to reintegrate into the NATO integrated military structure has been mutually beneficial. The alliance is stronger militarily, the transatlantic link is more solid, and our own bilateral relationship with France is strengthened along with it. We appreciate France's leadership in the alliance—in terms of capabilities, defense investment, and contributions to operations.

UNIFIED COMMAND PLAN CHANGES

Question. It has been reported that Admiral McRaven, Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM), is seeking changes to the Unified Command Plan (UCP) that he believes would allow SOCOM to better support the requirements of the Theater Special Operations Commands (TSOCs). Reportedly, such changes would give the Commander of SOCOM combatant command authority over the TSOCs—including responsibilities for resourcing—and provide for more rapid deployment of Special Operations Forces to and between geographic combatant commands without the requirement for approval by the Secretary of Defense in every case. Operational control of deployed Special Operations Forces would reportedly remain with the respective geographic combatant commander.

Some have expressed concern that such changes could raise problems related to civilian control of the military, infringe upon the traditional authorities of the geographic combatant commanders, and make it more difficult for Ambassadors and geographic combatant commanders to know what military personnel are coming into their areas of responsibility and what they are doing while they are there.

Please provide your assessment of whether such UCP changes are appropriate.

Answer. The UCP changes to SOCOM are designed to provide a greater measure of flexibility in responding to the fluid and global nature of counterterrorism. Along with the approved changes in our assigned forces document called 'Forces for', they provide a level of global perspective to the counter-terror fight that is currently lacking within DOD. By altering the command relationship slightly, SOCOM gains abilities that have been in use in Operation Enduring Freedom since 2005 (under SOCOM 121 authorities). These authorities have allowed for rapid deployment of U.S.-based Special Operations Forces to and between the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) and U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) areas of responsibility. They are appropriate, as long as caveats relating to minimum force levels discussed between EUCOM and SOCOM are implemented.

Question. Please address any concerns that such UCP changes may raise, including whether such changes would conflict with civilian control of the military, infringe upon authorities provided to the geographic combatant commanders, or raise concerns with the State Department?

Answer. The UCP and "Forces for" changes do not conflict with civilian control of the military as, fundamentally, the changes require and defer to civilian authority. This is a bedrock principle of the U.S. military's constitutional obligation to fully abide by civilian authority. Additionally, these changes, with the agreed-upon caveat suggested by EUCOM, do not infringe upon the authority of the geographic combatant commanders (GCC) in any way. Forces assigned to a GCC remain under the operational control (OPCON) of that GCC, and therefore require GCC concurrence prior to being assigned outside the theater. This arrangement fundamentally supports geographic combatant commander authority. The same would be true of forces entering the theater. This will allay State Department concerns about the UCP change, as it maintains the current notification and permissions relationship between the GCC and ambassadors, ensuring that foreign policy concerns continue to be addressed in the same manner as before. The caveat mentioned above is that EUCOM requested an identified baseline of Special Operations Forces assigned to the GCC. This would allow EUCOM to make long-term plans for the engagement of partners and allies in theater with confidence that the forces assigned against those engagements are not withdrawn from the theater without an informed discussion of the costs and disruptions that might be incurred.

INTERAGENCY COLLABORATION

Question. The collaboration between U.S. Special Operations Forces, general purpose forces, and other U.S. Government departments and agencies has played a significant role in the success of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations in recent years. However, much of this collaboration has been ad hoc in nature.

What do you believe are the most important lessons learned from the collaborative interagency efforts in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere?

Answer. I believe working in a collaborative manner with representatives from other Federal partners is essential to achieving success for any combatant commander. The value provided by representatives from other agencies cannot and should not be duplicated within the Defense Department. That is why every geographic combatant command now has some organizational entity designed to facilitate collaborative interagency efforts. At EUCOM Headquarters, that organization is the J9-Interagency Partnering Directorate established through the vision and wisdom of ADM Stavridis in November 2009. EUCOM's J9 model has been emulated at other geographic combatant commands, including U.S. Pacific Command; U.S. Southern Command, under the leadership of ADM Stavridis; U.S. Africa Command; and, most recently, U.S. Northern Command. At EUCOM, the J9 Interagency Partnering Directorate hosts 12 Federal agency partners from U.S. Government Departments and Agencies, including: the Departments of State, Justice, Treasury, Homeland Security, Energy; and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). EUCOM utilizes a broad definition of "interagency partnering" to include collaboration with non-governmental, academic and private sector partners.

In another compelling whole-of-government initiative, EUCOM installed a career foreign service officer and senior State Department leader to serve as the "Civilian Deputy to the Commander." The creation of that position, the Command's most senior "interagency representative" was also an initiative developed by Jim Stavridis. The position is presently filled by Ambassador Larry Butler.

In my mind, the key to successful interagency partnering is to properly identify and engage partners early in the planning process in order to capture the expertise these organizations can bring to the effort at hand. Once engaged, we must maintain open and continuous communications with each other throughout operations to fully realize the benefit of everyone's unique experiences, expertise, and contributions.

Question. How do you believe these efforts can be improved?

Answer. Our environment is characterized by decreasing resources and an atmosphere of multiple distributed threats. Given this setting, it makes both fiscal and strategic sense to continue advocating for an interagency, whole-of-government, collaborative approach as a fundamental modus operandi. I believe this is the most effective and efficient method for us to safeguard and advance U.S. and Theater priorities.

Question. If confirmed, what role would you seek to play in encouraging greater interagency collaboration between U.S. Special Operations Forces, general purpose forces, and other U.S. Government departments and agencies?

Answer. If confirmed, I would seek to continue the innovative interagency efforts underway at EUCOM Headquarters through initiatives like the Civilian Deputy Commander, the J9 Interagency Partnering Directorate, and the Joint Interagency Counter-Trafficking Center. These offices help ensure the combatant command continues to engage in early and continuous interagency coordination, planning, and collaboration. They foster a mindset that encourages linking U.S. Government agency representatives to relevant DOD headquarters and component staffs. These efforts have ensured the expertise, capabilities, and priorities of twelve hosted partner agencies are coordinated with critical EUCOM and component planning and execution efforts. If confirmed, I would continue to support this important 21st century way of thinking; strengthening existing relationships among Federal and non-governmental partners and the command. I would also look for opportunities to expand their participation across the Command to capitalize on the capabilities, authorities, and reach-back abilities present in their parent organizations.

SPECIAL OPERATIONS PERSONNEL IN EMBASSIES

Question. U.S. Special Operations Command deploys personnel to work with country teams in a number of priority countries where the United States is not engaged in direct action operations but rather trying to stop the spread of violent extremism. Their mission is to support the priorities of the ambassador and the geographic combatant commander's theater campaign plan against terrorist networks. At times, ambassadors have complained that they have not been adequately informed of activities by Special Operations Forces in their country.

If confirmed, what do you intend to do to make sure the goals of special operations personnel deployed to these countries are aligned closely with those of the ambassadors they are working with?

Answer. If confirmed, I will promote an interagency approach as we assess the deployment of military forces within the EUCOM AOR. U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM) must have flexibility to respond to the fluid and global nature of counterterrorism. However, the ambassadors must be notified of these deployments to ensure foreign policy concerns are addressed adequately.

Question. What is your assessment of the value of these special operations personnel to their respective geographic combatant commands and the country teams they are supporting?

Answer. Special operations forces are an invaluable resource to the geographic combatant commander. From my experience in Afghanistan, these forces provide a unique capability that is indispensable to global counterterrorism efforts.

MARINE SECURITY GUARDS IN EMBASSIES

Question. Due to the attack on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi, Libya, which resulted in the death of a U.S. Ambassador and three other Americans, many are conveying concern about the safety of U.S. diplomatic personnel around the world.

Do you share this concern?

Answer. I do share this committee's concern for the safety of our diplomatic colleagues stationed around the world.

Question. The Marine Security Guard Program was established in 1946, and its mission, to provide internal security at designated embassies of classified information and equipment, remains unchanged to this day.

In light of increasing threats to U.S. diplomatic personnel by terrorists throughout the world, do you believe it is time to re-examine the Program's mission and protocols?

Answer. The Marine Corps Embassy Security Group does not fall under the authority of the combatant commands. EUCOM does not have the expertise to comment on the Marine Security Guard Program's mission and protocols.

Question. If so, should it be broadened to provide additional protection to U.S. diplomatic personnel?

Answer. Although the primary mission of the Marine Security Guard Program is to provide internal security services at designated U.S. diplomatic and consular facilities to prevent the compromise of classified information and equipment vital to the national security of the United States, a secondary mission is to provide protection for U.S. citizens and U.S. Government property located within designated U.S. diplomatic and consular premises during exigent circumstances (urgent temporary circumstances which require immediate aid or action).

Question. In your opinion, what additional steps, if any, should be taken to reduce the risk of attacks on U.S. embassies and consulates and diplomatic personnel by terrorist organizations throughout the world and in the EUCOM area of responsibility, in particular?

Answer. The risk of attack to our diplomatic facilities can never be completely eliminated. Working closely with my Department of State colleagues, I will seek to reduce the risk by leveraging the expertise of our interagency partners in order to strengthen our comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy. In an era of decreasing resources and increased threats, we must utilize a whole-of-government approach to reduce the risk to our diplomatic facilities and personnel in the EUCOM area of responsibility and beyond.

NATO SPECIAL OPERATIONS HEADQUARTERS

Question. The NATO Special Operations Forces Headquarters (NSHQ) was created in 2007 to enhance the capabilities of and promote interoperability between the Special Operations Forces (SOF) of NATO member nations. Admiral McRaven, Commander of U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM), has credited the NSHQ with bringing about "a generational leap forward in NATO Allied and Partner SOF capabilities."

What do you see as the value of NSHQ to ISAF operations in Afghanistan?

Answer. Since its establishment in 2007, the NATO Special Operations Force Head Quarters (NSHQ) has quietly made an immense behind the scenes impact on operations in Afghanistan, and more broadly, in the development of a wider Allied and Partner SOF. In an ISAF context, one of the over arching achievements has been the establishment of a coherent framework for Allied and Partner SOF operations under the ISAF mandate that was non-existent prior to the inception of the NSHQ. This crucial framework has not only brought a greater capability to ISAF,

but has also served to underpin a more effective and relevant and inter-operable SOF capability through the creation of doctrine, training, and common standards. Moreover, the NSHQ has also been instrumental in supporting increased SOF contributions by Allies and Partners to ISAF operations. Allied and Partner SOF contributions on the ground have increased by some 500 percent since 2007.

The NSHQ has also closed a number of operational gaps identified in Afghanistan by developing and conducting a comprehensive purpose built training and education program at the NATO SOF School. This effort has included combined joint SOF staff operations and procedures, technical exploitation, threat network analysis, imagery analysis, and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) full motion video employment. Additionally, the NSHQ has enabled NATO Allied and Partner SOF through the reciprocal sharing of classified information leveraging both the NATO SOF communications network and the NSHQ's the Special Operations Forces Fusion Cell (SOFFC) in Kabul that serves more than 2,200 Allied and Partner SOF personnel operating under ISAF. These enhancements include enabling Allied and Partner SOF task forces to receive ISR video feeds in support of partnered advise and assist operations with their Afghan counterparts in the Provincial Response Companies (PRC).

Question. What role do you believe the NSHQ should play in future contingencies involving NATO SOF?

Answer. Operations in Afghanistan have led to significant gains in SOF capabilities and capacities across Allied and Partner SOF. Let me also point out that the benefits realized from the enhancement of SOF within the Alliance by the NSHQ also impact bi-lateral and multilateral SOF operations outside of a NATO context. In response to operational requirements, the NSHQ has successfully established a NATO Allied and Partner SOF community where none existed previously. This human SOF network transcends the Alliance and habitually includes non-NATO SOF partners from Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Finland, Austria, and Switzerland. Looking ahead to future challenges, we need to transfer the synergy, effectiveness, and efficiency acquired as a result of operational drivers in Afghanistan, to counter-piracy, and from NSHQ activities, and orient them towards emerging Alliance security challenges. In many instances SOF will play an instrumental role in mitigating threats. The NSHQ role will be crucial in developing a more responsive and agile series of SOF capabilities including scaled force packages with organic plug and play capabilities. NSHQ coordination and focus will ensure greater utility to the Alliance with an assured full spectrum SOF capability.

Question. How do you believe the NSHQ can most effectively support NATO SOF capabilities and interoperability?

Answer. The NSHQ role, with its specific and focused advocacy of SOF initiatives, is a crucial driver of Alliance SOF capability and interoperability. Moreover, as highlighted at the February NATO Defense Ministers meeting, NATO SOF interoperability will be key to supporting NATO's Connected Forces initiative. It is important to recognize that there is no more efficient or effective means to develop SOF capabilities, capacities, and interoperability than through an enduring Alliance with a dedicated SOF advocate hence the reason the NATO SOF Transformation Initiative was launched following the North Atlantic Council endorsement at the Riga Summit in 2006. As mentioned, the NSHQ has made unprecedented strides in the development of SOF capabilities and capacities across a range of disciplines and functional areas. Significant improvements include the areas of command, control, communications, information sharing, policy making, doctrine and standard operating procedures. A robust SOF community of interest in SOF medicine has enabled the development of this critical capability across the Alliance. A well-documented Alliance and National SOF capability gap is in SOF air which was painfully evident in Afghanistan and in many cases affected our operational tempo. The NSHQ is working to gain similar momentum to promote enhanced capability, capacity and interoperability in the air domain. Success will be the integration of these capabilities that will eventually allow for a more responsive employment of SOF in a NATO context and among national SOF.

Question. What do you believe are the appropriate roles for EUCOM and SOCOM in providing guidance and resources to the NSHQ?

Answer. The NATO Special Operations Headquarters is under the daily operational command of the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, so in terms of guidance, if confirmed, I would oversee all operational issues related to the NSHQ. As Commander, EUCOM, I am delegated authority from the Joint Staff to execute U.S. Lead Agent and framework nation representative responsibilities, including managing NSHQ manpower and strength with support from the Army to manage fiscal resourcing. The Commander of SOCOM is designated as the Lead Component charged with Executive Agent responsibilities within the U.S. Department of De-

fense. In that capacity, Admiral McRaven exercises SOF custodianship of U.S. framework nation related activities.

MASS ATROCITIES PREVENTION

Question. President Obama identified the prevention of mass atrocities and genocide as a core U.S. national security interest, as well as a core moral interest, in August 2011 under Presidential Study Directive 10.

Among interagency partners, what is EUCOM's role in addressing atrocity threats, and what tools does EUCOM have for preventing or responding to atrocities in its AOR?

Answer. EUCOM has been one of the DOD leaders in the development of an analytical framework to shape the military's role within the interagency community to focus on the unique aspects of preventing and responding to mass atrocities. EUCOM has developed detailed operational level tools to prevent and respond to atrocity threats along three broad lines of effort. These lines of effort include operational integration to transform evolving concepts into practicable/executable tactics, techniques, and procedures; doctrine development to institutionalize already accepted practices; and policy development/refinement to foster interagency integration. A year ago, EUCOM co-hosted a conference with AFRICOM to catalyze a broad discussion on mass atrocity prevention and response operations as well as address the requirements of Presidential Study Directive 10. Attendees included senior representatives from the National Security Staff, Department of State, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Joint Staff, and Dr. Sarah Sewall, Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University.

