

Stenographic Transcript  
Before the

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATION OF:  
GENERAL CHRISTOPHER G. CAVOLI, USA FOR  
REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE  
COMMANDER, UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND AND  
SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER, EUROPE

Thursday, May 26, 2022

Washington, D.C.

ALDERSON COURT REPORTING  
1111 14TH STREET NW  
SUITE 1050  
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(202) 289-2260  
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1 HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATION OF:

2 GENERAL CHRISTOPHER G. CAVOLI, USA FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE  
3 GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE COMMANDER, UNITED STATES EUROPEAN  
4 COMMAND AND SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER, EUROPE

5  
6 Thursday, May 26, 2022

7  
8 U.S. Senate

9 Committee on Armed Services

10 Washington, D.C.

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12 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in  
13 Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack Reed,  
14 chairman of the committee, presiding.

15 Committee Members Present: Senators Reed [presiding],  
16 Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, King, Warren,  
17 Peters, Manchin, Rosen, Kelly, Inhofe, Fischer, Cotton,  
18 Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan, Scott, Hawley, and  
19 Tuberville.

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

3           Chairman Reed: Good morning. The Committee meets  
4 today to consider the nomination of General Christopher  
5 Cavoli to be the next Commander of U.S. European Command and  
6 Supreme Allied Commander, Europe. General, your nomination  
7 is well deserved, and I thank you for your willingness to  
8 lead in this important position. We welcome your wife,  
9 Christina, parents, Ivo and Rita, and thank your father for  
10 his distinguished service in the United States Army, your  
11 brother, Stephen, and we thank him for his distinguished  
12 service in the United States Army, and your sister-in-law,  
13 Michele, who are with us today. We thank them for their  
14 continued support of your service, and again, their own  
15 distinguished service to the nation themselves.

16           Your current role as the Commanding General of U.S Army  
17 Europe and Africa has no doubt provided you with critical  
18 experience and insights which will serve you well if  
19 confirmed in this new role. Your career spans nearly 35  
20 years with distinguished service across multiple theaters  
21 and in close collaboration with allies and partners across  
22 the globe.

23           Further, you have studied the challenges in Europe from  
24 numerous vantage points, including your current leadership  
25 in assisting our Ukrainian partners and reassuring our NATO

1 allies. You have also served as Russia Director on the  
2 Joint Staff and studied these issues in academia, including  
3 earning a master's degree in Russian and East European  
4 studies and serving as a fellow at the George C. Marshall  
5 Center for Security Studies in Germany.

6 If confirmed, you will take command in the midst of the  
7 greatest test of the NATO alliance since World War II. The  
8 alliance has shown remarkable unity and resolve in the face  
9 of Russia's unprovoked and illegal attack on Ukraine. A  
10 formidable array of our allies have joined together and, in  
11 response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. and our  
12 NATO allies and partners have mobilized with impressive  
13 speed to bolster Ukrainian resolve, reinforce credible  
14 combat power along the eastern flank, and impose severe  
15 costs on Russia's elite. Putin's actions have drastically  
16 altered the European security landscape, NATO unity has been  
17 solidified, countries like Sweden and Finland have  
18 officially applied to join the alliance, and others, like  
19 Germany, are taking steps to invest greater portions of  
20 their national budgets and institutional energies to improve  
21 their military capabilities.

22 Ensuring the alliance is able to generate and maintain  
23 the collective force posture, operations, and investments to  
24 deter Russian aggression will be a primary responsibility  
25 for the next EUCOM Commander.

1           General, with NATO set to announce a new strategic  
2   concept at its summit in Madrid in June, I would like to  
3   know your views on the current plans for U.S. military  
4   presence and posture in the EUCOM area of responsibility. I  
5   also hope you will share your thoughts on how the United  
6   States and our allies should begin to reassess the security  
7   environment fundamentally altered by Russia's invasion of  
8   Ukraine.

9           Unlike the threat from Russia, for which there is  
10   little disagreement among our European partners as to the  
11   size and scope of the issue, our allies have a range of  
12   views on the challenges posed by China. Beijing's growing  
13   economic influence and diplomatic presence in Europe,  
14   coupled with its growing military relationship with Russia,  
15   may have serious implications for transatlantic economy and  
16   security. In 2019, the NATO allies agreed to mention China  
17   for the first time in a NATO declaration, stating that,  
18   "China's growing influence and international policies  
19   present both opportunities and challenges that we need to  
20   address together as an Alliance." The next EUCOM Commander  
21   will have to work with the interagency and across the  
22   alliance to address Chinese malign influence within the  
23   region. General, I hope you will share what expectations  
24   you have with regard to NATO's developing China policy and  
25   what steps can be taken to mitigate this growing threat.

1           Finally, as we reflect on the realities of 21st century  
2 warfare on display in Ukraine, the committee would benefit  
3 from hearing what lessons you would bring to prepare our  
4 forces for any potential future conflict. We would also  
5 benefit from insights from your current post at U.S. Army  
6 Europe and Africa, particularly in areas such as military  
7 mobility, large-scale multilateral exercises, and  
8 engagements with partners and allies across the theater. I  
9 hope you will share how you would intend to use such  
10 insights if confirmed as the next EUCOM Commander.

11           Thank you again, General, for your continued  
12 willingness to serve, and I look forward to your testimony.

13           Let me now recognize the ranking member, Senator  
14 Inhofe.

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1 STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM  
2 OKLAHOMA

3 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank you  
4 and General Cavoli for your willingness to continue your  
5 distinguished service to our country.

6 I enjoyed meeting your wife, your parents, and other  
7 family members earlier this morning, and they are with us  
8 today, and I just know how proud they are of you in the  
9 service you have given to your country.

10 And I will note that you were born in Europe during one  
11 of your father's tours there, so it is clear that you were  
12 destined to fill this role we are discussing here today.

13 We are considering your nomination to lead the United  
14 States and NATO forces in Europe at a pivotal point in our  
15 history.

16 Russia's unprovoked, unjustified invasion of Ukraine  
17 has been a wakeup call to the free world that we need to  
18 deter Putin, not accommodate him, not appease him, as some  
19 would want to do to deter him.

20 But it was not a surprise to many of us here today, who  
21 also understand that protecting America's interests means  
22 supporting Ukraine's defense and working to deter further  
23 Russian aggression against NATO.

24 I am encouraged that Europe is now stepping up their  
25 investment in its own defense. With Finland and Sweden now

1 seeking NATO membership in response to Putin's reckless  
2 acts, we have got to keep up this momentum to strengthen our  
3 shared security.

