Congress and the U.S. Army: A Look Ahead

36th Annual NDIA Atlanta Executive Seminar

5 April 2011

Mr. Bernard Ingold
Office of the Chief Legislative Liaison
Agenda

• Congress During Last Decade
• The 112th and Congressional Trends
• Future Congressional Issues and Impact on Army
The Congress shall have the power: “To provide for the common defense. . .To raise and support Armies. . .To provide and maintain a Navy . . .To make rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval forces. . .To declare war. . .And to make laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying out the foregoing powers.”

--Article 1, Section 8, The Constitution of the United States
“Many departments are tied-up in a morass of Lilliputian do's and don'ts.”
White House Budget Request for Fiscal Year 2003
Congress During 9/11 Decade

- Broad General Support for the Army and DoD:
  - Operations (OIF, OEF, OND, GWOT)
  - Initiatives (Transformation, modernization, restationing, BRAC, modularity, NSPS)
  - Funding Requests (Base and Supplemental)
  - Marginal Modifications to Major Weapons Systems

- Limited Oversight over Programs and Policies

- Acquiescence to Executive Agency National Security Actions (Detainee Policies, Patriot Act)

- Both Parties Strive to Be “Strong on Defense”

- Proactive in Soldier Safety and Welfare
  - Soldier Protection: Body Armor, MRAPs, Up-Armored Humvee
  - Care for Wounded Warriors
  - Counter IED, UAV
  - Family and Quality of Life Programs
House of Representatives:

- Shift in party control (241-R/192-D)
- GOP gained net 63 seats
- All Committees have new chairs
- Agenda and rule changes
- New members will have impact
- 91 Veterans
- 3 Members of NG and 3 Reserve

U.S. Senate:

- Dem majority decreased (53-D/47-R)
- GOP gained net 6 seats
- Some Committee leadership changes
- Republican leaders have more leverage
- Easier for GOP to obtain cloture
- 26 Veterans
- 2 Members of NG and 1 Reserve
Tea Party Influence:
- Internal Republican debate on defense cuts
- Newcomers insist all programs are “on the table”
- Freshmen more likely to vote against leadership
- Republican calls for defense cuts could embolden Democrats
- Skeptical of government

Democrat Trends:
- Democrats more liberal and from urban coasts
- Blue Dog Democrats virtually wiped out in 2010
- Committed to social welfare programs

New House Rules Will Have an Impact:
- More amendments to be allowed
- Less power for committee chairmen and leadership
- More opportunities for Democrats
- Limits on Earmarks
Political Trends*

- Favorability ratings of Congress at all time low
- Members with military service declining
- Members of both parties want them to move rightward
- Cong. leadership weakened by free agent Tea Partiers
- Social media and ideological journalism making an impact
- Polarization between parties increasing
- Less room for compromise

*Yogi Berra: “It’s tough to make predictions, especially about the future.”
Congress Experiencing Fundamental Generational Change:
- Congress increasingly populated by post-Cold War politicians
- Past two decades saw departure many who shaped modern military (Reps. Aspin, Spence, and Skelton; Senators Nunn, Warner, Thurmond, Kennedy, Byrd)
- Members with military service low by postwar standards*
- Limited knowledge of military
- More retirements are on the way

New Post-Cold War Members to Shape Future:
- Uncertain about effectiveness of military power and preparedness
- Questions on Iraq and Afghanistan; was bang worth buck?
- Libya outcome could have huge repercussions
- Deteriorating fiscal picture hangs over everything

*391 vets in 91st Congress and 117 in 112th
Sense of Congress

- Budget/deficit issues are at the forefront of 112th agenda:
  - Actions to reduce the deficit, increase debt ceiling and tackle entitlement spending
  - House following limited Government and fiscal responsibility agenda

- Defense Oversight Committee areas of concern:
  - DoD proposed efficiencies and end strength reductions
  - Role of military in Middle East
  - Overall level of defense spending
  - “Health of the Force”
  - Progress in Afghanistan
  - Transition in Iraq
  - Plans for Army modernization programs
  - Implementation of DADT

- Other Congressional oversight issues:
  - Arlington National Cemetery
  - Wikileaks investigation and security of information
  - Homegrown terrorism and Fort Hood
  - Sexual Assault programs
  - Leadership Accountability
Global trends will exacerbate current instability...

- **Proliferation of WMD**
- **Catastrophic attacks**

- **Globalization**
  - Interdependence with unequal distribution

- **Technology**
  - Inexpensive access & exploitation

- **Resource Demands**
  - Greater demand - Fewer resources

- **Declining Fiscal Resources**
  - Increasing Fiscal and Financial Stress

- **Unblinking Scrutiny of Global Media**

- **Climate Change**
  - Natural Disasters

- **Hybrid Threats**
  - Dynamic combinations of conventional, irregular, cyber, terrorist and criminal capabilities

- **Diverse Actors**
  - State & Non-state

- **Population Growth**
  - Provide safe havens for extremists; source of instability

- **Failed or Failing States**
  - Conflict Among the People

- **Unpredictable Timing, Location, Adversaries, Context, Duration**

Strategic environment of Persistent Conflict...