Question. Has EUCOM developed planning processes toward this effort so that it will be able to respond quickly in emergency situations?

Answer. Yes. EUCOM has a level-two contingency plan for conducting peace operations in the EUCOM area of responsibility with the focus to contain conflict, redress the peace, and intervene to either prevent or respond to mass atrocities. The plan provides the staff with tools to facilitate a rapid response to include: a mass atrocity specific commander's critical information requirement; a joint operations center checklist to alert key leaders and initiate crisis action planning; a playbook that delineates critical events in the interagency response process; and a detailed mass atrocity response operation annex that will enable the command to collaboratively plan and execute a mass atrocity response operation.

COUNTER THREAT FINANCE

Question. A number of officials in DOD and the Intelligence Community have called for investing additional resources in identifying and tracking the flow of money associated with terrorist networks and illicit trafficking.

What are your views on the role of DOD in counter threat finance activities?

Answer. I completely agree. Of course, Treasury has lead and a great deal of expertise. The U.S. Government, and in this case the Department of Defense, must invest the required resources to identify and track the revenue flow derived from illicit activities. These funds, increasing by trillions of dollars, are key enablers in challenging security, creating instability, and undermining good governance on a worldwide scale. Through close interagency partnership with U.S. law enforcement agencies, DOD support to counter threat finance serves a critical role in disrupting narco-trafficking and transnational organized crime.

Question. What do you believe is the appropriate role, if any, of EUCOM in supporting counter threat finance activities?

Answer. Again, acknowledging that Treasury has lead, I believe that EUCOM, and all of the regional combatant commands, have a critical role in supporting counter threat finance (CTF) activities. Illicit trafficking organizations operate on a global scale. As a result, attacking these networks requires a comprehensive, synchronized, interagency, and international effort. Currently, EUCOM has an organic CTF team that works collaboratively with U.S. Government interagency and international partners in support of the National Transnational Organized Crime Strategy (TOC) and U.S. national security objectives.

NATIONAL STRATEGY TO COMBAT TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME

Question. Criminal networks are not only expanding their operations, but they are also diversifying their activities, resulting in a convergence of transnational threats that has evolved to become more complex, volatile, and destabilizing. In July 2011, the President released the Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime: Addressing Converging Threats to National Security. One of the priority action areas

designated in the strategy is “enhancing Department of Defense support to U.S. law enforcement”.

What is your understanding of the President’s strategy to combat transnational criminal organizations?

Answer. The President’s strategy to combat transnational organized crime (TOC) is organized around a single, unifying principle—to build, balance, and integrate the tools of American power to combat transnational organized crime and related threats to our national security, and to urge our partners to do the same. The National TOC strategy will achieve this end state by pursuing five key policy objectives:

1. Protect Americans and our partners from the harm, violence, and exploitation of transnational criminal networks.
2. Help partner countries strengthen governance and transparency, break the corruptive power of transnational criminal networks, and sever state-crime alliances.
3. Break the economic power of transnational criminal networks and protect strategic markets and the U.S. financial system from TOC penetration and abuse.
4. Defeat transnational criminal networks that pose the greatest threat to national security by targeting their infrastructures, depriving them of their enabling means, and preventing the criminal facilitation of terrorist activities.
5. Build international consensus, multilateral cooperation, and public-private partnerships to defeat transnational organized crime.

Question. What is your assessment of the threat to the United States posed by transnational organized crime operating in the EUCOM AOR?

Answer. Transnational organized crime networks use sophisticated business models and operations to perpetuate their illicit activities. They are highly adaptable, bold in their techniques, and ruthless in their execution. These networks are expanding and diversifying their activities at an alarming rate. The result is a convergence of well-funded transnational organized crime networks that can destabilize entire economies, undermine good governance, and create national security threats to our Homeland and our allies. TOC networks with links to narcotics and arms smuggling, trafficking in persons, and a variety of other revenue generating commodities operate throughout the EUCOM AOR. These entities, with their exceptional destabilizing influence, threaten our Theater and national security interests, the security and stability of our allies and partners, and U.S. interests both at home and abroad.

Question. What role does EUCOM play in combating transnational organized crime and in training and equipping partner security forces that have been tasked with combating it?

Answer. In Europe, EUCOM’s new Joint Interagency Counter Trafficking Center (JICTC), is focused on facilitating and implementing the National TOC Strategy in conjunction with U.S. interagency organizations and international partners. JICTC’s mission is to support U.S. Interagency and Country Team efforts, and collaborate with similar international organizations, to counter transnational illicit trafficking and other associated threats. JICTC also assists partner nations to build self-sufficient counter-trafficking skills, competencies, and capacity to defend the Homeland forward from the rising threats posed by global transnational illicit trafficking. It is important to emphasize that EUCOM does not seek to become the lead U.S. Government agency for combating organized crime. Rather, EUCOM and its JICTC provide support to U.S. agencies to help synchronize their counter-trafficking efforts in a collaborative, whole-of-government approach. JICTC’s focus areas include: narcotics trafficking; terrorism; weapons trafficking (illicit weapons, as well as WMD); human trafficking; and threat financing.

DOD COUNTER-NARCOTICS ACTIVITIES

Question. DOD serves as the single lead agency for the detection and monitoring of aerial and maritime foreign shipments of drugs flowing toward the United States. On an annual basis, DOD’s counter-narcotics (CN) program expends approximately \$1.5 billion to support the Department’s CN operations, including to build the capacity of U.S. Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies, and certain foreign governments, and provide intelligence support on CN-related matters and a variety of other unique enabling capabilities. EUCOM’s AOR is a receiving market for much of the world’s illegal narcotics.

In your view, what is the appropriate role of DOD—and by extension EUCOM—in counterdrug efforts in the EUCOM AOR?

Answer. The appropriate DOD role in counterdrug efforts inside the EUCOM AOR is to contribute directly and meaningfully to the U.S. Interagency development of

international, comprehensive, synchronized, and proactive drug control strategies. Additionally, EUCOM must work with U.S. Country Teams to help build the capacity of partner-nations to detect, interdict, and prosecute transnational organized criminals before their activities adversely impact the United States or U.S. interests. Those interests include stemming the illicit revenues raised by the drug trade, revenue which poses a direct threat to U.S. interests and security in Afghanistan and along our Nation's southern borders.

Question. Given that the vast majority of illegal drugs arriving in Europe are not destined for the United States, should DOD invest resources in countering the flow of illegal drugs to or through Europe?

Answer. Yes. There is a clear financial and logistical illicit trafficking nexus in Europe. This nexus, rooted in the drug trade, sustains increasingly global illicit trafficking networks that pose a direct and growing threat to U.S. security and interests, for it is not only drugs that can move across these networks. For an extraordinarily modest investment, EUCOM and its Joint Interagency Counter Trafficking Center (JICTC) are playing a critical role in the forward defense of the United States from this growing 21st century threat. EUCOM's path-breaking work in this arena is playing a vital role in the support, facilitation, and synthesis of a variety of efforts among U.S. Government interagency and international partners to implement the National TOC Strategy, and take some degree of effective action against this multi-billion dollar security challenge. The alternative—providing no funding and eliminating this important work—will allow global illicit traffickers to continue working in and through Europe unchecked, with direct and indirect consequences for U.S. security efforts and interests.

BUILDING PARTNER CAPACITY WITHIN THE EUCOM AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY (AOR)

Question. In the past several years, Congress has provided a number of new authorities requiring the Departments of Defense and State to work collaboratively to provide security assistance to partner nations. These include the global train and equip authority ("section 1206") and the Global Security Contingency Fund.

In your view, what should be our strategic objectives in building the capacities of partner nations?

Answer. In my view, the principal strategic objective of building partner capacity is to be able to share more of the burden of protecting our vital national security interests with our allies and partners. This involves assisting our allies and partners so that they can participate in and/or lead multilateral military operations, contribute to regional stability, counter transnational threats, and provide for their own internal security. At EUCOM, our focus is shifting to preserving the partner nation capabilities that have been developed through a decade of combined operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya, as well as our building partner capacity efforts, to meet the challenges of a post-2014 environment.

Question. How would you define our strategic objectives for building the capacity of partner nations in the European Command area of responsibility and in what ways, if any, do those objectives differ from other geographic combatant commands?

Answer. The strategic objectives for building partner capacity in the EUCOM area of responsibility are defined in the Guidance for Employment of the Force. One of these strategic objectives is that U.S. allies and partners in the theater have the capability and capacity for regional security, to conduct military operations with the United States and NATO, and to contribute to operations worldwide. This objective is of special significance to the European theater because of NATO, and because the majority of countries in the theater are stable democracies with skilled, capable military forces across the joint spectrum. As a result, Europe is far more of a security provider than a security consumer. The foremost examples of this reality are in Afghanistan, where European allies and partners account for 92 percent of the non-U.S. forces in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF); and in Libya where, within weeks, NATO quickly assumed leadership of the mission and conducted 75 percent of all sorties and 100 percent of maritime operations.

Question. What is the relationship of the global train and equip authority and the Global Security Contingency Fund to other security assistance authorities, such as DOD counternarcotics assistance and foreign military financing?

Answer. Extension of the global train and equip ("section 1206") authority, which is currently set to expire on September 30, 2014, is essential for EUCOM to enable Allies and partners to support NATO's post-ISAF train, advise, and assist mission in Afghanistan. The 1206 authority and the Global Security Contingency Fund complement other security assistance authorities. For example, section 1206 authority has enabled EUCOM to provide pre-deployment training and equipment to allies and partners deploying forces to Afghanistan. Prior to fiscal year 2010, EUCOM's

had minimal capability to provide this type of support to our allies and partners due to insufficient authorities and/or funding from other programs.

Question. What should be done to ensure that the global train and equip authority and the Global Security Contingency Fund do not duplicate the efforts of these other assistance programs?

Answer. A number of safeguards are already in place to avoid duplication of effort among the global train and equip authority, the Global Security Contingency Fund (GSCF), and other security assistance programs. First, DOD and State Department guidance on section 1206 and GSCF clearly identifies the purpose and scope of these programs. Second, proposals for these programs are fully coordinated within DOD and with the State Department. Third, under EUCOM's Theater Campaign Plan construct, we develop Country Cooperation Plans and work to align the appropriate resources and authorities to requirements down at the activity level. Fourth, program managers and authorities experts at EUCOM headquarters, the Joint Staff, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense work with our planners to ensure that we are using the right programs in the right circumstances, and are not duplicating efforts across programs.

NATO TRANSFORMATION

Question. What is your assessment of the role of Allied Command Transformation in effecting positive change among NATO member nations?

Answer. NATO Allied Command Transformation (ACT) makes a significant contribution to training, education, doctrine, and concept development across the Alliance.

NATO MEMBERS' SPENDING ON DEFENSE

Question. According to then-Secretary Gates, in 2011 only 5 of 28 NATO members, including the United States, met the Alliance target of spending at least 2 percent of GDP on defense.

What is your assessment of the impact on NATO of the failure of the majority of NATO allies to meet agreed targets for defense spending?

Answer. This is a political issue, and a decision for member states. The Secretary General recognizes the difficulty of delivering defense for the Alliance in times of economic austerity. The Smart Defence program, Connected Forces Initiative, and NATO 2020 aim to fill capability gaps, but are inadequate without sufficient spending on defense by NATO members.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take to encourage NATO allies to increase their defense spending and enhance the military capabilities that they can contribute to NATO operations?

Answer. If confirmed, I would see my interaction with NATO members at the strategic military level as a major tenet during my tenure as SACEUR. This interaction would include discussions on how we can improve military capabilities across the Alliance. It should be noted that although many NATO members are not currently meeting their mandated 2 percent of GDP for defense spending, this is not the only measure of a country's military capability. Some countries, such as the Netherlands, are developing specific niche BMD capabilities.

UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF THE SEA

Question. What are your views on U.S. accession to UNCLOS?

Answer. Like former Secretary Clinton, former Secretary Panetta, the Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Chief of Naval Operations, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, the Commanders of U.S. Transportation Command, U.S. Northern Command, and U.S. Pacific Command, and the current Commander of U.S. European Command, I support U.S. accession to the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

Question. From a national security standpoint, what do you see as the advantages and disadvantages to being a party to UNCLOS?

Answer. As former Secretary Panetta has testified, the Law of the Sea Convention provides a robust legal regime for global operations by U.S. Armed Forces. It codifies navigation and overflight rights and high seas freedoms that are necessary for the mobility of our forces. It is completely in line with, and supports, the U.S. Defense Strategic Guidance. To date, 165 states have ratified the convention, and I believe that it is in our national security interests to do the same. Our current non-party status constrains our efforts to develop enduring maritime relationships with partner nations. It also inhibits our efforts to expand the Proliferation Security Initiative, and elevates the level of risk for our sailors as they undertake operations to preserve navigation rights and freedoms. In EUCOM's area of Arctic interest,

which is significant, the Law of the Sea Convention will strengthen our arguments for freedom of navigation through the Northern Sea Route and provide stronger moral standing for the United States in our extensive cooperative efforts with all of the Arctic states. We need to eliminate seams as much as possible when we operate in difficult circumstances in the maritime environment with our like-minded partners. The Law of the Sea Convention would allow us to do that.

QUALITY OF LIFE PROGRAMS FOR MILITARY FAMILIES

Question. Three of the top quality of life issues in the EUCOM AOR include predictable access to quality health care, including family member dental support; ensuring high-quality dependent education programs provided by the DOD Dependent Schools; and quality living accommodations for military families. Commanders in the EUCOM region have emphasized their support for and reliance on EUCOM resources to provide crucial morale programs, enhance retention, and foster esprit de corps.

What do you see as the most significant long-term challenges for EUCOM in preserving and enhancing the quality of life for assigned personnel while force re-deployments to the United States proceed?

Answer. In a resource constrained environment, it is imperative to keep faith with, and maintain an enduring commitment to, our forces and their families, to include those stationed in Europe, by continuing our proven quality of life programs, even as we seek new and innovative ways to provide Force and Family Readiness support to those who choose to serve.

Question. If confirmed, what steps would you take to ensure the adequacy of support services for military families during the transition to ensure that vital support mechanisms, such as Department of Defense Schools, morale, welfare and recreation services, family housing, and commissary and exchange facilities continue to serve military personnel?

Answer. If confirmed, I will actively support the initiatives currently underway to upgrade and improve existing medical, educational, and recreational facilities, while continuing to develop and expand on partnerships with supporting agencies and services who can offer effective and efficient alternatives for the future. EUCOM Force and Family Readiness priorities clearly reflect those outlined in the President's 2011 report "Strengthening our Military Families." If confirmed, I will work with the Services and component commanders to ensure we remain steadfastly committed to those priorities.