4 We have seen what happens in Ukraine when deterrence  
5 fails. That is why I have long advocated that we invest  
6 more in our own defense to ensure deterrence does not fail  
7 in even worse ways.

8 I do not want anyone to forget that China is supporting  
9 both what Russia is doing in Ukraine and China has long been  
10 involved in malign activity in Europe itself.

11 General Cavoli, you are the right man for the job  
12 during these exceptional times, and I look forward to  
13 working with you on bolstering United States security  
14 interests with our European allies and partners.

15 Thank you. Mr. Chairman.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Inhofe.

17 General Cavoli, your remarks, please.

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1           STATEMENT OF GENERAL CHRISTOPHER CAVOLI, FOR  
2 REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL AND TO BE COMMANDER,  
3 UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND AND SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER,  
4 EUROPE

5           General Cavoli: Thank you, Chairman. Good morning,  
6 Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, and distinguished  
7 members of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Thank you  
8 for the opportunity to appear before you today, and thank  
9 you for the support that you provide to our service men and  
10 women and to their families.

11           I am humbled to be nominated to serve as the Commander  
12 of U.S. European Command and as the Supreme Allied  
13 Commander, Europe. I am grateful to President Biden, to  
14 Secretary Austin, and to General Milley for the trust and  
15 the confidence that they place in me, especially at this  
16 momentous time in Europe.

17           I must, of course, start by thanking the person who has  
18 made the most difference to me throughout my career, my wife  
19 and my best friend, Christina. Being a military spouse is  
20 not easy. There are routine separations, constant moves,  
21 and the tragedies of war. Christina has handled all of this  
22 with dignity and with grace. She has selflessly supported  
23 our soldiers and their families, even while raising our own  
24 two sons, Alex and Nick. I am so proud that we can share  
25 this moment together today.

1 I would also like to thank my sons. Alex graduated  
2 Princeton and works at a clean energy start-up company in  
3 California, and his younger brother, Nick, is studying  
4 physics at the University of California in Santa Barbara.  
5 These two have followed me all over the world, they attended  
6 three high schools each, and I could not be more proud of  
7 the young Americans that they have turned out to be.

8 As I talk about my family I reflect on my own life. As  
9 the ranking member pointed out, my dad is an Italian  
10 immigrant. He came to America and became a U.S. Army  
11 officer. I was born in a military hospital in Würzburg,  
12 Germany during the Cold War. Over the years we lived in  
13 Europe again and again. We were blessed with multiple  
14 assignments there.

15 For the past 4 1/2 years I have been fortunate to  
16 command our U.S. Army forces in Europe, and for the past  
17 year in Africa too. I have had the priceless opportunity to  
18 work closely with the interagency, our allies, and our  
19 partners to advance our common national security objectives.

20 For the last 3 years I have done so under the  
21 leadership of General Tod Wolters. I would like here to  
22 publicly thank him for his mentorship and for his leadership  
23 during that time.

24 I would also like to thank you, the United States  
25 Congress, and especially this committee. Since my first

1 tour as a general officer in Europe in 2014, the Congress  
2 has worked tirelessly to support our service men and women  
3 in our mission. The European Deterrence Initiative, which  
4 you have repeatedly authorized, has been absolutely vital to  
5 building the military readiness necessary to deter Russia  
6 and to respond in times of crisis.

7 In response to this crisis, the illegal and unprovoked  
8 Russian invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. military has deployed  
9 significant combat power on short notice. The Fifth Corps  
10 headquarters, an armored brigade combat team, withdrew  
11 prepositioned stocks, the 18th Airborne Corps headquarters  
12 with a brigade from the 82nd Airborne Division, a carrier  
13 strike group, fifth-generation fighters, additional  
14 destroyers -- all of this has been enabled by the European  
15 Deterrence Initiative and by the hard work of training and  
16 exercising that the EDI has enabled over the years.

17 If confirmed, I look forward to continuing to build on  
18 this vital work, ensuring that EUCOM remains ready to  
19 respond, along with our allies and partners, to any threat  
20 to our national security.

21 In Europe, the core security challenge is Russia.  
22 Russia's unprovoked invasion of Ukraine ushers in a new era  
23 in European security. NATO is more energized and unified  
24 than I have seen in years. Our allies and partners have  
25 rushed with us to assist Ukraine to remain independent and

1 free, and on the far side it will be up to us all to  
2 reestablish an enduring stability.

3 But Russia is not our only challenge. China's growing  
4 influence is also of huge concern, as are terrorism,  
5 migration, cybersecurity, and climate change. So we cannot  
6 be a one-problem alliance. We must maintain vigilance  
7 across 360 degrees, ready to respond to any and all threats.

8 We are in a time when unity in the alliance is of the  
9 greatest importance. Our allies will be our strength as we  
10 go forward. If confirmed, I will work closely with this  
11 committee and will provide my best military advice with the  
12 goal of promoting our security interests and defending the  
13 principles that we have all fought so hard for over these  
14 years.

15 It has been an honor to serve this country for the past  
16 35 years. If confirmed, I will be thankful for the  
17 opportunity to continue to serve alongside the brave service  
18 men and women of EUCOM and of our NATO allies.

19 I thank this committee once again for your time today  
20 and for the opportunity to speak with you. I very much look  
21 forward to your questions.

22 [The prepared statement of General Cavoli follows:]

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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General.

2 There are a series of question which nominees must  
3 respond to. Please respond appropriately.

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

6 General Cavoli: Yes.

7 Chairman Reed: Have you assumed any duties or taken  
8 any actions that would appear to presume the outcome of the  
9 confirmation process?

10 General Cavoli: No, sir.

11 Chairman Reed: Exercising our legislative and  
12 oversight responsibilities makes it important that this  
13 committee, its subcommittees, and other appropriate  
14 committees of the Congress receive testimonies, briefings,  
15 reports, records, and other information from the Executive  
16 branch on a timely basis. Do you agree, if confirmed, to  
17 appear and testify before this committee, when requested?

18 General Cavoli: I do, Chairman.

19 Chairman Reed: Do you agree, when asked before this  
20 committee, to give your personal views, even if your views  
21 differ from the Administration?

22 General Cavoli: Yes, I do.

23 Chairman Reed: Do you agree to provide records,  
24 documents, and electronic communications in a timely manner  
25 when requested by this committee, its subcommittees, or

1 other appropriate committees of Congress and to consult with  
2 the requestor regarding the basis for any good faith delay  
3 or denial in providing such records?