...requires a balanced Army that can:

- **Prevail** in today’s conflicts
- **Engage** to build partner capacity
- **Support** civil authorities at home and abroad
- **Deter and Defeat** future threats
Key Questions for Army

Future funding levels for national defense and the Army?
- Will debt and deficit shape future size, capability and use of the Army?
- How will Congress make trade offs between readiness, modernization and personnel?

What is the role of the Army (including Reserve Components) and size and structure of all-volunteer force?

“And I must tell you, when it comes to predicting the nature and location of our next military engagements, since Vietnam, our record has been perfect. We have never once gotten it right, from the Mayaguez to Grenada, Panama, Somalia, the Balkans, Haiti, Kuwait, Iraq and more – we had no idea a year before any of these missions that we would be so engaged.”

– Secretary Robert Gates address to West Point Cadets 25 Feb 11
Other Issues for Army

- Energy dependence
- Soldier equipping
- Health of the force
- Costs for benefits and entitlements
  - Retirement pay
  - Pay and allowances
  - Health care
  - Veteran care

“Every aspect of the discretionary budget must be scrutinized, no agency can be off limits, and no program that spends too much or achieves too little can be spared.”

The National Commission of Fiscal responsibility, The Moment, December 2010
Cost Overruns

FCS - Overreach (Gold Plating) - Take away is “Get what you can get”

Congress is taking a harder look at TRLs

Members want analysis of alternatives when considering new programs

Program Performance (Cost/Schedule/Performance)

Acquisition must insist on works in testing. SUG-V and NIK
- Realistic Requirements (Gold Plating)
- Congress is taking a harder look at TRLs
- Members want analysis of alternatives when considering new programs
- Program Performance (Cost/Schedule/Performance)
- Leverage mature technologies and processes
- Establish realistic cost and schedule estimates matched to available resources
- Limit use of contractor employees to manage contracts

"Every aspect of the discretionary budget must be scrutinized, no agency can be off limits, and no program that spends too much or achieves too little can be spared."

The National Commission of Fiscal responsibility, The Moment, December 2010
- U.S. population is getting bigger, older and more racially and ethnically diverse
- Legislators must address the changing demographic profile in these critical areas:
  - Work, retirement, and pensions
  - Private wealth and income security, transfer systems
  - Health and well-being of the aging population
- Policy choices in this area will be difficult:
  - Fiscal picture deteriorating
  - An aging population puts enormous pressure on budget
  - Entitlement programs are hardest to cut politically
  - Congress will want to avoid cutting programs for seniors
“...But there are also unknown unknowns – the ones we don't know we don't know.”

Former SECDEF Donald Rumsfeld

“We will likely not call the future exactly right, but we must think through the nature of continuity and change in strategic trends to discern their military implications to avoid being completely wrong”.

– United States Joint Forces Command, 2010
Defense spending will likely be reduced

1. Defense spending over the last 60 years is cyclical with valleys of ~$400B/year in constant FY11 dollars.
3. The Debt Reduction Task Force proposals would reduce Defense ~$133B in FY 2015 and $166B/year in FY 2016
4. Recent electoral changes portend an increased emphasis on reducing spending/deficits – Defense will be one target

5. If history is a guide, defense spending is likely to enter another valley, declining up to ~70% of recent highs. To get there, defense spending will have to be cut more than current public proposals.
RESTORING BALANCE: The Army is achieving our goals to restore balance in 2011. Our plan remains centered on four imperatives—Sustain, Prepare, Reset, and Transform. Beginning in FY ’12, deploying Soldiers can expect at least two years at home for every year deployed and a Reserve component Soldier will get four years at home for every year deployed.

MAINTAINING OUR COMBAT EDGE: The war is not over. The Army is transitioning to a period where we must maintain our combat edge at an appropriate tempo while reconstituting the Force for other missions in an era of persistent conflict.

MODERNIZING THE FORCE: The Army is developing and fielding a versatile and affordable mix of equipment to allow Soldiers and units to succeed in full spectrum operations today and tomorrow to maintain our decisive advantage over any enemy we face.

BUILDING RESILIENCE: The Army is continuing to build resilience in our Soldiers, Families and Civilians—all of whom have been affected by the cumulative effects of nine years at war. We have developed a comprehensive approach that puts mental fitness on the same level as physical fitness.

RECONSTITUTING THE FORCE: A decade of combat has taken its toll on our Army’s Soldiers, Families, and Equipment. Sustained funding for reset will be essential to restore our capability to surge forces for unexpected contingencies and to sustain our commitments.

TRANSFORMING THE GENERATING FORCE: The sector of the Army that is charged with training and equipping our Soldiers must become a force driven by innovation, able to adapt quickly and field what our Soldiers and their Families will require. We are adapting our institutions to effectively and efficiently generate trained and ready forces for full spectrum operations at a tempo that is predictable and sustainable for our All Volunteer Force.

SEEKING EFFICIENCIES AND AFFORDABILITY: The Army continues to seek ways to improve efficiency and reduce overhead expenditures as good steward’s of our Nation’s valuable resources.