SEXUAL ASSAULT PREVENTION AND RESPONSE IN EUCOM

Question. In recent years, the Department of Defense has developed comprehensive policies and procedures to improve the prevention of and response to incidents of sexual assaults, including providing appropriate resources and care for victims of sexual assault. Numerous cases of sexual assault and misconduct involving military personnel continue to be reported. Many victims and their advocates contend that they are victimized twice: first by attackers in their own ranks and then by unresponsive or inadequate investigations and emotional support for the victim.

Secretary Panetta has recently announced several new initiatives to curb sexual assaults in the military and to improve support for victims.

What is your assessment of the Secretary of Defense's recently announced initiatives, and, if confirmed, how would you implement them in EUCOM?

Answer. I support the Former Secretary's recent initiatives to combat sexual assault and think they demonstrate the Department's commitment to eradicating sexual assault from our ranks. These initiatives ensure commanders have the resources they need to investigate and prosecute sexual assault cases, and provide additional support for victims to ensure they are fully protected and receive the care they need. If confirmed, I will continue to ensure commanders have the resources they need to investigate accusations of sexual assault, provide care and support for victims and fairly adjudicate each case. Lastly, I will promote a climate that encourages reporting without fear and holds perpetrators accountable.

Question. What is your understanding of the resources and programs in place in EUCOM to offer victims of sexual assault the medical, psychological, investigative, and legal help that they need?

Answer. I am not aware of any shortfalls or deficiencies in command leadership, personnel, or training to prevent or respond to sexual assault in the EUCOM Area of Responsibility.

It is my understanding the entire EUCOM AOR has resources and programs in place to offer victims of sexual assault the medical, psychological, investigative, and legal help required. If confirmed, I will work with Service Component commanders

to ensure they continue to have appropriate resources and support to implement effective sexual assault prevention and response programs. In addition, I will ensure every measure is in place to support victims.

Question. What is your view of steps the command has taken to prevent sexual assaults in EUCOM?

Answer. The EUCOM leadership closely monitors command climate indicators and reports of sexual assault, and responds with effective command messages and directives that foster a zero tolerance environment for sexual assault. If confirmed, I will promote a climate that encourages reporting without fear and holds perpetrators appropriately accountable.

Question. What is your view of the adequacy of the training and resources in EUCOM to investigate and respond to allegations of sexual assault?

Answer. The Services recently enhanced their resources for investigating and responding to allegations of sexual assault. If confirmed, I will review the Command's sexual assault prevention and response program to evaluate its effectiveness and ensure adequate resources are available. I will also work with Service component commanders to ensure we continue to emphasize the importance of training and educating servicemembers on the program, their rights and the command's commitment to safeguard them from predatory behavior in the ranks.

Question. What is your view of the willingness and ability of military leaders to hold assailants accountable for their actions?

Answer. The Department's policy emphasizes the command's role in an effective response. Special training is provided to commanders, investigators, and prosecutors to ensure they are prepared to address incidents of sexual assault. Our policies seek to balance victim care and appropriate command action against offenders in order to build victim confidence to assist in investigations. As military leaders, we must be vigilant to our duties to hold those assailants accountable for their actions. I take this obligation very seriously.

Question. Do you consider the current sexual assault policies and procedures, particularly those on confidential reporting, to be effective?

Answer. Overall, the Department has put considerable effort into developing policies and procedures designed to address sexual assault. In fact, the department faces the same challenges that society faces in dealing with incidents of sexual assault—balancing care to victims with prosecuting offenders. Restricted reporting allows victims who wish to remain anonymous to come forward and obtain the support they need following an assault. I consider these policies and procedures to be effective.

Question. What problems, if any, are you aware of regarding the manner in which the confidential reporting procedures have been put into effect?

Answer. I am not aware of any problems with confidential reporting.

MENTAL HEALTH OF SERVICEMEMBERS AND STRESS ON THE FORCE

Question. The committee is concerned about the stress on military personnel resulting from lengthy and repeated deployments and their access to mental health care to deal with this increased stress. Increased suicide rates are clear reminders that servicemembers, particularly those who have been deployed multiple times, are under tremendous stress and need access to mental health care.

In your view, are there sufficient mental health assets in EUCOM to address the mental health needs of the military personnel and their families?

Answer. Across the EUCOM AOR, I understand there currently exists an identified shortage of mental health providers available to treat servicemembers and their families. The Service components have done much to improve this situation over the past 3 years and continue to push ongoing initiatives to close the gap. If confirmed, I will work with the Service components to ensure any remaining gap in behavioral health services is adequately addressed.

The Army, Navy, and Air Force medical facilities in Europe are actively involved in addressing the behavioral health needs of its beneficiaries. Some of the major efforts include:

Integrated Behavioral Health Consultants in Primary Care: Research has demonstrated that the primary health care setting is optimal for identifying behavioral health difficulties in the general population. This is specifically true for the identification of depression and post-traumatic stress disorder. By integrating behavioral health professionals into the primary care clinics, these issues are quickly identified and receive treatment or appropriate coordination and referral for further care by a specialized behavioral health clinic. These providers are also available to provide behavioral health consultation to the primary health care providers as well as provide behavioral

health educational modification interventions for patients with complicated conditions or low compliance with medical treatment. Moreover electronically secure communication to mental health services have been better marketed and implemented.

Community Outreach: USAFE and Army Installation Management Command-Europe adopted toll-free, confidential, anonymous, telephonic crisis hotline access for servicemembers, veterans, and family members in Europe to information, with Veterans Affairs counselors available 24/7 that performed over 500 direct crisis contact interventions in 2012. Other expansion efforts by Army, Navy and Air Force teams have included broadened mental health consultation in DOD Dependent Schools, and nearly 600 separate prevention events in 2012 aimed at 12,100 students that resulted in 230 students being enrolled in counseling sessions. More Military and Family Life Consultants have been hired, and overall closer linkages have been also fostered with Family Advocacy, and additional teamwork have succeeded with community organizations.

Additionally, the Army Medical Department in Europe is actively involved in addressing the behavioral health needs of its soldiers in two ways:

Embedded Behavioral Health (EBH) Teams: The Army directed the implementation of multi-disciplinary EBH for all operational units. This modality assigns an EBH team with each brigade-sized element, and empanels all battalion-sized unit soldiers to the same provider. Further, the EBH team is located within the brigade-sized elements' footprint. The Army Public Health Command conducted a number of evaluations of this model and found that it decreases the stigma associated with seeking behavioral health treatment and improves access to care, continuity of care, Commanders' satisfaction, and treatment outcomes. This initiative will continue to be rolled out through fiscal year 2016 to all operational units in U.S. Army Europe.

Behavioral Health Data Portal (BHDP): The Army directed the use of the BHDP with all Active Duty soldiers receiving treatment in outpatient behavior health clinics. The BHDP is a set of validated survey instruments that soldiers fill out at intake, and at follow-up appointments as appropriate. This initiative powerfully impacts soldier treatment in two important ways. First, the BHDP creates the ability to quantify treatment outcomes across the enterprise. Second, it displays for both the provider and the soldier evidence of improvement or lack of improvement, which can be addressed during treatment sessions. Research demonstrates the positive influence of incorporating evidence of patient progress into treatment.

Question. If confirmed, what actions will you take to address the mental health needs of military personnel and their families in EUCOM?

Answer. If confirmed, I will work with the component commanders to ensure continued adequate resourcing as well as emphasis on evidence-based mental health treatments proven to improve the mental health of our servicemembers. I will demand that leaders at all levels work to decrease the stigma associated with seeking mental health treatment, and work to increase access to mental health treatment for military personnel and their families.

Question. What is your assessment of suicide prevention programs and resources available to support these programs in EUCOM?

Answer. Through leadership, I will continue to support activities that reduce the stigma associated with seeking behavioral health treatment. A very successful technique is encouraging Senior leaders to reveal, as appropriate, their own positive interaction with behavioral health treatment and acknowledge that behavioral health issues can be a direct outcome of military service. I will emphasize the importance of AOR-wide Exceptional Family Member Program Family (EFMP) travel decisions. The identification and assessment of family members' behavioral health needs prior to PCS to EUCOM remains an important risk mitigation process. The EFMP family travel decision process: (a) supports family members' health overseas; (b) supports the servicemembers' ability to focus on his/her mission; and (c) reduces the likelihood of an "Early Return of Dependents" (ERD) to more robust behavioral health services in CONUS. I will also engage in strong, dynamic Command messaging that emphasizes behavioral health issues are treatable, and that the majority of servicemembers improve when they engage in behavioral health services and stick with treatment until completion.

It is also worth noting that our Army component within EUCOM, U.S. Army Europe, has fewer soldier suicides than Army posts of comparable size in the United States. There are good prevention programs at work within Europe, and I will con-

tinue to identify and expand those programs that work, while transitioning away from those that do not.

CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT

Question. In order to exercise its legislative and oversight responsibilities, it is important that this committee and other appropriate committees of Congress are able to receive testimony, briefings, and other communications of information.

Do you agree, if confirmed for this high position, to appear before this committee and other appropriate committees of Congress?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Do you agree, when asked, to give your personal views, even if those views differ from the administration in power?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear before this committee, or designated members of this committee, and provide information, subject to appropriate and necessary security protection, with respect to your responsibilities as the Commander, U.S. EUCOM and Supreme Allied Commander, Europe?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Do you agree to ensure that testimony, briefings, and other communications of information are provided to this committee and its staff and other appropriate committees?

Answer. Yes, I do.

Question. Do you agree to provide documents, including copies of electronic forms of communication, in a timely manner when requested by a duly constituted committee, or to consult with the committee regarding the basis for any good faith delay or denial in providing such documents?

Answer. Yes, I do.

[Questions for the record with answers supplied follow:]

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JEANNE SHAHEEN

NATO BURDEN-SHARING

1. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) burden-sharing will continue to be a topic of interest for this committee and for the NATO alliance as a whole. While we do see some countries moving further away from their 2 percent commitments, there are some—like Estonia and Poland—who have placed a greater emphasis on defense spending in recent years. In your view, are the Europeans appropriately sharing the burden associated with NATO's ongoing transformation and its approach to 21st century threats?

General BREEDLOVE. We need to continue to encourage allies to meet the agreed commitment of a minimum of 2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) spending on defense. Defense budgets in most countries have declined at a time when the alliance has undertaken its most demanding and significant mission ever in Afghanistan, and when the need for investment in future capabilities is essential. However, European NATO nations do recognize the global security challenges—we have seen this recently with the French led intervention into Mali as one example. NATO allies have taken steps to address the issues related to falling defense budgets with the announcement at the Chicago Summit in 2012 of a Defense Package and key initiatives such as Smart Defense and the Connected Forces Initiative. Alongside the 2 percent guideline, allies have agreed that at least 20 percent of defense expenditures should be devoted to major equipment spending. While only four other allies have met this goal, investment in major equipment by the non-U.S. allies has held steady at about \$50 billion per year for the last decade.

2. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, do you believe the contributions from our European partners in NATO are adequate to implementing the alliance's Strategic Concept, as adopted at the 2010 Summit in Lisbon?

General BREEDLOVE. It is true that individual sovereign governments continue to make inwardly focused decisions on defense spending, in many cases not achieving the self-imposed NATO 2 percent GDP benchmark. However, our European partners still represent the second largest defense spending block (~\$280 billion) in the world—after the United States (~\$682 billion/year), but ahead of China (~\$166 billion/year) and Russia (~\$90 billion). Europe is still investing in defense, focused on contributing to NATO and preserving the expeditionary capabilities and interoper-

ability that has been developed over the past decade of combat operations with the United States.

I believe there are three capabilities that will be critical to NATO's success as we face 21st century threats: cyber, Special Forces, and unmanned reconnaissance platforms. NATO is increasingly using Centers of Excellence to develop and refine capabilities, notably the Cyber Center in Estonia. NATO realizes this capability will be the lynchpin for successful future operations and conflicts. The effective use of cyber defense may even lessen the chance of conflict if our allies' systems are more resilient to cyber attacks. Additionally, the NATO Special Operations Headquarters is up and running in their new facility across the street from my Headquarters. NATO nations are using this facility for coordination and in combination with the training facilities that are in place at Chievres Air Field a few kilometers away. Finally, NATO has also done an outstanding job with our AWACS program. The alliance is now pursuing the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) system to enhance the alliance's ability to have persistent situational awareness.

European partners are also looking for more cooperative solutions to security problems. The Baltic Air Policing mission is a great example of the allies pooling resources to meet a requirement. The C-17 Heavy Airlift Wing in Hungary is another example of this cooperation. The alliance's collective approach to Ballistic Missile Defense makes this essential capability an achievable goal.

So, in spite of economic challenges, Europeans are still focused on defense and the support of the alliance, even if each is not currently meeting the 2 percent benchmark. They are demonstrating their commitment in areas such as cyber, Special Operations, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR), and are showing a greater desire to cooperate using "Smart Defense".

3. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, will you commit to raising the burden-sharing issue and ensuring that it receives the proper attention from our European allies?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. Based on NATO contribution goals and capability targets, most European NATO nations should do more. Non-U.S. NATO allies have considerable aggregate economic strength, with the combined total GDP similar to that of the United States. The problem is that under austerity budgets there is insufficient political will to invest in defense capabilities. I will encourage allies to increase their defense spending so they have the right forces and capabilities required to address the threats of the 21st century. Additionally, I will also ask non-NATO allies to invest in their own armed forces in terms of recruitment, retention, training, and equipping to be able to address the increasingly complex threats we face in common with the professional, highly-trained forces we need.

While I will do all I can to encourage better burden sharing with our European allies, I want to point out progress made thus far on burden sharing. From 2007–2009, nine NATO countries—United Kingdom, France, Spain, Denmark, Norway, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Greece—exceeded the United States in foreign assistance funding. In 2010, seven European countries—United Kingdom, France, Iceland, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, and Norway—exceeded the U.S. funding contribution to U.N. peace operations in terms the amount contributed as a percentage of GDP. In 2011, four European NATO Nations (Luxembourg, France, United Kingdom, and Turkey) met or exceeded the 20 percent NATO guideline for defense spending on major equipment. Finally, in 2011, the average of all European NATO nations' spending on major equipment and R&D was 19 percent, as a percentage of defense expenditures. In conclusion, I will do everything in my power to ensure that our allies and partners are ready to meet the challenges of an increasingly complex world.

POLAND

4. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, the U.S. bilateral security relationship with Poland is crucial. We have seen an increased U.S. presence in Poland through military engagements and a new Patriot missile battery rotation. Can you reiterate for us why Poland is so important for the United States and for regional security?

General BREEDLOVE. Poland has consistently supported U.S. foreign policy, contributing troops to operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Poland ranks fourth in total force contributions out of 49 partner nations.

Poland's economy is among the strongest in the EU, with 14.9 percent GDP growth since 2008 compared to -0.6 percent decline EU-wide. A constitutionally mandated defense budget of 1.95 percent GDP ensures Poland's defense expenditures grow in line with its economy. Its economic growth, vibrant democracy, demo-

graphic trends, and natural resources all point to a growing role for Poland in the 21st century.