4 General Cavoli: Yes.

5 Chairman Reed: Will you ensure that your staff applies  
6 the deadlines established by this committee for the  
7 production of reports, records, and other information,  
8 including timely responding to hearing questions for the  
9 record?

10 General Cavoli: I will, sir.

11 Chairman Reed: Will you cooperate in providing  
12 witnesses and briefers in response to congressional request?

13 General Cavoli: Yes.

14 Chairman Reed: Will those witnesses and briefers be  
15 protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings?

16 General Cavoli: Yes, they will.

17 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General.

18 I think it is both significant and maybe a bit ironic  
19 that we first met in Ukraine in about 2014, when you were  
20 leading the efforts to start organized training efforts and  
21 support efforts for Ukrainian forces. And I think your work  
22 then has shown itself to be extraordinarily useful today, so  
23 thank you for that.

24 Part of what you pointed out in your testimony is a  
25 unity among NATO and a commitment to invest seriously in

1 defense, and that raises two questions. Your quick thoughts  
2 about how you are going to coordinate the investment of NATO  
3 countries so that everyone does not buy X and we do not have  
4 any Y, and then what should the United States do as a  
5 catalyst but also as the leading member?

6 General Cavoli: Senator, if I could start with the  
7 second question first. I think the U.S.'s special role  
8 inside NATO is to point the way toward the future and to  
9 demonstrate with our actions how to go in that direction.  
10 So by deploying force we have led the way for NATO in this  
11 crisis, as an example. As we arm our own military we create  
12 a model that other nations in the alliance can emulate.

13 In my current role I spend a lot of time talking with  
14 the chiefs of other European armies about how we arm  
15 ourselves, how we organize ourselves, and many of them use  
16 those lessons or those examples as models for themselves.  
17 So I think inside NATO our special role is to be a model and  
18 an exemplar.

19 How will we coordinate the investments as we go  
20 forward? This is always a devilish thing to do. It can be  
21 very difficult. There is an initiative inside NATO right  
22 now to link plans to required structure to national  
23 commitment. General Wolters has begun that and has advanced  
24 that. It will fall to me, if I am confirmed, to complete  
25 that work, and that work will guide the capabilities and

1 capacities that we need from various nations and in support  
2 of NATO's planning efforts.

3 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General. To date,  
4 NATO and communities around the world have been able to move  
5 logistics into Europe without any type of interruption.  
6 Indeed, I think there is a question of how long that might  
7 be allowed. But in a potential fight the idea of  
8 uncontested logistics is probably the first thing you throw  
9 out.

10 Are you preparing for a situation in this context or  
11 other context, for fighting to get your logistics forward to  
12 your troops?

13 General Cavoli: We are, Senator. In U.S. Army Europe  
14 this is a source of significant concern as we look at our  
15 plans, especially our plans to reinforce our forces in  
16 Europe in the event of a large crisis. When we look at it  
17 we divide it from the U.S., from fort to port, and then from  
18 port to port across the Atlantic, and then from port to the  
19 point of need in Europe. Each one of those segments carries  
20 its own challenges and has different people responsible for  
21 solving those problems.

22 So we work in a partnership with USTRANSCOM and with  
23 the U.S. Army to get Army forces from fort to port. We work  
24 with USTRANSCOM as well as the Second Fleet and JFC Norfolk,  
25 a newly stood-up command, to control the sea lanes of the



1 Atlantic to go from port to port, and then I am largely  
2 responsible, with our NATO allies and related organizations  
3 such as the Joint Support and Enabling Command, recently  
4 stood up by NATO, to get folks from port to the point of  
5 need.

6 Each one brings different challenges. Those challenges  
7 could be the threat of kinetic strike or the threat of cyber  
8 activity, and so forth. So yes, we work very hard on that,  
9 Senator.

10 Chairman Reed: You mentioned the issue of cyber, and I  
11 think many people are waiting for the shoe to drop, vis-à-  
12 vis the Russian cyber in this present situation. This is an  
13 open hearing, but are there any comments you would like to  
14 make about that?

15 General Cavoli: Well, Senator, I think we are correct  
16 to be waiting for the other shoe to drop. There is  
17 capability and capacity that could be used, and we are being  
18 very vigilant about that, as the DoD. To go far beyond that  
19 I think we would have to go into a classified setting, Mr.  
20 Chairman.

21 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General, and  
22 again, I think your service not only justifies this  
23 confirmation but demands it. Thank you very much.

24 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator.

25 Chairman Reed: Senator Inhofe, please.

1           Senator Inhofe: Thank you. I appreciate that and I  
2 echo your comments about the background of our witness  
3 today. We have had an opportunity to discuss a number of  
4 things over the years, and we discussed the subject of the  
5 Ukraine grain shortage and the spillover effects that are  
6 there, in my office. And there are three questions that  
7 come from that, that should be a part of the record that we  
8 will build today on this issue.

9           And that is, first of all, how concerned are you by the  
10 food crisis that has resulted from Russia blocking Ukrainian  
11 grain exports to Africa? You know that I have had an  
12 interest in this for quite some time. Secondly, what will  
13 be the longer-term security effects of this, and what more  
14 should we do with our European and African allies and  
15 partners to address these problems now?

16           General Cavoli: Senator, thank you. Indeed, in my  
17 role as the Commanding General of U.S. Army Forces in Africa  
18 this has weighed pretty heavily on our minds. The grain  
19 shortages that we are experiencing from both Russia and  
20 Ukrainian production being unable to come out of the  
21 countries in large volume or being sanctioned and not being  
22 sold are being felt on the African continent. They were  
23 felt very quickly. I was recently in Kenya, and there was  
24 significant impact there already. We know that in other  
25 countries, such as Tunisia, the prices have skyrocketed for

1 basic foodstuffs.

2       So there is food insecurity in Africa that is being  
3 provoked by the shortage of grain. It is of great concern.  
4 In many cases these are countries that do not need an  
5 additional challenge, and those additional challenges we  
6 will have to help them with at some point. This will  
7 largely be a European concern because of the close  
8 connection between African security issues and European  
9 security issues.

10       With regard to what to do about it, there are many  
11 proposals, Senator, being batted about right now, many  
12 different ways. Some of them are very positive. We think  
13 there are about 20 million tons, 22 million tons of grain in  
14 Ukraine backed up, waiting to be pulled out. Some of the  
15 ports we are attempting to use, the Romanians have made the  
16 port of Constanta available. It only does about 90,000 tons  
17 a day. But the German Deutsche Bahn has recently stepped  
18 up. That is the German national railroad agency, and they  
19 are doing what they call a Berlin trainlift, an analogy to  
20 the Berlin airlift, to dedicate trains to pulling wheat  
21 right out of Ukraine into Western Europe. Poland has  
22 established a new border crossing regime with Germany in  
23 order to facilitate that.