Poland takes seriously its commitment to NATO and has also agreed to host the second U.S. missile defense interceptor site in the 2018 timeframe as part of the U.S. European Phased Adaptive Approach (EPAA) and NATO missile defense.

Poland has announced plans to spend approximately \$10 billion to acquire modern integrated air and missile defense systems, which will be interoperable with NATO.

Poland has assumed a leadership position in Central Europe and continues to push for democratization efforts in the Ukraine and Belarus.

Note: The Patriot rotations to Poland ended in November 2012 with the activation of the Aviation Detachment. U.S. European Command (EUCOM) J5 and USAREUR are unaware of any current plans for a new Patriot rotation.

5. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, missile defense cooperation seems to be an important area of cooperation with Poland—and an area for possible further growth. We have completed the Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) agreement as part of the EPAA. However, Poland also plans to spend millions of dollars on its own theater missile defense needs. In fact, the modernization of Poland's missile defense program has been identified as one of its top three priorities through 2022. This would seem to be a great opportunity for deeper U.S.-Poland cooperation and for the U.S. defense industry. If confirmed as EUCOM Commander, how will EUCOM assist the Polish Government in their effort to enhance their air and missile defense capability?

General BREEDLOVE. EUCOM participates in a bi-lateral Integrated Air and Missile Defense (IAMD) Working Group with the Polish Ministry of Defense. The primary goal of this working group is to assist in identification of Polish operational requirements leading to selection and development of a Polish national IAMD System compatible with EPAA and interoperable with the developing NATO BMD systems.

U.S. policy, as described in the 2010 Ballistic Missile Defense Review, is to continue to strongly encourage additional allied contributions to NATO Missile Defense.

6. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, will you work to ensure that the Polish national air and missile defense system is interoperable with NATO's missile defense system?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. EUCOM continues to advocate for development of a Polish national Integrated Air and Missile Defense system that is both compatible with the EPAA and fully interoperable with the developing NATO BMD systems.

KOSOVO-SERBIA

7. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, over the last year, we have seen some progress on Serbia-Kosovo relations. However, tensions remain high and miscalculation could result in negative consequences and the possibility of further bloodshed. It is critical that we maintain a focus on this important region so as not to lose the gains we've fought so hard for over the last decade and a half. Can you give us your assessment of the security situation in Kosovo and the need to maintain a troop presence in KFOR [the NATO implementation force in Kosovo] in the coming years?

General BREEDLOVE. I am cautiously optimistic that recent political progress can return rule of law to the disputed Northern Kosovo region. However, I expect periods of civil unrest throughout the long and difficult process of restoring Pristina's authority. In Northern Kosovo, the parallel government is closely connected to organized crime, and has much to lose if and when rule of law and border control is reestablished. U.S. presence in KFOR is vital to maintain KFOR credibility with Kosovo institutions and multi-ethnic populations.

GEORGIA

8. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, Georgia was promised future NATO membership at the Bucharest Summit; however, since then, the path forward for Georgia has been uncertain. I believe Georgia still has reforms to undertake before it should be considered a NATO member; however, it is important that we offer a clear path forward for them. What is your view on the important role Georgia has played in the fight in Afghanistan?

General BREEDLOVE. Georgia has been a stalwart supporter of NATO operations in Afghanistan, providing eleven infantry battalions to Regional Command-Southwest since 2010, with each battalion comprising approximately 750 soldiers. Georgia

is currently the largest per capita and non-NATO troop contributor to ISAF. In the fall of 2012, Georgia nearly doubled its troop contribution, and now deploys two infantry battalions simultaneously. These Georgian units make up half the infantry force in Helmand Province. They operate without caveats, and have committed these battalions to the ISAF mission through November 2014.

Georgia has suffered 19 soldiers killed and 129 wounded in action. Through it all, reports coming back from Helmand speak of the Georgian's professionalism, bravery, and commitment.

Despite its losses, Georgia stands by the United States and NATO in our efforts in Afghanistan and has already made offers to NATO's post-2014 mission, including combat forces and training and equipment for the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). The Georgian Government has also pledged \$1.5 million for the first 3 years of the transition period to support the ANSF.

9. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, how important is it that we remain engaged with the new government in Georgia—particularly with respect to its NATO membership goals?

General BREEDLOVE. It is very important.

The United States has recognized the first successful democratic and peaceful transition of power in Georgia's history. EUCOM will continue our current enhanced security cooperation engagements with the new government based on mutually agreed priorities just as we have done in the past. The new Georgian military leadership has already demonstrated through words and actions, its continued desire for institutional reform and increased transparency.

Through its contributions to missions in Kosovo, Iraq, and Afghanistan, Georgia has demonstrated its value as a coalition partner and future member of NATO. We will continue to work with the new government on critical capacity building and inter-operability projects. To that end, Georgia has one of the most robust Foreign Military Financing programs in EUCOM.

We also continue to move forward on the six engagement areas President Obama and President Saakashvili agreed to in January 2012, which will help the Georgians improve their national defense capabilities. Those are:

- Operational air surveillance/air defense training and education
- Coastal surveillance training and education
- Tactical level train-the-trainer instruction for NCOs and Junior Officers
- Brigade command and staff training and education
- Defensive combat engineer training and education
- Utility helicopter aviation training support

NATO—RUSSIA MISSILE DEFENSE

10. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, do you anticipate that missile defense could be an area for possible cooperation with the Russians?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. Missile Defense is one of the six areas of cooperation that NATO pursues with the Russian Federation in the framework of the NATO-Russia Council.

Although there was progress made in the joint analysis of mutual regional threats, progress on NATO-Russia missile defense cooperation remains slow and difficult. Positions on the overarching political issues are entrenched and continue to impede development of the two main strands of practical cooperation, the Joint Analysis for a framework for missile defense cooperation and the resumption of Theatre Missile Defense (TMD) cooperation.

11. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, specifically, what kinds of cooperative efforts on missile defense are possible and could result in mutual security benefits for NATO and/or Russia?

General BREEDLOVE. In addition to the efforts mentioned in answer to question #10, the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) Missile Defense Working Group has had initial discussions on the two new initiatives proposed in NATO's Chicago declaration establishing joint missile defense centers and developing a transparency regime. However, Russia has rejected development of proposed joint missile defense centers until the political matters of principle are resolved and has indicated that it prefers to hear a detailed NATO proposal on a possible improvement to transparency before engaging.

NATO-RUSSIA RELATIONS

12. Senator SHAHEEN. General Breedlove, what is your goal—should you be confirmed—with respect to the future of the NATO-Russia relationship?

General BREEDLOVE. Since 1991, Russia has been a partner of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. At times our partnership and cooperation is robust and beneficial to the alliance. In the Balkans, from 1996 to 2003, Russian soldiers conducted joint operations with NATO forces. In 2006 and 2007, Russia deployed ships to the Mediterranean Sea as part of the NATO Operation Active Endeavor, and today we are cooperating in the Gulf of Aden countering piracy. In Afghanistan, we are developing mechanisms for logistic support to the ANSF, while regionally we are cooperating with Russia to develop capacity in the counter narcotics realm. Most recently, during the NATO Foreign Ministerial, the NATO Russia Council agreed to intensify their work together on Afghan National Air Force Aviation training. With these successes, there too have been significant challenges such as missile defense and conventional arms control, which still affect the relationship today.

The NRC is where the 28 allies and Russia meet as equals in a format of 29 nations. This forum provides the framework for consultations on current security issues and practical cooperation in a wide range of areas of common interest.

The NRC is where nations determine the level of military cooperation and develop the NATO-Russia Work Plan. Currently, there are six specific areas of cooperation; Logistics, Combating Terrorism, Search and Rescue at Sea, Counter Piracy, Military Academic Exchanges, and Theater Missile Defense.

We will continue to look for new areas of cooperation which support NATO objectives, develop the capacity for joint action, and which promote operator-to-operator engagement. These efforts will contribute to improving trust as well as create reciprocal transparency and predictability, with the aim of contributing to the establishment of a common space of peace, security, and stability.

 QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR JAMES M. INHOFE

DEFENSE OF ISRAEL AND IRANIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM

13. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, President Obama has repeatedly stated that allowing Iran to acquire a nuclear weapon is unacceptable and must be prevented. Most recently during his trip to Israel the President said, “We will do what is necessary to prevent Iran from getting the world’s worst weapons.” If the President determines military action is required to stop Iran’s acquisition of a nuclear weapon, EUCOM will undoubtedly play a key role in any operation. Do you agree with the President that a nuclear-armed Iran is unacceptable and must be prevented?

General BREEDLOVE. I support the President’s policy as stated. Having said that, I also agree with the President and Prime Minister Netanyahu that the preference is to resolve this situation diplomatically. In any case, given the levels of unprecedented coordination and consultation between EUCOM, other U.S. combatant commands, and the Israeli military along with partner nations, EUCOM is prepared to play a key role in any operation.

14. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, do you agree with the President that the use of U.S. military force may be necessary to prevent Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon?

General BREEDLOVE. I agree with the President. When it comes to preventing Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapon, no options should be taken off the table, to include the use of military force. I support the President’s position on resolving this issue diplomatically, though Iran should have no doubt about the resolve of the United States and EUCOM’s preparedness to be a key player for any contingency should the need arise.

15. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, if confirmed, will you ensure the forces under your command are prepared to carry out contingency plans, as ordered by the President, to confront Iran’s nuclear program?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes.

16. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, do you agree that the United States must maintain a credible threat of the use of force against Iran and that a public conversation that downplays the threat of force is counterproductive and actually raises the potential that force may need to be used?

General BREEDLOVE. The U.S. military must always be prepared to support U.S. policy goals for any contingency whether it be against Iran or any other threat to U.S. security and national interests. EUCOM is postured to maintain a credible threat of the use of force and is prepared to play a key and supporting role in the region when directed.

17. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, the United States and Israel hosted the largest ever joint military drill between the two countries this past October. The drill, called Austere Challenge, hosted over 3,500 U.S. personnel in Israel and had been planned for more than 2 years as part of a longstanding agreement between EUCOM and the Israel Defense Force to regularly hold bilateral training exercises regularly. If confirmed, will you support continued joint exercises with our ally, Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes, EUCOM and the Israel Defense Force have a long-standing relationship and combined exercise program that includes seven semi-annual, annual, and biennial exercises: Juniper Cobra, Juniper Falcon, Juniper Stallion, Noble Dina, Noble Melinda, Noble Rose, Noble Shirley, and Reliant Mermaid.

18. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what tangible benefits does the United States derive from these joint exercises with Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. The strategic partner relationship the United States and Israel maintain in the Middle East is vital to stability in the entire region. Tensions throughout the Levant have been on the increase for the last year. EUCOM stands by its valued strategic partnership with Israel and will continue to improve on the bilateral cooperation between the two nations. Combined air defense training exercises are designed to maintain the interoperability between the United States and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). While driven by the overall situation in the Middle East, joint U.S./IDF exercises do not relate to an individual incident or development. As part of our mission to build partnership capacity, bilateral exercises such as Austere Challenge are conducted on a routine basis. These exercises focus on improving only defensive capabilities, not offensive.

19. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, from the Austere Challenge Exercise, what areas do we need to work on to be ready to help defend Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. Following Austere Challenge 12 (AC12), the largest exercise with the Israelis to date, the next logical step is to now maintain the cooperative military capabilities between our two nations. EUCOM's next exercise with the Israel Defense Force is Juniper Cobra 14 (JC14), currently in the early design stage. JC14 will be designed to sustain the level of interoperability established by Austere Challenge 12.

Specific AC12 Lessons Learned/areas to work on and proposed solutions include:

- 6.5 Software. Patriot Post-Deployment Build 6.5 software anomalies were observed in AC12 (debris showing as false targets). EUCOM is working with the Program Office in order to gain Lower Tier Project Office verification.
- Increased Interoperable and Distributed Training. Due to personnel rotations, frequent and robust training is required between the combined U.S.-Israeli team. In addition to the biannual Juniper Cobra exercise, EUCOM is exploring, with the assistance of the Missile Defense Agency, options for distributed monthly and/or quarterly training.

20. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what do you think of the Iron Dome system employed by Israel when the terrorist organization Hamas fired over 1,500 rockets and missiles at the Israeli population in November 2012?

General BREEDLOVE. Iron Dome is Israel's newest operational missile defense system. These Iron Dome batteries provide Israeli population centers, within range of Gaza rockets, with a persistent defensive capability that does not exist with systems such as the Patriot or Arrow missile defense systems. To date, official Israeli reports on Iron Dome weapon system effectiveness show that the system performed very well in combat operations. After the November 2012 conflict, Israeli officials placed the overall system's success rate at 84 percent.

21. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what is your overall assessment of our missile defense cooperation with Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. [Deleted].

ISRAEL, TURKEY, AND REGIONAL STABILITY

22. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, over the last few years, Turkey has sought to exclude Israel from joint exercises with the United States and NATO. Do you agree Israel's participation in joint exercises with NATO is beneficial?

General BREEDLOVE. I absolutely agree with the statement that Israel's participation in exercises with NATO is beneficial. I have been concerned by the impact on NATO partnership cooperation activities of Turkey's bilateral dispute with Israel. Israel engages with NATO in the framework of the Mediterranean Dialogue. The Mediterranean Dialogue is one of the few security cooperation venues in the world where Israel can engage in constructive activities with Arab states. Besides Israel and Turkey, the other six members all come from the Arab world (Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Mauritania, and Tunisia). In this sense, NATO serves as a platform which can foster better understanding of issues through such initiatives as the NATO Regional Cooperation Course at the NATO Defense College which has seen attendance by Israeli, Turkish, American, and other NATO officers and diplomats to jointly study security challenges together. Now that Israel and Turkey are working constructively towards resolution of the dispute, I am cautiously hopeful that the resumption of Israel-NATO cooperation will soon extend across the full range of NATO activities that help states within the region address common regional challenges.

23. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, should the U.S. military participate in exercises with Turkey if it demands Israel be excluded?

General BREEDLOVE. The improvement of Israeli-Turkish relations is in the best interests of the United States, Israel, Turkey, and the region. EUCOM should stand ready to facilitate those activities that rapidly restore the strength of their relationship including exercises that involve both Turkey and Israel.

24. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what is your assessment of Prime Minister Erdogan's regional ambitions?

General BREEDLOVE. Prime Minister Erdogan's domestic security considerations shape his regional outlook. Turkey's conflict with the Kurdistan Workers' Party is a case in point. This conflict has spanned 3 decades and cost over 40,000 lives. Recently, there has been some progress toward opening a dialogue that may signal a reduction in violence in that struggle, though it is too early to give a clear assessment. But we are supportive of this effort. PM Erdogan appreciates that Turkish power within the region is on the rise, but that Turkey will gain more through economic cooperation with neighbors than through a more aggressive foreign policy. Turkey's economy has outperformed regional economies over the last decade, but Turkey remains dependant on natural gas imports that drive their cooperation with regional exporters, including Russia and Iraq. In the event of some regional exigency, PM Erdogan will remain sensitive to perceptions of Turkey acting unilaterally and generally takes the position that Turkey should act as a part of a coalition.

25. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, do you think Turkey's cooperation with EUCOM and NATO on Syria has been adequate?

General BREEDLOVE. As Syria's northern neighbor, Turkey understands the threat, takes it seriously, and is engaged with the international community for support. Turkey is a strong and reliable ally of both the United States and NATO in an unstable region. In response to the Syrian threat, Turkey has requested and welcomed cooperation in a number of areas including combined staff planning and the deployment of Patriot Missiles to defend the Syrian border region. In January, NATO deployed six Patriot Batteries to Turkey's southern border to augment Turkey's air defenses. The United States, Germany, and the Netherlands each contributed two Patriot Batteries to this effort. Over the past year, EUCOM has worked with Turkey to support and enhance its capabilities to respond to various Syrian threats. Several of these efforts have been in support of broader Department of Defense (DOD) and Department of State initiatives, such as counter- and non-proliferation. It is important to note that Turkey is currently home to over 250,000 Syrian refugees, has lost two Air Force pilots to Syrian air defenses, and has sustained multiple cross-border indirect fire incidents due to the Syrian crisis.

26. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what plans does EUCOM or NATO have to secure chemical weapons in Syria if Assad falls and security of Syrian chemical weapons deteriorates to the point where proliferation is possible, if not likely?

General BREEDLOVE. Proliferation of chemical weapons is a very serious matter that could undermine regional stability. Since Syria is in the area of responsibility

of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), I respectfully request this question be referred to that command.

As with U.S. and international involvement in Libya in 2011, a resolution from the U.N. Security Council and agreement among the alliance's 28 members is necessary before NATO assumes a military role in Syria. NATO is prepared, if called upon, to be engaged.

Several NATO countries are working on individual contingency plans for possible military action in Syria. Within individual member countries, discussion regarding options including lethal support, no-fly zones, and arms embargoes are being considered.

That said, given that Israel and Turkey border Syria, EUCOM planners are fully integrated and synchronized with CENTCOM efforts and maintain a strong relationship with our NATO allies.

COUNTER PIRACY

27. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, NATO has had success in anti-piracy operations off the Horn of Africa. With expanding oil discoveries in the Atlantic Ocean off of the coast of Western Africa, and drug trafficking that runs from South America through that same area to Europe, do you see the potential need for an anti-piracy mission off of the west coast of Africa? If so, do you envision a potential counter-piracy mission off of the west coast of Africa as a U.S. force, a NATO force, or some combination?

General BREEDLOVE. As a preliminary matter, the Gulf of Guinea is neither in EUCOM nor NATO's Area of Responsibility. I understand that AFRICOM is successfully working with West African nations to assist in the development of their maritime capabilities in order to improve safety and security in the Gulf of Guinea. I believe AFRICOM is in a better position to assess whether Gulf of Guinea states may require additional support.

That said, each region is faced with its own unique root causes of piracy; each will require unique solutions. The strategic environment and imperatives which led to NATO's involvement in the current counter-piracy mission are quite different from that off the coast of West Africa. NATO's mission to counter maritime piracy began in 2008 with the request from the United Nations to provide escorts to U.N. World Food Program vessels transiting through dangerous waters to deliver humanitarian aid to Somalia.

In addition to the threat piracy posed to humanitarian efforts in Africa, there was an internationally recognized threat to the safety of vital sea lines of communication and economic interests off the Horn of Africa and in the Gulf of Aden. This included risks to the safety of one of the busiest and most important maritime routes in the world—the gateway to and from the Suez Canal.

Countering piracy requires a mix of maritime security capabilities, use of best practices by the commercial shipping industry, and rule of law ashore. NATO continues to contribute to international counter-piracy efforts in full accordance with the relevant U.N. Security Council Resolutions relating to Somali-based piracy and with the consent of Somali authorities.

An increase in piracy and maritime crime in the Gulf of Guinea is of growing concern to the maritime community, but lies outside the current area of operations for NATO vessels. Where the counter-piracy mission off the coast of Somalia, a failed state, required an international response, the Gulf of Guinea is lined with sovereign, functioning nations. The United Nations and others have called for nations of West Africa to develop a comprehensive regional anti-piracy strategy for the Gulf of Guinea.

MALI

28. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what type and quantity of air support has been provided to the French in Mali?

General BREEDLOVE. To date, EUCOM's air support to the French has been primarily aerial refueling and airborne ISR. Three KC-135 aircraft were deployed to Spain to provide tanker support to French strike aircraft. One E-8 was deployed to Spain to provide ISR in support of French operations in Mali, and two additional KC-135 aircraft were deployed to support the E-8 ISR missions. To sustain ISR collection, approximately 30 EUCOM personnel were deployed to Niger to support MQ-1 missions. Additionally, EUCOM postured C-130 aircraft to provide strategic inter-theater and intra-theater airlift to AFRICOM, France, and other troop contributing nations from Europe and Africa.

29. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, is our extensive support to the French in Mali being leveraged to increase our strategic access to bases, e.g. lily pad bases, in western Africa?

General BREEDLOVE. Respectfully request this question be directed at U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM). EUCOM's role in supporting French operations in Mali was mainly support to AFRICOM's direct operational support to the French. The French military operations in Africa are providing both a great opportunity to improve our bilateral relationship with France and encouraging the kind of out-of-area capability and initiative that makes France such a valuable U.S. ally. France genuinely appreciates the support we provide and I am sure our combined activities will contribute to expanded access within the region.

30. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, with the drawdown of forces in Afghanistan, do you anticipate that we will be able to get more ISR support into Africa given the large number of terrorist threats, such as the Lord's Resistance Army and Joseph Kony, al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, and al Shabaab?

General BREEDLOVE. I respectfully request this question be directed to the U.S. Africa Command.

AFGHANISTAN

31. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what key lessons do you think we must learn from the precipitous draw-down of U.S. troops from Iraq that can be applied to our draw-down in Afghanistan?

General BREEDLOVE. Logistically, the drawdown in Afghanistan presents a different set of challenges than the drawdown in Iraq. While the Iraq drawdown was aided by seaport access and several air hubs, the drawdown in Afghanistan will rely more upon land and air transport. I will work with the alliance to synchronize our several—national redeployment efforts to achieve all available efficiencies—in some cases, finding economies and savings together that we could not achieve separately.

ISAF's primary task has changed from leading a population-centric counter-insurgency campaign to providing Security Force Assistance to the ANSF, as they assume the lead for providing their national security. The key missions of our post-2014 military presence will be focused on training, advising, and assisting ANSF; targeting counterterrorism missions against al Qaeda and its affiliates; and protecting U.S. forces and citizens.

32. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what key capabilities must we maintain in post-2014 Afghanistan?

General BREEDLOVE. Ultimately, Afghans must be able to secure and stabilize their country themselves. Our objective is to develop the capability for Afghans to assume these tasks. Achieving this objective requires a comprehensive program which trains, mentors and advises the ANSF through army and police advisory teams and within the NATO Training Mission-Afghanistan (NTM-A). NTM-A brings together both NATO and national training efforts to develop professional, capable and self-sustaining ANSF.

In parallel with the training and mentoring efforts, ISAF troops are implementing a phased process to facilitate the transfer of full security responsibility to Afghan security forces as their capabilities improve, in keeping with the end of 2014 transition timeline.

The training, advising, and assisting of the ANSF will continue after transition is complete at the end of 2014, when the ISAF mission will end.

NATO has agreed to lead a post-2014 mission focused on continued support to the development of ANSF capacity. Allies and my NATO military staff are currently going through an in-depth review to determine what assets and capabilities will be required post-2014 to maintain the momentum of ANSF development and sustain the progress we have already made. We have not yet reached the point of formally defining the number of forces and required capabilities.

33. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, NATO has been transformed by the expeditionary requirements in Afghanistan. After 2014, what will be the driving force to maintain those hard-earned skills and further evolve NATO to be able to meet 21st century threats?

General BREEDLOVE. Alliance forces, along with many non-NATO contributing nations in Afghanistan, have created a synergy of effort and network of lasting partnerships that will benefit our Nation and the alliance long after these deployed forces return home. Lessons learned from 20 years of NATO-led operations, with in-

tegrated, multinational command structures and forces of the many nations working alongside each other day after day, have both enhanced our military interoperability and strengthened the mutual confidence of our forces.

After 2014, NATO is expected to shift its emphasis from operational engagement to operational preparedness. This means NATO will need to remain capable of performing its core tasks—described in its Strategic Concept and of maintaining its forces at a high level of readiness. To help achieve this, allied leaders have set out the goal of “NATO Forces 2020”: modern, tightly connected forces that are properly equipped, trained, exercised and led.

The Connected Forces Initiative (CFI) will help ensure that allies can communicate effectively, practice together, and validate and certify their ability to do so. The main requirements of CFI are to maintain NATO’s readiness and combat effectiveness through expanded education and training, increased exercises, and better use of technology.

NATO exercises will cover the full spectrum of intensity, promote interoperability and also compensate for the reduced operational experience of forces working together. NATO will build a robust exercise and training program that will underpin the alliance’s interoperability in the future. High-intensity, large-scale exercises will provide the demanding scenarios necessary for NATO to retain its “fighting edge.” Defense Ministers in February 2013 agreed that the alliance should hold a major live exercise in 2015 and will draw up a comprehensive program of training and exercises for the period 2015–2020.

The NATO Response Force will also play an important role in this context by providing a vehicle both to demonstrate operational readiness and serve as a “test bed” for alliance transformation. It provides a collective approach with a ready, integrated, deployable, effective and efficient military response, through which to show alliance resolve, solidarity, and commitment.

STRATEGIC BENEFITS OF ENGAGEMENT WITH EUROPE

34. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, as I said in my opening statement, if recent history is any indicator, any operations we do in Northern Africa and the Middle East will be with Europe and from Europe. Strategic access to key geostrategic terrain as we saw in Libya, and interoperability as we see by the almost 30,000 European troops in Afghanistan, seem compelling reasons to remain engaged in Europe despite today’s significant resource constraints. Why do you think we should remain engaged with Europe in light of today’s severe budget cuts?

General BREEDLOVE. Our Nation must take care—even as we grapple with significant economic challenges and chart the necessary strategic reorientations—to protect, preserve, and continue evolving our extraordinary partnership with Europe. There are five salient reasons for this. First, Europe is home to most of the world’s progressive democracies; nations with which we share the fundamental values that are a critical element in building effective coalitions. Second, with a GDP of \$19 trillion—a quarter of the world’s economy—and approximately \$4 trillion in annual trade with the United States, Europe is key to the U.S. and global economies. Third, the European theater remains critical geostrategic terrain, providing the United States with the global access it needs to conduct worldwide operations and crisis response. Fourth, Europe is the backdrop for NATO, history’s most successful and effective alliance, and a vital partner for dealing with the challenges of the 21st century. Fifth, Europe is today a security exporter, possessing many of the most highly trained and technologically advanced militaries in the world. No other region possesses a comparable pool of capable and willing partners able to conduct global operations with the United States.

The United States must remain engaged with Europe because it is a vital enabler for U.S. global reach. The coming decade will be a dynamic one, highlighted by increasing regional challenges and strategically overall U.S. primacy in global affairs would be diminished if we do not remain engaged with Europe. By remaining engaged, EUCOM will maintain relationships and expeditionary capabilities within European militaries that will continue to directly benefit American strategic interests and successfully defend the Homeland forward.

35. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what is the impact of a smaller footprint and reduced resources in Europe on U.S. influence within the NATO organization?

General BREEDLOVE. Despite a smaller footprint and reduced resources, the United States remains the leader of the alliance. Our commitment to a strategic partnership with Europe and global capabilities still provide the unquestioned guarantees of North American and European security. However, preserving U.S. influ-

ence while NATO resets in a post-ISAF environment will require a careful and nuanced approach. In particular, consistency in our messaging and our actions will be an important means of ensuring we retain the trust and confidence of our European allies and partners. This is especially true with regard to the posture of U.S. forces in Europe, our pledge to reinvigorate our participation in the NATO Response Force and rotate battalion task forces to Europe, and our engagement activities with allies and partners. In addition, we will have to find efficiencies through closer collaboration with NATO. For instance, we will have to look for opportunities to do national training exercises in a multi-national NATO framework and better harmonize our bilateral assistance with NATO efforts. Such measures can ensure that the US retains its leadership of NATO even with reduced resources in Europe.

36. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, as the percentage of GDP that NATO nations are spending on defense drops from the goal of 2 percent towards an inadequate 1 percent, how do we ensure that Europe will continue to shoulder its share of the global security burden?

General BREEDLOVE. While the European economic crisis continues to drive reduced military spending and force structure decisions among European nations, collectively, our European allies and partners still represent the second largest defense spending block (~\$280 billion) in the world (NATO 13 April 2012 Press Release “Financial and Economic Data Relating to NATO Defence” (PR/CP(2012)047-REV1)—ahead of China (~\$130 billion/year) and Russia (~\$64 billion) (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Military Expenditure Database, <http://milexdata.sipri.org>). So, while it is true that governments continue to make inwardly focused decisions on defense spending—in many cases not achieving the self-imposed NATO 2 percent GDP benchmark—our European allies are still investing in defense, focused on contributing to NATO and preserving the expeditionary capabilities and interoperability that have been developed over the past decade of combat operations with the United States. However, it is of concern that the fiscal environment is driving key allies to undertake decisions that will have a material impact on their capabilities, forces, and ability to conduct future contingency operations. Given the persistent economic challenges and forecasts, our critical European allies and partners will continue to grapple in the coming years to maintain a full suite of interoperable capabilities and a sufficiently-sized, ready force to participate in global contingency operations. We must continue to engage, train, and exercise routinely with these allies and partners to influence and assist them in maintaining readiness and interoperability with U.S. forces. One of the ways we can ensure our allies and partners will be able to continue to shoulder their share of the global security burden is for U.S. forces to participate in combined and joint exercises, and utilize the U.S. Joint Multinational Training Command (Grafenwoehr and Hohenfels), which will build and sustain interoperability among themselves and with U.S. forces.

37. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, is the 1206 security assistance program still useful to EUCOM and your current mission?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. The section 1206 program remains essential to EUCOM’s ability to support a successful ISAF transition in 2014 and the post-ISAF train, advise, and assist mission in Afghanistan. European allies and partners remain committed to deploying forces to Afghanistan in 2014 and beyond. The 1206 program enables us to provide willing allies (the NATO accessions of 1999 and 2004) and partners with the specialized equipment and training they need to operate safely and effectively in Afghanistan.

38. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what tangible results have you seen from the significant 1206 investment made over the years?

General BREEDLOVE. The investment of 1206 funding in Europe has produced significant results in the form of deployments of additional ally/partner nation forces to Afghanistan and enhancements in the operational effectiveness, safety, and interoperability of those deployed forces. Examples of supported deployments include nine battalion rotations of Georgian forces to RC-Southwest to support U.S. Marine Corps’ forces; Security Force Assistance Teams from Albania and Croatia training ANSF; and contributions of Special Operations Forces from Poland, Romania, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Perhaps most importantly, the 1206 program has built an enduring NATO-interoperable, expeditionary capability among willing allies and partners that will be available to support future operations.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS REDUCTIONS

39. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, prospects for cooperation with Russia on missile defense seem dim. In your opinion, what will it take for Russia to cooperate with the United States on missile defense?