24       So I think some efforts are taking place. Much more  
25 remains to be done, Senator.

1           Senator Inhofe: Good. Very good.

2           General Cavoli, General Wolters testified before this  
3 committee, and it sounds almost impossible, but he said our  
4 troops' ability to deploy from the United States and be up  
5 and running in less than a week to deter further Russian  
6 aggression was made possible by the funding through the  
7 European Deterrence Initiative. This committee spearheaded  
8 this initiative after Russia's first invasion in 2014.

9           Do you agree with General Wolters' assessment, and what  
10 ways have you seen the EDI enable our robust response? It  
11 is very difficult to understand that this was possible.

12           General Cavoli: Senator, with EDI over the past few  
13 years the U.S. Army, in conjunction with U.S. European  
14 Command, has placed large amounts of very modern equipment,  
15 brigade combat team sets, in storage in Europe, and we have  
16 also used the funding to practice flying over and drawing  
17 that equipment on short notice. And in the beginning of  
18 this crisis, when we got the order to activate and deploy  
19 the first brigade of the Third Infantry Division out of Fort  
20 Stewart, Georgia, we were able to do so very quickly. We  
21 moved all the troops in about 4 days, by aircraft, and those  
22 troops, the first of them were putting rounds downrange in  
23 less than a week, and by the end of 3 weeks every single  
24 screwdriver in the brigade has been issued and they were  
25 ready to roll anyplace.

1           Senator Inhofe: Yeah, and that could not have been  
2 done, it would not be possible, and a lot of people thought  
3 it was not possible, if it had not been for the preparation  
4 that you mentioned that you had the foresight to ready  
5 yourselves.

6           General Cavoli: One hundred percent, sir.

7           Senator Inhofe: Yeah. Thank you so much, Mr.  
8 Chairman.

9           Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Inhofe.

10          Senator Shaheen, please.

11          Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General  
12 Cavoli, congratulations on your nomination.

13          General Cavoli: Thank you.

14          Senator Shaheen: Thank you for being here this morning  
15 and for your service, and welcome to your family as well.

16          You were kind enough to meet recently with Senator  
17 Tillis and I to talk about some NATO issues, but we also  
18 talked a little bit about, as I recall, a little bit our  
19 recent visit to the Balkans, where we were in Bosnia  
20 Herzegovina and talked with the military leadership of the  
21 EUFOR mission and NATO there about some of the challenges  
22 that are facing Bosnia and concern about whether EUFOR is  
23 going to be reauthorized this fall when it comes up again  
24 before the U.N.

25          I wonder if you could, as we think about the potential

1 for Russian meddling in the Balkans -- and they have a  
2 history of doing that -- and the challenges that Bosnia  
3 Herzegovina faces, can you talk about what the impact would  
4 be if the EUFOR mission is not renewed?

5 General Cavoli: Senator, first of all Russian  
6 influence in the Balkans is real and it is not a positive  
7 force, in my experience, so it is something we must think  
8 about constantly. The presence of multinational forces,  
9 such as KFOR in Kosovo and EUFOR in Bosnia Herzegovina is an  
10 important part of our ability to monitor and to help control  
11 the situations there.

12 I do believe EUFOR has an important mandate. If  
13 EUFOR's mandate is not renewed I believe that there must be  
14 some effort that takes its place. If I am confirmed, I will  
15 look into that immediately and participate in the  
16 development of options, and I look forward to discussing it  
17 with you in the future, Senator.

18 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I am really pleased to  
19 hear that. I think that it is very important that we work  
20 with our European partners and ensure that we do not see  
21 that mission expire and nothing replace it, so thank you  
22 very much for that.

23 You spoke earlier with Senator Inhofe about the  
24 challenges of getting the grain out of Ukraine that is  
25 needed in so many parts of the world. And one of the

1 biggest challenges has been the Russian really predominance  
2 in the Black Sea and the inability to dislodge them. I  
3 wonder if you could talk a little bit about how what we  
4 might do there to bolster NATO defenses in the Black Sea,  
5 what options we might have as we are looking at the  
6 challenges we face because of Russia's dominance in the  
7 Black Sea.

8 General Cavoli: Yes, ma'am. For some time before the  
9 onset of this crisis, that is for a couple of years before  
10 this current crisis, we in USEUCOM had been working on  
11 strengthening the presence and the role of the U.S. and NATO  
12 in the Black Sea area. This has been something we are  
13 working on for some time.

14 Naval Forces Europe, for example, has been working with  
15 the Bulgarians on a maritime domain awareness system. My  
16 command, the U.S. Army in Europe, has been working on long-  
17 range fires with the Romanian Army and the establishment of  
18 command and control nodes that are able to handle the very  
19 high-end new equipment that Romania has been buying from us,  
20 specifically Patriot missiles, and HIMARS rocket launchers.

21 So we have been looking at things like that in the  
22 past, Senator, and we will continue to do those in the  
23 future, if I am confirmed.

24 Senator Shaheen: So do you think we have an adequate  
25 strategy within NATO and in the U.S. for the Black Sea

1 region?

2 General Cavoli: Ma'am, I think inside the U.S. we have  
3 a strategy, you know, adequate. All strategies have to be  
4 assessed, reviewed, and updated all the time. Clearly the  
5 current events in the Black Sea region are going to require  
6 us to go back and make sure that we adjust everything for  
7 the result of this conflict. And I think I could say the  
8 same thing for the NATO approach, but I will have to wait,  
9 and if I am confirmed, look into exactly what NATO is  
10 planning in that regard and come back to you on that.

11 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I look forward to that.

12 Finally, the Administration recently appointed retired  
13 General Wolff as the Ukraine Security Assistance  
14 Coordinator, which I think was a very positive move. Can  
15 you talk about how the relationships with General Wolff as  
16 coordinator will work as you think about your role in  
17 coordinating security with the Ukrainians?

18 General Cavoli: Senator, only briefly because that is  
19 still working its way out right now. We encourage the  
20 efforts to coordinate. That is one of the difficult things  
21 in this overall collective effort. I saw Terry Wolff a  
22 couple of weeks ago in Ramstein, and we had a couple of  
23 words about it. But if I am confirmed, I look forward to  
24 working with him to make sure that all of these systems work  
25 together closely.



1 Senator Shaheen: Thank you. I look forward to hearing  
2 more.

3 General Cavoli: Thank you, ma'am.

4 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Shaheen.

6 Senator Cotton, please.

7 Senator Cotton: General, congratulations on your  
8 nomination. Thank you for your career of distinguished  
9 service. Thanks to your wife, Christina, for supporting you  
10 and no doubt supporting the families of the troops you have  
11 led over the years, and thanks to your family for their  
12 service. The defense of this nation is often a family  
13 affair.

14 I want to discuss the request by Finland and Sweden to  
15 join NATO. That is a political decision that will be made  
16 by the President and this Senate as well as 29 other NATO  
17 members. But NATO is foremost a military alliance, so I  
18 would like to get your professional military judgment on the  
19 implications of adding Sweden and Finland to NATO. What do  
20 you think it will do to bolster our common defense to have  
21 Sweden and Finland as members of NATO?

22 General Cavoli: Senator, I look forward to the  
23 accession of Finland and Sweden to the alliance from the  
24 military perspective. Each of those militaries brings quite  
25 a bit of capability and capacity to the alliance from day

1 one. For example, Finland has a large army, well equipped,  
2 very well trained, very quickly expandable, exercised very  
3 frequently, and absolutely expert in defending the  
4 borderline that it has with Russia for these past decades,  
5 an expertise that they demonstrated in 1939, and has built  
6 on ever since.

7 Finland, in addition to its big army, has F-15 fighter  
8 jets and has just decided to buy 64 F-35s, so they will  
9 arrive bringing capacity and capability to the alliance.

10 Sweden is the same thing, a smaller army but a very  
11 capable army, and an army that is growing. My colleague,  
12 Karl Engelbrektson, has a 200 percent increase in his  
13 acquisition budget over a 5-year period. They have recently  
14 bought Patriots and are contemplating buying some other  
15 equipment. We work with them very closely. Critically,  
16 they bring a navy in the Baltic Sea, which will be of  
17 enormous military significance to the alliance.

18 And then if we look geographically with the accession  
19 of those two countries, the entire Black Sea, with the  
20 exception of a couple of few kilometers, will be coastline  
21 of NATO nations, which will create a very different geometry  
22 in the area, sir.

23 Senator Cotton: I think you mean the entire Baltic  
24 Sea, right?

25 General Cavoli: I am sorry. Of course, the Baltic

1 Sea.

2 Senator Cotton: Can you speak specifically about what  
3 it means for Russia's Baltic fleet to now have the northern  
4 shores of the Gulf of Finland a part of NATO, since the  
5 southern shore, Estonia, already is, and then also what it  
6 means to have Gotland, a large Swedish island, in the middle  
7 of the Baltic fleet? What does that mean to Russia's Baltic  
8 fleet and their defense planning?

9 General Cavoli: Well, sir, in the most generic sense  
10 it provides a bunch of different dilemmas, almost geometric  
11 dilemmas that Russia does not have right now as they sail  
12 forth from Saint Petersburg and Kaliningrad. So it will be  
13 advantageous.

14 Senator Cotton: You mentioned one other key feature of  
15 geographic which is the 800-mile border that Finland has  
16 with Russia. Some might say, gosh, this exposes NATO to a  
17 lot more risk because you have this large border. It sounds  
18 like your perspective is that rather than exposing NATO to  
19 risk it exposes Russia to greater risk and complicates  
20 Russia's defense planning. Could you elaborate?

21 General Cavoli: I do think that, Senator. I think  
22 that for a couple of reasons. First of all, Russia has not  
23 historically put too many ground forces on that border. It  
24 has been an economy of force theater for them because they  
25 thought they had a relationship with Finland that allowed

1 them to do that. This allowed Russia to concentrate ground  
2 forces in other places. That possibility will now go away  
3 for Russia.

4 In addition to that, the Finns, as I mentioned a moment  
5 ago, are absolutely expert in defending that border. I have  
6 personally gone on a snowmobile with the Chief of the Border  
7 Guards and with the Chief of the Finnish Army down half the  
8 length of that border, and I was very impressed at their  
9 ability to defend it.

10 Senator Cotton: Do you think the Russian General Staff  
11 is fairly well versed in the history of the Winter War,  
12 which you alluded to, of 1939-1940?

13 General Cavoli: Sir, I know they are. That Winter War  
14 is studied not just by Western armies as a model of how to  
15 beat a larger force but it is studied by the Russians as  
16 well, as an important lesson to learn from their past.

17 Senator Cotton: And it sounds like you think that even  
18 80 years on that the Russian General Staff might not want to  
19 put their hand on that hot stove again after they did it in  
20 the Winter War?

21 General Cavoli: I would have to put myself inside  
22 their heads, Senator, but I would not want to do it if I  
23 were them.

24 Senator Cotton: All right. One final question. There  
25 was a report a couple of days ago in the Wall Street Journal

1 that the Administration is considering sending special  
2 operation forces to guard the embassy in Kyiv. Can you  
3 comment on that report?

4 General Cavoli: Sir, I cannot comment publicly on it,  
5 but we currently do not have any Marine security detachment  
6 with the embassy in Kyiv, and with regard to special forces  
7 I think we would have to talk about it in a separate --

8 Senator Cotton: Okay. You answered my next question,  
9 which was going to be do we have Marines at that embassy,  
10 which we have in pretty much every other embassy all around  
11 the world. In fact, I just checked this morning. We do, in  
12 fact, have Marines in Moscow yet we do not have Marines  
13 guarding our embassy in Kyiv. It is their job all around  
14 the world, and I think that is because the President came  
15 out last year and publicly stated that he would never put  
16 troops in the Ukraine. And now the Administration is  
17 running around like a cat chasing its tail, trying to figure  
18 out how to let these Marines do their job at that embassy,  
19 just like they are doing in Moscow, just like they are doing  
20 at five diplomatic facilities in China.

21 I think we should just let the Marines go do their job  
22 at the embassy. This is another instance in which I am  
23 afraid the President is self-deterring in a public fashion,  
24 which is sending the wrong signal to Vladimir Putin.

25 You do not have to respond, but you can take it under

1 advisement. I think the Marines should be standing guard at  
2 the Kyiv embassy whenever you get confirmed.

3 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator.

4 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Cotton.

5 Senator Gillibrand, please.

6 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you so much and  
7 congratulations. We are very grateful for your service.