General BREEDLOVE. The Russian distrust of the EPAA stems from their perception that EPAA is a threat to their strategic nuclear deterrent force. In my opinion, our best chance for success is engaging in information sharing and greater transparency measures so that they better understand our approach.

40. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, will the administration reduce nuclear weapons in Europe due to budget cuts or as a concession to Russia for a nuclear arms reduction deal?

General BREEDLOVE. NATO and the United States have repeatedly affirmed that U.S. nuclear weapons based in Europe are vital to alliance security and cohesion. The NATO Deterrence and Defense Posture Review, released last year and briefed at the Chicago Summit, states that nuclear weapons are a core component of NATO's overall capabilities for deterrence and defense alongside conventional and missile defense forces. The report also states that as long as nuclear weapons exist, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance. Until the President and NATO both agree on reducing or removing U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe, they will remain based there.

41. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what is your assessment of how NATO and the Europeans would react to reductions of nuclear weapons in Europe with or without reciprocal Russian actions?

General BREEDLOVE. My assessment is that they would not react favorably to reductions not agreed to by NATO. The United States and NATO currently agree that U.S. nuclear weapons are a core component of NATO's capabilities for deterrence and defense. Without consultation with and concurrence from NATO on reductions of U.S. nuclear weapons based in Europe, they will remain based there at current strength.

42. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, the administration said it seeks to reduce tactical nuclear weapons in any future arms discussions with Russia, but Russia has established the condition that all U.S. tactical nuclear weapons must be removed from Europe. What is your position on whether the United States can or should remove tactical nuclear weapons from Europe in exchange for reductions in Russian weapons?

General BREEDLOVE. We support the administration's policy of basing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in support of NATO and will continue to support that policy until directed otherwise by the President. Negotiations with Russia and/or NATO to remove U.S. tactical nuclear weapons from Europe are outside our purview.

43. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, what is NATO's position?

General BREEDLOVE. (Please see response to question #41). The Strategic Concept reconfirmed that as long as there are nuclear weapons in the world, NATO will remain a nuclear alliance. Deterrence, based on an appropriate mix of nuclear and conventional capabilities, remains a core element of NATO's strategy.

The Deterrence and Defense Posture Review of May 2012 has shown that the alliance's nuclear force posture currently meets the criteria for an effective deterrence and defense posture.

NATO's reduced reliance on nuclear forces has been manifested in steady and very significant reductions in the number of systems, overall weapon numbers and readiness levels since the end of the Cold War.

If there were to be a reduction in nuclear forces, allies agree that the North Atlantic Council (NAC) will task the appropriate committees to develop concepts that allow NATO to reduce its reliance on non-strategic nuclear weapons based in Europe. Additionally, the NAC would delineate what NATO would expect to see in the way or reciprocal Russian actions to allow for significant reductions in forward-based non-strategic nuclear weapons assigned to NATO.

The allies look forward to continuing to develop and exchange transparency and confidence building ideas with the Russia Federation in the NATO-Russia Council, with the goal of developing detailed proposals on and increasing mutual understanding of NATO's and Russia's non-strategic nuclear force postures in Europe. NATO is prepared to consider further reducing its requirement for non-strategic nuclear weapons assigned to the alliance in the context of reciprocal steps by Russia.

In addition, allies support and encourage the United States and the Russian Federation to continue their mutual efforts to promote strategic stability, enhance transparency, and further reduce their nuclear weapons.

44. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, has your command, or any other component of the U.S. Government that you know of, examined the feasibility of verifying Russian compliance with an agreement to reduce tactical nuclear weapons?

General BREEDLOVE. Not that I am aware of. We welcome continued efforts to secure an agreement with the Russian Federation that would increase transparency on the size and composition of its tactical nuclear arsenal. The administration is working to initiate, in consultation with NATO allies, negotiations with the Russian Federation on an agreement to secure and reduce tactical nuclear weapon stockpiles of the United States and the Russian Federation in a verifiable manner.

ARTICLE 60 MODIFICATIONS

45. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, commanders in the military are given great responsibility, literally over life and death. Decisions they make send men and women into battle where they may die or be severely wounded. This special trust and confidence is given to no other position in our Government. In line with this responsibility, commanders are given the autonomy to discipline, train, and reward their units so that they can establish a cohesive, mission ready unit capable of fighting and winning the Nation's wars. While we trust you with our sons' and daughters' lives, the proposed modifications to Article 60 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) seem to suggest that we do not trust your discretion when it comes to UCMJ offenses. Do you, as a commander, consider the UCMJ as it is currently structured, to be a viable tool to help you maintain and enhance the cohesiveness and fighting capabilities of your combat units?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. I believe the UCMJ, as currently structured, provides a tried and true military justice system that works fairly, ensures due process, maintains good order and discipline, and is accountable on and off the battlefield.

The independent authority of the commander to choose a particular course of action and/or disposition is balanced against a deliberate and robust procedural, clemency and appellate framework that provides an accused or convicted servicemember maximum due process rights. The comprehensive range of punitive options provides an effective deterrent against the commission of criminal misconduct, which strengthens unit morale, cohesiveness, and discipline. Current Service policies assist victims and witnesses through the military justice process to ensure all members are treated fairly and appropriately.

The military justice system operates effectively while maintaining the confidence of the force. Of course, part of the trust and confidence in our system is the fact that there is ongoing scrutiny and periodic updates to reflect our changing law and military structure.

46. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, have you seen any evidence that commanders are abusing their discretion as the convening authority to adjust sentencing?

General BREEDLOVE. I have seen no evidence that commanders are abusing their discretion as convening authorities to adjust sentencing. In my experience, commanders take this responsibility very seriously.

The fact that I am not aware of any abuse of discretion by convening authorities in adjusting sentencing does not mean there is no benefit in the Department's current scrutiny of the process. In fact, it is actions such as the Secretary's current review of sentencing authorities and the Department's record of making changes when warranted that ensures the continued trust in our laws.

47. Senator INHOFE. General Breedlove, the Secretary of Defense has announced that he intends to recommend changes to the UCMJ. How would the proposed changes to the UCMJ impact your effectiveness as a commander?

General BREEDLOVE. I am aware of and appreciate the Secretary of Defense's open mind and continued close scrutiny to maintain the value of the UCMJ as the most effective, fair, and protective military justice system.

I believe that any change or limitation in the authority or discretion of a convening authority requires careful thought to avoid unintended consequences to the effective administration of military justice. At a minimum, the fair and efficient administration of military justice requires convening authorities to retain the ability to conduct pretrial negotiations, and where appropriate, enter into pretrial agree-

ments that provide limitations on adjudged punishments in exchange for guilty pleas.

The UCMJ is one of the things that makes the U.S. military great. I believe the intent of the Secretary's changes is, in part, to preserve the fairness, transparency, and appropriateness of convening authority actions. This is the very heart of the public trust in this system.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR SAXBY CHAMBLISS

BENGHAZI

48. Senator CHAMBLISS. General Breedlove, the attack in Benghazi, Libya, on September 11, 2012, highlighted several failures in our Nation's ability to respond effectively and timely to situations that threaten the lives of our citizens and interests within the region. You had command authority over the EUCOM-assigned air forces tasked with supporting the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM) area of responsibility. Could you describe in detail, the timeline and sequence of events for U.S. Air Forces, Europe in response to the Benghazi attack that resulted in the deaths of four Americans, to include U.S. Ambassador Chris Stevens?

General BREEDLOVE. The timeline below reflects the response to the Benghazi incident from the air component perspective. The timeline includes the U.S. Air Forces in Europe and the U.S. Air Forces Africa response from the time of the actual Benghazi incident.

Tuesday, September 11, 2012
GMT // EET

1942 // 2142	Incident starts at the facility in Benghazi.
1959 // 2159	An unarmed, unmanned, surveillance aircraft is directed to reposition overhead the Benghazi facility.
2111 // 2311	Diverted surveillance aircraft arrives on station over Benghazi facility.

Wednesday, September 12, 2012
GMT // EET

0132 // 0332	USAFE Battle Watch receives notification from AFRICOM Joint Operations Center (JOC) that the consulate in Benghazi has been attacked. AFRICOM JOC reports the US Ambassador as Missing.
0200 // 0400	USAFE cancels all pre-planned airlift missions for potential retasking. USAFE recalls all C-130J airlift aircrew, waives crew rest, and places maximum number of crews available on 3-hour alert. Aircraft are re-configured, defensive measures loaded, and fueled to support airlift of SOF and FAST in support of Libya operations.

Wednesday, September 12, 2012 (cont.)
GMT // EET

0300 // 0500 **Second, unmanned, unarmed surveillance aircraft is directed to relieve the initial assets still over Benghazi.**

0405 // 0605 **AFRICOM requests a TRANSCOM C-17 aircraft on CENTCOM Aeromedical alert in Germany to prepare to deploy to Libya to evacuate Americans.**

~0430//0630 **USAFE AIR OPERATIONS CENTER (AOC) receives update on Benghazi situation from AFRICOM and is queried about providing fighter aircraft for Libya support. Close Air Support planners recalled to AOC.**

~0440//0640 **USAFE/AFAF Staff directs AOC to have USAFE Fighter Wing (Italy) to prepare 6 F-16s for Libya operations/support.**

0509 // 0709 **USAFE C-130J (HERKY 803) departs Ramstein, Germany to support movement of EUCOM special operations force and equipment from Stuttgart, Germany to NAS Sigonella, Italy.**

0611 // 0811 **USAFE C-130J (HERKY 656) departs Ramstein, Germany to support movement of USMC FAST platoon and associated equipment from NAS Rota, Spain to Tripoli, Libya.**

0742 // 0942 **USAFE C-130J departs (HERKY 655) Spangdahlem, Germany for movement of USMC FAST platoon and associated equipment from NAS Rota, Spain to Tripoli, Libya.**

0900 // 1100 **USAFE Battle Staff stood up and began conducting 24-hour operations.**

1108 // 1308 **USAFE/CV provides COMUSAFE's written guidance for USAFE fighter generation and heightened alert status: Italy – 4 fighter aircraft generated with 2 on alert; Germany – 4 fighter aircraft generated with 2 on alert; United Kingdom – 4 fighter aircraft generated, 2 on alert.**

1114 // 1314 **USAFE C-130J (HERKY 858) departs Ramstein, Germany to support movement of EUCOM special operations force and equipment from Stuttgart, Germany to NAS Sigonella, Italy.**

1120 // 1320 **USAFE C-130J (LION 435) departs Ramstein, Germany en route Tripoli, Libya as back-up to C-17 evacuation mission (with 3-person airfield security team).**

Wednesday, September 12, 2012 (cont.)
GMT // EET

1214 // 1414	TRANSCOM Aeromedical Evacuation Alert (ISO CENTCOM Alert) C-17 departs Ramstein, Germany en route to Tripoli, Libya to evacuate Americans.
1635//1835	USAFE C-130Js (HERKY 803 ATA 1110Z / HERKY /858 ATA 1635Z) carrying EUCOM special operations forces, and associated equipment, arrive at an intermediate staging base in southern Europe.
1717 // 1917	C-17 departs Tripoli en route Ramstein, Germany, with American personnel and the remains of Ambassador Stevens, Sean Smith, Tyrone Woods, and Glen Doherty.
1757//1957	EUCOM special operations force, and associated equipment, arrives at an intermediate staging base in southern Europe.
1802//2002	USAFE C-130Js (HERKY 656 ATA 1802Z / HERKY 655 ATA 1855Z) carrying the FAST platoon and associated equipment, arrives in Tripoli.
2019 // 2219	Repatriation C-17 arrives in Ramstein, Germany.

49. Senator CHAMBLISS. General Breedlove, if confirmed, what changes to force structure and alert posture in Europe are necessary to respond more effectively to a future Benghazi-like event?

General BREEDLOVE. I am satisfied with EUCOM's actions with regard to our alert forces post-Benghazi. I intend to continue the ongoing efforts to adapt and refine EUCOM forces and alert postures which will enable us to effectively and expeditiously respond to the increasingly dangerous global security atmosphere characterized as the "new normal".

In the last 6 months, EUCOM has worked aggressively to provide scalable, rapidly deployable, special operations and security forces to protect and preserve U.S. personnel and facilities in the event of regional unrest. These forces maintain sufficient depth and flexibility to deliver a variety of pre- and post-crisis response options in both the EUCOM and AFRICOM areas of responsibility (AORs). EUCOM coordinates weekly with the Joint Staff and AFRICOM to evaluate potential indications and warnings, and adjusts force postures if required. To date, EUCOM has modified force structure and alert posture 14 times in response to changing strategic events.

Currently, EUCOM continues its efforts to transform the post-Benghazi response force construct into a flexible and scalable set of options. We continue to provide basing and access to AFRICOM response forces, and we are significantly increasing those capabilities within our theater. EUCOM recently coordinated with Spain to host U.S. Marine Corps forces to support AFRICOM crisis response missions, and we are already receiving the first wave of marines. We are in the process of transferring additional security teams and combat enablers to AFRICOM before 01 June 2013. EUCOM's U.S. Army component has developed a scalable contingency force with robust augmentation capabilities for rapid deployment anywhere in the EUCOM theater. This new contingency response force will be ready for employment prior to 01 June 2013.

As we look to the future, EUCOM will continue to collaborate with the Joint Staff, adjacent combatant commands, and U.S. Government agencies to review threats, intelligence products, and other indications/warnings that would potentially require crisis response forces. We will continue to mitigate risk by maintaining adaptive force structure and alert posture within our own forces, and request assistance where required. Finally, we will continue our efforts to build and preserve existing strategic partnerships which are vital in providing basing and access. These efforts are crucial to facilitating rapid response of U.S. forces and enablers.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY SENATOR KELLY AYOTTE

RUSSIA RESET

50. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, is the Putin Government in full compliance with all existing arms control agreements with the United States?

General BREEDLOVE. Since EUCOM does not participate in the verification process for arms control treaties, I would refer you to the President's annual report, submitted through the Department of State, on "Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments" required by section 403 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended (22 U.S.C 2593a).

SANCTIONS ON IRAN

51. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, would you agree that Iran's missile development program and effort to acquire a nuclear weapons capability threaten not only U.S. national security, but also the national security of our allies in Israel and Europe?

General BREEDLOVE. I do agree with that assessment.

52. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, do you share President Obama's assessment that U.S. and international sanctions should be utilized to the fullest extent to persuade Iran to halt its nuclear weapons program?

General BREEDLOVE. I do.

53. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, the United States has implemented full sanctions against Iran Air and Mahan Air, but the European Commission has not implemented full sanctions. These airlines have facilitated the illicit activities of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) through their transport of IRGC operatives, arms shipments, and funds. Additionally, these two airlines have ferried weapons from Iran to Bashar al Assad's regime in Syria. These shipments have enabled Assad to continue his slaughter of the Syrian people. Are you aware of the activities of Iran Air and Mahan Air?