8 In visiting some of our NATO allies we talked about  
9 Article 5 and when that gets triggered after a cyberattack.  
10 Do you have views about what level of cyberattack on a NATO  
11 ally would trigger an Article 5 requirement?

12 General Cavoli: Senator, this, of course, is a very  
13 active debate inside the alliance. It is an active debate,  
14 I think, for most countries, in fact. That debate has been  
15 joined but it has not come to a conclusion inside NATO yet.  
16 I believe that there are various levels of cyberattack, as  
17 you point out, and at some point they become more akin to a  
18 kinetic attack than others.

19 One complicating thing I think we have seen in the  
20 recent past is the activity of non-state cyber actors in  
21 this same time frame as states are contemplating cyber  
22 defense. So I believe that attribution is going to continue  
23 to be one of the most important parts of any cyber policy.

24 Senator Gillibrand: And with regard to Russia's cyber  
25 threats specifically to our forces in Europe and our allies

1 in NATO, what steps are you taking and will take, if  
2 confirmed, to ensure that our IT networks, communication  
3 channels, and weapon systems and platforms are secure and  
4 able to perform as intended in the event of a broader  
5 conflict?

6 General Cavoli: Yes, ma'am. In my current role as the  
7 Commander of U.S. Army Europe and Africa I am responsible to  
8 provide the basic, secure backbone for EUCOM's  
9 communications, so I work with DISA and with Army Cyber and  
10 network command to do so. We have a regional cyber center  
11 at Wiesbaden. It does maintain overview of one of our  
12 networks, and I work closely with our network command to  
13 maintain defense of the others. This is something I get  
14 briefed on literally every week. And I am satisfied with  
15 the level we have right now. We have to work on it  
16 constantly, though, and we do work on it constantly.

17 In a broader sense, Senator, if I am confirmed into the  
18 next job, the alliance is working in this direction also.  
19 So there is a NATO Cyber Center of Excellence. We are  
20 initiating the conversations necessary to have collective  
21 policy and strategy on network defense, but I believe much  
22 more needs to be done. I look forward to looking into it  
23 and getting back to you on that.

24 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you. Last week, Finland's  
25 Parliament overwhelmingly voted to join NATO following

1 applications by both Finland and Sweden to join the  
2 alliance. Given the extensive border that Finland shares  
3 with Russia and Finland's advance military capabilities can  
4 you describe how we can effectively integrate these two  
5 countries into the NATO umbrella?

6 General Cavoli: Sure, Senator. So first of all we  
7 already practice that in the ground domain all the time, and  
8 I can speak, I think, for Cobra Harrigian and Bob Burke at  
9 U.S. Air Force Europe and Naval Forces Europe as well. They  
10 do this all the time in the air and maritime domains. We  
11 exercise with Finland. I have got soldiers there I believe  
12 right now. I just brought a couple of Stryker companies  
13 back out of there. We have got a parachute battalion going  
14 up there later this summer. We exercise frequently with  
15 Sweden to include on high-end air and missile defense  
16 things.

17 I think it will be quite easy for us to integrate them  
18 quickly. We have been integrating them in our large-scale  
19 exercises as well as our operations abroad for some years  
20 now.

21 Senator Gillibrand: Turkey obviously has expressed  
22 hesitation about admitting Finland and Sweden. How will you  
23 approach engaging your defense officials in Turkey to  
24 discuss how the addition of Finland and Sweden will  
25 strengthen the NATO alliance?



1           General Cavoli: Ma'am, clearly the core of the matter  
2 is going to be a diplomatic and a policy decision on all  
3 nations' parts, so I would like to stay away from that for a  
4 moment. But at a military level we retain robust military-  
5 to-military relations with our Turkish allies, and we have  
6 done so for the past years that I have been associated with  
7 working in Europe. We conduct exercises with them,  
8 consultations with them, and the like.

9           Senator Gillibrand: But not with regard to this  
10 objection that Turkey has just articulated.

11          General Cavoli: Ma'am, specifically with regard to  
12 that, that has not been a subject inside the military-to-  
13 military dialogue, at least my military-to-military dialogue  
14 with the chief of their army.

15          Senator Gillibrand: Thank you. My time has expired.  
16 I am going to submit an additional question to the record  
17 about alignment and work with SPACECOM.

18          General Cavoli: I look forward to it, ma'am.

19          Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

20          Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator  
21 Gillibrand.

22          Senator Rounds, please.

23          Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and good  
24 morning, General Cavoli. First of all, thank you for your  
25 continued service to our nation and thank you to your family

1 for their support. I would also like to thank you for  
2 taking the time to meet with me earlier this week. You are  
3 incredibly qualified for this assignment, and I do intend to  
4 support your nomination.

5 General, the fiscal year 2023 budget request increases  
6 funding for the European Deterrence Initiative by about \$400  
7 million. This initiative has been pivotal in our ability to  
8 respond as quickly as we did in Ukraine. From your  
9 experience, can you speak to the importance of this  
10 initiative, and if confirmed, what changes would you make?

11 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator. So the European  
12 Deterrence Initiative has not just been important. It has  
13 kind of been like oxygen to us for several years now. It is  
14 the thing that allows us to do all the exercising, to build  
15 all of the infrastructure, to pre-position all of the  
16 equipment that we have been using and that you have seen us  
17 use in response to this crisis.

18 So since my first tour as a general officer in Europe,  
19 when the original ERI was authorized and appropriated, we  
20 have been benefitting from it. We have slowly but surely  
21 used it to put infrastructure into place where we are pre-  
22 positioning equipment, and now we exercise that equipment at  
23 a large scale with the funding that this committee  
24 authorizes. It is absolutely vital to what we have been  
25 doing, and I think we see the benefits of it in our rapid

1 ability to react in the past couple of months, Senator.

2 Senator Rounds: Thank you, sir. General, in your  
3 answers to the advanced policy questions you mentioned that  
4 the Joint Force must be prepared to counter threats posed by  
5 rapid technological advancements such as advanced chemical,  
6 biological, radiological, and nuclear, or CBRN, threats,  
7 quantum computing, artificial intelligence, robotics,  
8 directed energy, and hypersonics. Quite a list.

9 Based on your experience in the EUCOM AOR, what  
10 developments are you seeing regarding those threats,  
11 particularly those pertaining to quantum computer and  
12 artificial intelligence?

13 General Cavoli: Thank you for the question. The  
14 ability rapidly to process the vast amounts of information  
15 that are available now really drives our ability to discern  
16 intentions as well as to find ways to strike it. So there  
17 are a few efforts that the U.S. side has been working on  
18 with regard to artificial intelligence. We are using a  
19 couple of those in Europe right now during this crisis.  
20 They are proving very, very useful. They help us keep track  
21 of where everybody is and what they are doing. And if I  
22 could take into a classified setting with you sometime,  
23 Senator, I would be delighted to go into more detail. But  
24 it is paying big dividends for us already.

25 However, we are aware that our adversaries are working

1 on the same things, so it is all the more imperative for us  
2 to continue to develop this beneficial technology.

3 Senator Rounds: Basically what you are saying is they  
4 are a pacing threat with regard to those new capabilities.

5 General Cavoli: Sir, I think the NDS has it right in  
6 that regard, especially China is a pacing threat with regard  
7 to those capabilities.

8 Senator Rounds: What lessons in CBRN response have  
9 been learned from the DCRF that should be applied to the  
10 overall Joint Force?

11 General Cavoli: Sir, the CBRN posture that we have  
12 across the Joint Force is being relooked right now at the  
13 departmental level as well as at the service levels, in  
14 conjunction with the combatant commands. I have had my  
15 chance to review the Army parts of it. We are updating it,  
16 first of all, with regard to what we understand the  
17 emergence of the threat to be, but secondly, with regard to  
18 our own posture and our own technologies to deal with a  
19 treat.

20 As you know, for many years in Afghanistan and Iraq  
21 that was not a primary concern. As we move back into  
22 contemplating large-scale operations we find it necessary to  
23 revisit that.

24 Senator Rounds: General, the SACEUR has worldwide  
25 responsibilities with respect to the planning and operation

1 of NATO operations, NATO military operations. If confirmed,  
2 how would you view your role as the SACEUR with respect to  
3 China?

4 General Cavoli: Sir, China is present in Europe, and  
5 China is going to present increasing security challenges  
6 inside Europe. My job primarily will be to make sure that  
7 our policymakers have military options insofar as they need  
8 them or choose to employ them.

9 Senator Rounds: Thank you, sir. My time has expired.

10 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator.

11 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Rounds.

13 Senator Warren, please.

14 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and General  
15 Cavoli, it is good to see you again. Congratulations on  
16 your nomination.

17 General Cavoli: Thank you, ma'am.

18 Senator Warren: Your deep expertise in European  
19 affairs makes you particularly qualified to serve in this  
20 role at this critical time. Now it is clear that Vladimir  
21 Putin never anticipated that his illegal invasion of Ukraine  
22 would unite so many countries around the world. This  
23 committee primarily focuses on our military power, but this  
24 crisis has made clear how important it is to invest in all  
25 of our tools of influence to advance U.S. interests.

1 Prioritizing diplomacy in coordination with our allies has  
2 obviously paid huge dividends.

3 Diplomatic success, however, does not happen overnight.

4 This is the result of long, time-consuming investments. So  
5 let me start by asking, General Cavoli, do you think it is  
6 important for the United States to provide robust funding  
7 for the State Department and USAID?

8 General Cavoli: I do, Senator.

9 Senator Warren: Would you like to just say an extra  
10 word about that?

11 General Cavoli: Absolutely. You know, so the United  
12 States, like many nations, attempts to lead with diplomacy.  
13 As you noted, for diplomacy to be effective it cannot happen  
14 at the moment it is needed. It has to be developed over  
15 years of relationship building, and that requires resources  
16 and funding.

17 I benefit, as an officer, when our diplomacy is robust.

18 I benefit, as an officer, and I think we benefit as a  
19 nation, when our diplomats are armed the way they need to be  
20 to conduct the business of the nation.

21 Senator Warren: Good. I appreciate that.

22 Climate change is another major security challenge that  
23 we need to work harder on. The most recent annual threat  
24 assessment found, and I want to quote it, "Climate change  
25 will increasingly exacerbate risks to U.S. national security

1 interests," unquote. The world's dependence on fossil fuels  
2 and authoritarian petroleum and petrostates significantly  
3 undermines our interests in safety. Your response to the  
4 committee's advanced policy questions you said that climate  
5 change, quote, "will be a critical consideration in all we  
6 do."

7 Can you just elaborate a little bit on that, General?

8 General Cavoli: Sure, Senator. First, of course, our  
9 National Defense Strategy lays that out, so, you know, it is  
10 something that we have to consider in everything we do.  
11 But, you know, right now I am responsible for Army  
12 activities in Africa. Africa suffers from desertification.  
13 That desertification leads to intense competition for  
14 resources. Name your location, you can find it.

15 The grain shortage that we were discussing earlier is  
16 exacerbated by an ongoing drought in India. All of this is  
17 having an impact inside my AOR, in Africa, which will spill  
18 out possibly into other areas.

19 So yes, it is something I take thoughtfully and  
20 seriously. If we look at my European AOR in my current job,  
21 of course the opening of seaways in the Arctic, which has  
22 been increasing and accelerating in recent years, is  
23 changing the military geography of the High North, which is  
24 something that NATO and USEUCOM are both dealing with as  
25 well right now.

1           Senator Warren: Well, I appreciate your thoughtful  
2 response here. This is a crisis that often gets overlooked  
3 when we are talking about national security, and as you  
4 rightly point out, it is deeply threatening to all of us.

5           There is one last area that I would like to talk about.  
6 Over the past few months, Congress has provided tens of  
7 billions of dollars in emergency spending to support the  
8 Department's response to Russia's invasion. I support that  
9 spending, but I am very concerned about the risks of waste  
10 without proper oversight.

11           DoD owes this committee a backlog of several years of  
12 reports on the future years defense plan for the European  
13 Deterrence Initiative. I have spoken to both your  
14 predecessor and DoD about the importance of providing these  
15 reports. A letter I received from the Comptroller last week  
16 claims that yet another component of DoD will provide the  
17 report.

18           Now I am getting sick of the runaround here. DoD has  
19 not complied with the law. Not having these reports hurts  
20 oversight and planning for your command.

21           So General Cavoli, I understand that this is not your  
22 primary responsibility, but you will be the senior military  
23 leader overseeing this spending. So will you make sure that  
24 this committee receives the reports that are required by law  
25 and that we will receive them this year?



1           General Cavoli: I will continue to submit all the data  
2 that I am required to, ma'am. We have done that in the  
3 past, and I commit to doing that.

4           Senator Warren: I appreciate that and I will hold you  
5 to that. You know, it is very likely that you and the  
6 President will come to us again with additional supplemental  
7 requests. If you want Congress to continue to approve tens  
8 of billions of dollars you need to show us how you are  
9 making sure that that money is spent responsibly.