General BREEDLOVE. I am aware that in October 2011, the U.S. Department of Treasury designated the Iranian commercial airline Mahan Air as a specially designated terrorist entity pursuant to E.O. 13224 for providing financial, material, and technological support to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Qods Force (IRGC-QF). IRGC-QF uses Mahan Air to ship arms, transfer funds, and ferry personnel. Mahan Air also has provided transportation services to Lebanese Hezbollah, transporting personnel, weapons, and goods on behalf of Hezbollah.

I am also aware that Iran Air was designated in June 2011 pursuant to E.O. 13382 for providing support and services to Iran's Ministry of Defense Armed Forces Logistics, Iran's Aerospace Industries Organization, and the IRGC. Iran Air has transported rockets and missiles via passenger aircraft, and IRGC officers occasionally take control of Iran Air flights carrying sensitive IRGC-related cargo.

In September 2012, Treasury identified as blocked property 117 aircraft operated by Iran Air, Mahan Air, or Yas Air (another designated Iranian cargo airline) to disrupt the flow of weapons and communications equipment to the Syrian regime. Iran has used Iran Air and Mahan Air flights between Tehran and Damascus to send military and crowd control equipment to the Syrian regime, in coordination with Lebanese Hizballah. Iran has used deceptive measures when shipping illicit materials to Syria, by using a combination of passenger and cargo flights and declaring illicit cargo as humanitarian and other licit goods.

The EU has not implemented full sanctions on Iran Air or Mahan Air, but many Western European airports refuse Iran Air refueling services, forcing Iran Air to terminate several European routes.

54. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, are you aware that some of the international destinations of these airlines include European cities?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. Although Iran Air has terminated several European routes due to some Western European airports refusing refueling services, I am aware that as of April 2013, Iran Air still flies to European destinations in Austria, Azerbaijan, Denmark, France, Italy, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Turkey, and the UK. I am also aware that Mahan Air still has routes to European destinations in Cyprus, Germany, and Turkey.

55. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, if confirmed, will you work with the State Department to encourage our European allies to increase even further their sanctions against Iran?

General BREEDLOVE. I will. At the same time, I will make sure that I am supporting the State Department's lead and remaining strictly within my role as a military leader.

56. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, will you look specifically at this issue related to Iran Air and Mahan Air?

General BREEDLOVE. I will look specifically at Iran and Mahan Air, and will continue EUCOM engagement with U.S. intelligence and interagency partners on this issue, to monitor the illicit activities of Iran Air and Mahan Air as well as other Iranian airlines that facilitate Iran's illicit activities.

VALUE OF U.S. MILITARY FORCES IN EUROPE

57. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, in light of the rebalance to Asia and our Nation's budget crisis, how would you respond to those who argue that the United States can't afford to maintain a significant U.S. military presence in Europe and should dramatically reduce or even eliminate the U.S. military presence there?

General BREEDLOVE. We recognize the challenges of the fiscal environment and, in accordance with the Defense Strategic Guidance, continue to consolidate our installations and seek additional efficiencies in U.S. overseas posture while maintaining the necessary capacity to meet our mission requirements.

Why Europe? First, Europe is home to most of the world's liberal democracies, with which we share fundamental values, a critical element to building coalitions. Second, Europe's importance to the U.S. and global economy cannot be overstated. Its \$19.2 trillion total gross domestic product accounts for approximately 25 percent of the global economy with \$3.9 trillion in annual trade between the United States and Europe. Third, the European theater represents critical strategic terrain, providing the global access needed for rapid crisis response by four U.S. combatant commanders. Fourth, the EUCOM theater is home to NATO, history's most successful alliance and essential to our ability to meet the challenges of the 21st century. Fifth, Europe is a security provider vice consumer, contributing over 50,000 personnel to NATO and U.N. operations worldwide and spending approximately \$280 billion on defense (second only to the United States and well ahead of China and Russia). No other region possesses a comparable pool of willing and capable allies and partners for the United States for conducting global operations.

We will continue to advocate for a deliberate and balanced approach to posture in Europe to ensure that future changes meet minimum requirements to conduct U.S. contingency operations, support U.S. global strategic access, and meet our NATO commitments.

58. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, from the perspective of U.S. interests, what is the value of retaining a significant U.S. military presence in Europe?

General BREEDLOVE. DOD's strategic approach to defense posture is to maintain a forward posture that promotes U.S. strategic interests by being either essential to U.S. security, or providing geopolitical advantages, such as stronger bilateral or multilateral political, economic, or cultural ties. This inclination to maintain a forward presence is further supported by the following principles:

- (1) First, in an era of resource constraints, the United States cannot effectively manage global security challenges on its own. The presence of U.S. military forces overseas can be a powerful catalyst for promoting multilateral approaches and regional security architectures that serve both U.S. and partner states' interests.
- (2) Second, the long-term presence of U.S. forces abroad reassures allies and partners of our commitment to mutual security relationships, generates enduring trust and goodwill with host nations, and increases regional and cultural expertise in the force. The United States cannot simply "surge" trust and relationships on demand.
- (3) Third, our defense posture must balance the benefits of an overseas presence that assures allies and partners of our commitments, with the need for flexibility to respond to contingencies, emerging threats, and global security needs in distant theaters. These are not mutually exclusive aims. In fact, reducing U.S. presence in a region to increase flexibility for global deployments may have a perverse effect; it may weaken U.S. relationships with host nations and lessen their willingness to receive surge U.S. forces during a crisis.

Forces stationed overseas provide greater utility by 'doing' almost everything CONUS based forces 'do' except contribute to a local community's economic viability. However, these overseas forces also demonstrate U.S. commitment to our allies; assure, deter, and dissuade; provide increased flexibility and responsiveness; enhance U.S. access into and through the European theater; help justify the U.S. leadership role in NATO; provide multi-national training opportunities; offer exposure to and awareness of culture differences; and reduce stress on the rotational force by being on-station.

TURKEY

59. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, how do you assess Turkey's role in NATO?

General BREEDLOVE. Turkey, with the second largest body of military manpower, after that of the United States, has been a steadfast ally and member of NATO since 1952. Turkey has been a major provider of forces and capabilities for NATO-led operations and has made substantial contributions to the NATO Response Force.

Its strategic geographic position on the alliance's southern flank supports NATO interests in the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean regions. In addition to access to sites for forward deployment in support of U.S. and alliance operations, Turkey has hosted a variety of NATO military headquarters since 1952. Today, it is host to the only Land Component headquarters in NATO's integrated military Command Structure in Izmir. Turkey, additionally, serves as the framework nation for a NATO Rapid Deployable Corps (NRDC) headquarters in Istanbul, which could be deployed on short notice in support of alliance operations. Turkey sponsors a NATO-accredited Center of Excellence for Defense against Terrorism in Ankara as well as a Partnership for Peace Training Center, which was established in an effort to contribute to the training and interoperability efforts of NATO's partner nations. Turkey is also host to an AN/TPY-2 early warning radar which is an essential component of Phase 1 of the EPAA to Missile Defense and an integral part of NATO's Missile Defense architecture. This radar serves as a U.S. contribution to NATO Missile Defense, as agreed at the 2010 Lisbon Summit.

60. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, what has been Turkey's role in Afghanistan?

General BREEDLOVE. In the words of William Holbrooke at the NATO Defense Ministers meeting, "I can think of no other country in the ISAF alliance that has a role that is more important than Turkey's in terms of operations in Afghanistan." Today, Turkey has a wide ranging and critical role in Afghanistan. This is in part due to the rich and enduring relationship that Turkey established with the newly independent Afghanistan in 1921, and which Turkey has maintained largely uninterrupted for decades. Turkey clearly plays an enduring and critical part, both as a NATO member with a troop contingent in ISAF, but also in a broader sense through its engagement in international cooperation and development with projects focused on alleviating conditions which are systemic drivers of conflict. In these areas, Turkey has focused on education, health, and infrastructure development to improve the Afghan quality of life. Within the NATO context, Turkey has commanded Regional Command-Capital three times. Turkey has also provided the NATO Senior Civilian Representative in Afghanistan twice. It has contributed two Provincial Reconstruction teams and today has more than 1,000 troops deployed as part of ISAF. Turkey's role will remain critical in the future precisely because of its unique place in the Muslim world, its long standing NATO membership, and its historical and sustained connection with Afghanistan.

61. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, can you give me an update on our military relationship with Turkey?

General BREEDLOVE. The bilateral military relationship with Turkey is strong and coordination has improved over the last year. Events in Syria, though tragic, have provided opportunities for closer cooperation in prudent planning in which our military staffs are working directly with one another. Turkey has also been a valuable ally that has been instrumental in the expansion of the EPAA to missile defense by hosting a radar installation at Kürecik. Despite today's hard fiscal realities, both nations' militaries are preserving optimum opportunities for engagement and exchanges that help us to share common experiences and understand one another's priorities and objectives. Turkey's involvement in security cooperation is as deep as their operational commitment. Turkey spent \$8.5 billion on Foreign Military Sales with the United States last year. This is a very high level of spending, but it is tend-

ing to decrease as Turkey establishes more domestic ability to produce its own equipment and weapons systems. Turkey manages International Military Education and Training (IMET) very efficiently, covering all expenses for their students and applying IMET funds only to the cost of educating their servicemembers. As a result, Turkey sent almost 400 students to American military schools and programs under the IMET program last year, more than any other ally or partner.

62. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, what is the relationship between Turkey and Iran?

General BREEDLOVE. The Turkey-Iran relationship is multifaceted including issues of energy, trade, cultural, and politico-security cooperation. Iran is Turkey's second largest supplier of natural gas and Ankara relies on Iranian oil for its own consumption. Turkey and Iran also have a shared concern with Kurdish separatism—to include some limited intelligence sharing and joint security operations—and a common interest in avoiding another wide-scale military confrontation in the region. However, opposing positions on Syria (Ankara supports the Opposition while Tehran supports the Regime), Turkey hosting the NATO ballistic missile defense radar, and Turkey's adherence to U.S.-European Union sanctions on Iran has resulted in some chilling of ties.

63. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, how does Turkey view Iran's nuclear program?

General BREEDLOVE. Ankara continues its public support for Tehran's nuclear ambitions, which Turkey views as Iran's right to seek peaceful nuclear technology, and disagrees with sanctions as a means to force Tehran into compliance. However, Ankara has said it does not support Tehran possessing nuclear weapons. Ankara will use its influence with Tehran to pressure acceptance to the offer from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) under which Tehran would transfer all of its 20 percent-enriched uranium (which lies at the dividing line between low-enriched uranium and highly-enriched uranium) to a third country under IAEA custody. While Ankara has not officially adopted U.S.-European Union sanctions as policy, it recognizes its responsibility to comply.

With respect to Turkey's reaction to a strike on Iranian nuclear facilities, analyses indicate that Turkey would react harshly against any military strike against Iranian nuclear facilities as Ankara has consistently opposed, both publicly and privately, military action against Iran. Officially, the Turkish military is also opposed to a strike, believing the consequences would be "disastrous," and a broad consensus of Turkish intellectuals view a nuclear-armed Iran as the second worst outcome for the region, behind an attack against Iran's nuclear facilities.

64. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, how do you believe Turkey would respond if Iran acquires a nuclear weapons capability?

General BREEDLOVE. Ankara has repeatedly stated it will not accept any neighbor possessing any weapons that it does not possess, particularly nuclear weaponry. However, Turkey is unlikely to take any unilateral action against Iran absent provocation. Ankara will likely demand proof of claims—beyond assertions by Israeli officials—that Tehran has developed nuclear weapons capability. If Ankara accepts the evidence as substantiating the claims, we expect the reaction to be measured based on Tehran's stance. At present, Turkey relies heavily on Iranian oil and gas for Turkey's own consumption; until there is a reliable and affordable alternative source, Ankara will be hard pressed to risk damaging energy relations.

- Ankara would likely issue public statements condemning the development of nuclear weapons and would highlight the additional instability to the region.
- Ankara would likely recall its Ambassador to Tehran for "consultations," but would not completely sever diplomatic relations. Expelling Iranian officials is also a possible option, but would likely only impact lower secretarial positions.
- Ankara would probably support a United Nations Security Council/General Assembly resolution condemning the activity.
- Militarily, we would not expect to see any shifting of Turkish forces or equipment to the shared border with Iran. However, Ankara may seek additional NATO assurances of protection given Turkey's hosting of the ballistic missile defense radar.
- Ankara may create its own sanctions targeting existing bilateral relations such as limits on gold imports, or further reducing imports of oil.

65. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, what is your assessment of the current relationship between Turkey and Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. Turkish-Israeli relations have been strained for several years, declining since at least 2009 and stressed further following the deaths of nine Turkish citizens resulting from Israel's May 2010 interdiction of the Turkish M/V MAVI MARMARA. Since Israel's extension of the apology to Turkey for the incident, the two countries have entered into a discussion on the exchange of Defense Attaches. Any further progress at this time is likely to depend on the outcome of the reparations discussions. A draft compensation agreement was reached between the two countries on May 7, 2013, but a formal settlement has not yet been reached.

66. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, how important is the bilateral relationship between Turkey and Israel?

General BREEDLOVE. A strong bilateral relationship between Turkey and Israel is key to advancing stability in the region and could provide more support for reinvigorating the Middle East peace process. For NATO and the United States, warm relations between Turkey and Israel also open the door for more NATO-Israel engagement-which Turkey has the ability to veto at the present time. From the U.S. perspective, a strong relationship between two allies removes roadblocks to advancing U.S. policies in the region and restarting some suspended multilateral military training opportunities.

EUROPEAN DEFENSE SPENDING

67. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, NATO countries agree to spend at least 2 percent of their GDP on defense. Yet, many European countries do not honor this commitment. For example, Spain has averaged 1.1 percent defense spending over the last few years. How does this low defense spending in many European countries impact their military capabilities, as well as their ability to operate effectively with U.S. forces?

General BREEDLOVE. The continued European focus on austerity measures in response to the economic crisis has forced painful military spending decisions on many countries. Collectively, our European allies and partners still represent the second largest defense spending block (~\$280 billion) in the world—ahead of China (~\$130 billion/year) and Russia (~\$64 billion). So, while it is true that governments continue to make tough choices on defense spending, our European allies are still contributing to NATO and attempting to preserve the expeditionary capabilities and interoperability that have been developed over the past decade of combat operations. Despite limited resourcing, European partners have made other significant contributions to security. In 2010, seven European countries (United Kingdom (1.54 percent), France (1.36 percent), Iceland (1.22 percent), Germany (1.2 percent), Netherlands (1.17 percent), Denmark (1.15 percent), and Norway (1.04 percent)) exceeded the U.S. funding contribution to U.N. peace operations by percent of GDP (which was .97 percent). I am concerned about the future military capabilities of our allies and partners given current levels of defense spending. A disproportionate amount of the spending cuts are from research, development and acquisition. These impacts not only effect current readiness, but potentially create a growing capability gap which will only be partially offset by NATO Smart Defense and European pooling and sharing efforts. This is a real challenge that will require serious effort and attention to address over the next few years. Since the Europeans represent our most reliable and capable security partners, it has a profound impact on our ability to address challenges as we also contend with reduced defense spending. In terms of European forces operating effectively alongside the United States, I am slightly more optimistic. While we will face a capability and capacity gap, there is real potential to maintain interoperable forces through the NATO Connected Forces Initiative. If we invest the time and resources to exercise and train with our allies and partners, I am confident we can preserve our hard won interoperability gains earned from 10 years of shared sacrifice in places like Afghanistan. The U.S. Joint Multinational Readiness Center (Hohenfels) and Joint Multinational Training Center (Grafenwoehr), and the U.S. Air Force Warrior Preparation Center (Miesenbach) will be crucial to this effort.

68. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, what role could you play in encouraging our defense partners to devote more of their resources to defense spending?

General BREEDLOVE. In both my capacities as Supreme Allied Commander Europe and as Commander, EUCOM, I have a responsibility and active interest to ensure that our most reliable, capable and willing partners are prepared and ready to ad-

dress the full range of 21st century challenges. The decision to devote more resources to defense spending will be a political one. But the role I can play, as part of a network of defense professionals, is to inform the political debate by identifying the requirements and the risks imposed by a failure to adequately invest in defense. Using both offices, I will engage with key leaders to argue for holding the line on defense spending, push within NATO to support the acquisition of critical capabilities, and ensure that the EUCOM steady state engagement and country cooperation plans focus on encouraging the appropriate resources are devoted to building the required capabilities. Additionally, as NATO nations begin to develop efficiencies through Smart Defense, it will be crucial to ensure these efficiencies are reinvested in defense and not simply used to justify further defense budget cuts. Finally, through key leader engagements, supporting regional approaches, and building and resourcing capabilities, I can help make the right arguments to support European Defense Chiefs and Ministers in order to sway political leaders to continue to invest in defense. In this capacity, I will also respectfully ask Members of Congress to continue to engage with European and Canadian counterparts through such mechanisms as the NATO Parliamentary Assembly to also help influence our partners and allies to make responsible decisions involving their security and examine alternative approaches to austerity in order to ensure their economic future.

PERSONNEL

69. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, to what extent does EUCOM rely on DOD civilians and contractors to fulfill EUCOM's responsibilities?

General BREEDLOVE. Within the EUCOM headquarters, civilians and contractors make up nearly 55 percent of the assigned strength. They are an integral part of the command that provide invaluable contributions daily in support of the EUCOM mission.

70. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, how has sequestration affected the civilian contractors and DOD civilians working at EUCOM, and how has that affected EUCOM's ability to perform its missions?

General BREEDLOVE. The effects of sequestration are many and are substantial. Currently, EUCOM has had to enforce a civilian hiring freeze which has severely hindered the command's ability to recruit and fill vacancies. Additionally, the command's ability to augment exercise and contingency operations with approving overtime for civilians and contractors has been eliminated. The effects throughout the command with respect to employee satisfaction and morale have also been significant as employees are distracted by the concern over stability, job security, and potential financial hardship.

71. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, to what extent does EUCOM utilize personnel from its Reserve component to support EUCOM's work?

General BREEDLOVE. EUCOM currently has 1,066 Reserve component positions with reservists assigned. These personnel are mobilization assets who support EUCOM during their 2 weeks of Annual Training each year. Additionally, EUCOM augments the Active Duty staff with reservists on 1 year Active Duty orders. There are 135 Reserve component personnel at the EUCOM headquarters and the Joint Analysis Center on 1 year Active Duty orders.

72. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, is the use of Reserve personnel the most cost efficient method to support surges in demand for personnel at EUCOM and to make up for temporary reductions in the civilian and contractor workforce at EUCOM, such as those caused by sequestration?

General BREEDLOVE. Reserve component personnel provide a valued resource in terms of experience and depth when augmenting the EUCOM staff during surge or contingency operations. Many Reserve component personnel have expertise currently not resident on the staff and are effective stop-gap measures for temporary surges and limited contingencies, or until Active component personnel can be obtained.

73. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, is annual training in Europe for EUCOM reservists critical to maintaining their proficiency and ability to seamlessly integrate into EUCOM's staff?

General BREEDLOVE. Yes. The training value that our reservists receive when conducting Annual Training in Europe cannot be replicated in CONUS. Virtual means of staying "connected" across the Atlantic with the headquarters are useful tools—

especially throughout the year, but by themselves do not provide the required level of proficiency in EUCOM HQs operations. Staff process training can only be fully addressed when in situ, making them fully capable in times of crises and support.

74. Senator AYOTTE. General Breedlove, will EUCOM continue to facilitate annual training in Europe for EUCOM reservists and utilize them as a cost-efficient means to cope with fluctuating personnel demands so that EUCOM can fulfill its vital national security-related missions?

General BREEDLOVE. EUCOM will continue to facilitate that training. Annual training in Europe for our reservists is an enabler for the command and provides a key capability that can be employed in contingency and surge operations.

EUCOM will also continue to use reservists to meet its fluctuating personnel demands.

[The nomination reference of Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, follows:]

NOMINATION REFERENCE AND REPORT

AS IN EXECUTIVE SESSION,
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 8, 2013.

Ordered, That the following nomination be referred to the Committee on Armed Services:

The following named officer for appointment in the U.S. Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, U.S.C., section 601:

To be General.

Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, 5587.

[The biographical sketch of Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, which was transmitted to the committee at the time the nomination was referred, follows:]

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GEN. PHILIP M. BREEDLOVE, USAF

Gen. Philip M. Breedlove is Commander, U.S. Air Forces in Europe; Commander, U.S. Air Forces Africa; Commander, Air Component Command, Ramstein; and Director, Joint Air Power Competence Centre, Kalkar, Germany. He is responsible for Air Force activities, conducted through 3rd Air Force, in an area of operations covering more than 19 million square miles. This area includes 105 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East, and the Arctic and Atlantic oceans, and possesses more than a quarter of the world's population and generates more than a quarter of the world's gross domestic product.

General Breedlove was raised in Forest Park, GA, and was commissioned in 1977 as a distinguished graduate of Georgia Tech's ROTC program. He has been assigned to numerous operational, command and staff positions, and has completed nine overseas tours, including two remote tours. He has commanded a fighter squadron, an operations group, three fighter wings, and a numbered air force. Additionally, he has served as operations officer in the Pacific Command Division on the Joint Staff; executive officer to the Commander of Headquarters Air Combat Command; the senior military assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force; and Vice Director for Strategic Plans and Policy on the Joint Staff.

Prior to assuming his current position, General Breedlove served Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, Washington, DC. As Vice Chief, he presided over the Air Staff and served as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Requirements Oversight Council and Deputy Advisory Working Group. He assisted the Chief of Staff with organizing, training, and equipping of 680,000 Active Duty, Guard, Reserve and civilian forces serving in the United States and overseas. General Breedlove has flown combat missions in Operation Joint Forge/Joint Guardian. He is a command pilot with 3,500 flying hours, primarily in the F-16.

Education:

- 1977 - Bachelor's degree in civil engineering, Georgia Institute of Technology.
 1982 - Distinguished graduate, Squadron Officer School, Maxwell Air Force Base (AFB), AL.
 1991 - Distinguished graduate, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell Air Force Base, AL.
 1991 - Master of Science degree in aeronautical technology, Arizona State University.
 1995 - Master's degree in national security studies, National War College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC.
 2002 - Fellow, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Seminar XXI, Washington, DC.

Assignments:

From	To	Assignment
March 1978	March 1979	Student, undergraduate pilot training, Williams AFB, AZ.
March 1979	August 1979	Pilot instructor training, Randolph AFB, TX.
August 1979	January 1983	T-37 instructor pilot, evaluation flight examiner and runway supervisory unit controller, Williams AFB, AZ.
January 1983	September 1983	F-16 student pilot, MacDill AFB, FL.
September 1983	January 1985	F-16 aircraft commander and instructor pilot, 614th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Torrejon AB, Spain.
January 1985	March 1987	Air liaison officer, 602nd Air Support Operations Group, Kitzingen AB, West Germany.
March 1987	January 1988	F-16 pilot, 526th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Ramstein AB, West Germany.
January 1988	August 1988	Chief of Flight Safety, 316th Air Division, Ramstein AB, West Germany.
August 1988	August 1990	F-16 flight commander, then assistant operations officer, 512th Tactical Fighter Squadron, Ramstein AB, Germany.
August 1990	July 1991	Student, Air Command and Staff College, Maxwell AFB, AL.
July 1991	May 1993	Chief of Air Operations, United Nations Command and Republic of Korea/U.S. Combined Forces Command, Yongsan Army Garrison, South Korea.
May 1993	July 1994	Commander, 80th Fighter Squadron, Kunsan AB, South Korea.
July 1994	June 1995	Student, National War College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, DC.
June 1995	July 1997	Operations officer, U.S. Pacific Command Division, Joint Staff, the Pentagon, Washington, DC.
July 1997	June 1999	Commander, 27th Operations Group, Cannon AFB, NM.
June 1999	May 2000	Executive officer to the Commander, Headquarters Air Combat Command, Langley AFB, VA.
May 2000	May 2001	Commander, 8th Fighter Wing, Kunsan AB, South Korea.
June 2001	June 2002	Senior military assistant to the Secretary of the Air Force, Headquarters U.S. Air Force, Washington, DC.
June 2002	June 2004	Commander, 56th Fighter Wing, Luke AFB, AZ.
June 2004	June 2005	Commander, 31st Fighter Wing, Aviano AB, Italy.
June 2005	October 2006	Vice Commander, 16th Air Force, Ramstein AB, Germany.
October 2006	July 2008	Vice Director for Strategic Plans and Policy, Joint Staff, the Pentagon, Washington, DC.
July 2008	August 2009	Commander, 3rd Air Force, Ramstein AB, Germany.
August 2009	January 2011	Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, Plans and Requirements, Headquarters U.S. Air Force, Washington, DC.
January 2011	July 2012	Vice Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, Washington, DC.
July 2012	present	Commander, U.S. Air Forces in Europe; Commander, U.S. Air Forces in Africa; Commander, Air Component Command, Ramstein Air Base, Germany; and Director, Joint Air Power Competency Center, Ramstein.

Summary of joint assignments:

From	To	Assignment
July 1991	May 1993	Chief of Air Operations, United Nations Command and Republic of Korea/U.S. Combined Forces Command, Yongsan Army Garrison, South Korea, as a major.
June 1995	July 1997	Operations officer, U.S. Pacific Command Division, Joint Staff, the Pentagon, Washington, DC, as a lieutenant colonel.
October 2006	July 2008	Vice Director for Strategic Plans and Policy, Joint Staff, the Pentagon, Washington, DC, as a major general.

Flight information:

Rating: Command pilot
 Flight hours: More than 3,500
 Aircraft flown: F-16, T-37, and C-21

Major awards and decorations:

Distinguished Service Medal
 Defense Superior Service Medal
 Legion of Merit with three oak leaf clusters
 Defense Meritorious Service Medal with two oak leaf clusters
 Meritorious Service Medal with three oak leaf clusters
 Aerial Achievement Medal

Effective dates of promotion:

Second Lieutenant, June 1, 1977
 First Lieutenant, Dec. 10, 1979
 Captain, Dec. 10, 1981
 Major, Nov. 1, 1988
 Lieutenant Colonel, June 1, 1993
 Colonel, Jan. 1, 1998
 Brigadier General, Oct. 1, 2003
 Major General, June 23, 2006
 Lieutenant General, July 21, 2008
 General, Jan. 14, 2011

[The Committee on Armed Services requires certain senior military officers nominated by the President to positions requiring the advice and consent of the Senate to complete a form that details the biographical, financial, and other information of the nominee. The form executed by Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, in connection with his nomination follows:]

UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Room SR-228

Washington, DC 20510-6050

(202) 224-3871

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES FORM

BIOGRAPHICAL AND FINANCIAL INFORMATION REQUESTED OF
 NOMINEES

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NOMINEE: Complete all requested information. If more space is needed use an additional sheet and cite the part of the form and the question number (i.e. A-9, B-4) to which the continuation of your answer applies.

PART A—BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NOMINEE: Biographical information furnished in this part of the form will be made available in committee offices for public inspection prior to the hearings and will also be published in any hearing record as well as made available to the public.

1. **Name:** (Include any former names used.)
 Philip M. Breedlove.

2. **Position to which nominated:**
 Commander, U.S. European Command Supreme Allied Commander, Europe.

3. **Date of nomination:**
 April 8, 2013.

4. **Address:** (List current place of residence and office addresses.)
 [Nominee responded and the information is contained in the committee's executive files.]

5. **Date and place of birth:**

September 21, 1955; Atlanta, GA.

6. Marital Status: (Include maiden name of wife or husband's name.)
Married to Cynthia Sue Breedlove (maiden name: Thompson).

7. Names and ages of children:

Samantha Leigh Tromly, 26.
Rebecca Nichole Breedlove, 23.
Daniel Jesse Breedlove, 18.

8. Government experience: List any advisory, consultative, honorary or other part-time service or positions with Federal, State, or local governments, other than those listed in the service record extract provided to the committee by the executive branch.

I have no advisory, consultative, honorary, or other part-time service or positions with Federal, State, or local governments, other than those listed in the service record.

9. Business relationships: List all positions currently held as an officer, director, trustee, partner, proprietor, agent, representative, or consultant of any corporation, company, firm, partnership, or other business enterprise, educational, or other institution.

I currently hold no positions as an officer, director, trustee, partner, proprietor, agent, representative, or consultant of any corporation, firm, partnership, or other business, enterprise, education, or other institution.

10. Memberships: List all memberships and offices currently held in professional, fraternal, scholarly, civic, business, charitable, and other organizations.

I am a board member on the Advisory Board of the School of Civil and Environmental Engineering, Georgia Institute of Technology.

11. Honors and awards: List all scholarships, fellowships, honorary society memberships, and any other special recognitions for outstanding service or achievements other than those listed on the service record extract provided to the committee by the executive branch.

I currently hold no scholarships, fellowships, honorary society memberships, or have received any other special recognition for outstanding service or achievements other than those listed on the service record.

12. Commitment to testify before Senate committees: Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear and testify upon request before any duly constituted committee of the Senate?

If confirmed, I agree to appear and testify upon request before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.

13. Personal views: Do you agree, when asked before any duly constituted committee of Congress, to give your personal views, even if those views differ from the administration in power?

I agree to provide my personal views, if asked, before any duly constituted committee of Congress even if my views differ from the administration in power.

[The nominee responded to the questions in Parts B–E of the committee questionnaire. The text of the questionnaire is set forth in the appendix to this volume. The nominee's answers to Parts B–E are contained in the committee's executive files.]

SIGNATURE AND DATE

I hereby state that I have read and signed the foregoing Statement on Biographical and Financial Information and that the information provided therein is, to the best of my knowledge, current, accurate, and complete.

PHILIP M. BREEDLOVE.

This 15th day of February, 2013.

[The nomination of Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, USAF, was reported to the Senate by Chairman Levin on April 17, 2013, with the recommendation that the nomination be confirmed. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate on April 18, 2013.]