10          General Cavoli: Senator, if I could just make a  
11 comment. It is not lost on me how much money we are talking  
12 about here, and I, and we, owe it to the American taxpayer  
13 to have a thoughtful application of those funds and a full  
14 accounting of them.

15          Senator Warren: I appreciate it and I look forward to  
16 the reporting.

17          Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

18          Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Warren.

19          Senator Tillis, please.

20          Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General,  
21 thank you for the time that you spent with Senator Shaheen  
22 and I a week or so ago, and congratulations on your  
23 nomination and I look forward to supporting it, and thanks  
24 to your family.

25          I want to get a little bit back. You covered the

1 landscape on Finland, I think, very well, and you also  
2 discussed Sweden. But you mentioned that increased  
3 investment that Sweden intends to make in their military,  
4 and we know that we want them to get up to the 2 percent  
5 threshold.

6 Can you give me some insight into the specific actions  
7 they are taking that would give you confidence that they  
8 would be there by 2028?

9 General Cavoli: Yesh, well they have expressed the  
10 intention to do so. In my conversations with my colleague,  
11 Karl Engelbrektson, Major General Engelbrektson, the Chief  
12 of the Swedish Army, he is confident. He believes that they  
13 are going to get there on schedule --

14 Senator Tillis: What is the --

15 General Cavoli: -- to 2024.

16 Senator Tillis: -- if you know, what would that look  
17 like? I have met with Swedish officials almost every week  
18 for the past month, and one of the comments that they made  
19 is they fully intend to do it, but they also have to be able  
20 to absorb the investment. So with respect to the added  
21 investment, what is that likely to look like in terms of  
22 ground, naval, air forces?

23 General Cavoli: So Karl adopted a motto of 3-2-1, the  
24 key part of which is to go up to three brigades, which is  
25 adding an additional brigade. That is a big chunk of it

1 right there, I believe. The second part of it is to add  
2 high-end capabilities. So the purchase of Patriot, which my  
3 command is helping them to integrate into their units right  
4 now. They bought their first battalion. It has been  
5 delivered in the past year here, and those are purchases  
6 very quickly that help us lift defense spending.

7 So I think the combination of expanding the size of the  
8 army and raising the technology of a couple of the things  
9 like the air and missile defense will, in the ground domain,  
10 help.

11 Sir, I cannot speak quite as in detail about how they  
12 will use the additional or how they will absorb the  
13 additional funding in the air and maritime domains or other  
14 domains.

15 Senator Tillis: Okay. To the extent you can, though,  
16 can you talk a little bit about the advantage that Sweden  
17 brings in terms of naval presence in the Black Sea?

18 General Cavoli: Sir, so Sweden has ports on the Baltic  
19 Sea and has naval forces that routinely sail in the Baltic  
20 Sea. As you know, the Gotland is sometimes referred to as  
21 the unsinkable aircraft carrier. So I think they will bring  
22 an enormous amount of surface capability to us in the Baltic  
23 Sea. They also have underwater capabilities that will help  
24 us as well.

25 Senator Tillis: The funding that we approved and that

1 I voted for, the supplemental funding for Ukraine, do you  
2 think that was a wise decision for us to send that resource  
3 to Ukraine?

4 General Cavoli: Senator, I think we will put that to  
5 good use. We will put that to good use.

6 Senator Tillis: Can you also speak a bit about how the  
7 food assistance and, you know, the broader scope of the bill  
8 focusing on the threat to food sources in North Africa, what  
9 would happen if we do not pay attention to that in terms of  
10 stability in areas that ISIS, Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram would  
11 love to see destabilized?

12 General Cavoli: Sure. Absolutely, Senator. So the  
13 groups that you just named feed on weak governance and food  
14 insecurity and corruption and poverty, just like groups like  
15 to do elsewhere in the world. Those groups have been doing  
16 fairly well in the past couple of years. They have made  
17 gains in the southwestern Sahel that we really need to keep  
18 an eye on and that our European allies need to help with. A  
19 food shortage now would just exacerbate the situation down  
20 there, Senator.

21 Senator Tillis: Thank you. The last thing, Senator  
22 Shaheen and I visited Serbia, Bosnia Herzegovina, and  
23 Kosovo. I got the sense, in speaking with the leaders of  
24 those countries, that they felt like they have been kind of  
25 on the back burner in terms of our focus. What more do you

1 think we need to do in NATO, if any, to really increase our  
2 presence and demonstrate that we are very concerned with  
3 that part of the world?

4 General Cavoli: Sir, I think the first thing we can do  
5 is exercise on an increasing basis down there. As you know,  
6 the U.S. Army Europe DEFENDER exercise series focused on the  
7 Baltics last year. It had a salutary effect immediately. I  
8 could see that. We were warmly welcomed everywhere we were.  
9 And so I think as a beginning, as a first step, we need to  
10 continue that.

11 Senator Tillis: Thank you. I look forward to  
12 supporting your nomination.

13 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator.

14 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Tillis.

15 Senator King, please.

16 Senator King: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General,  
17 welcome to the committee. Congratulations on your  
18 appointment.

19 General Cavoli: Thank you.

20 Senator King: I believe one of the most important  
21 books written in the 20th century was The Guns of August,  
22 and as you know the thesis of the book was that we stumbled  
23 into World War I by miscalculation, mistake,  
24 misunderstanding, and a complicated web of treaties in  
25 Europe that led to a world war that no one anticipated, the

1 depth of which certainly no one wanted.

2           How do we communicate to the Russians the essential  
3 defensive nature of NATO? My concern is that what we view  
4 as deterrence and reassurance they could view as  
5 provocation, particularly in light of the fact that we are  
6 dealing with a country which is historically paranoid about  
7 the West. And Vladimir Putin clearly thinks that there is a  
8 danger of an invasion by NATO.

9           Talk to me about how we diminish this substantial risk  
10 of a miscalculation. Vladimir Putin just made some huge  
11 miscalculations in Ukraine. What if he makes a similar  
12 miscalculation about what we are doing in Poland or Finland  
13 or Sweden or other NATO countries? Give me some thoughts on  
14 the danger of a mistake triggering a worldwide  
15 conflagration.

16           General Cavoli: Senator, the danger of a mistake or a  
17 miscalculation looms very high in our consciousness every  
18 day in USEUCOM, and we have a process by which we review  
19 every operation, activity, or investment that we are  
20 conducting in order to gauge how it will be viewed by our  
21 adversaries, and by Russia, in particular, and then whether  
22 or not we should proceed with it given what our various  
23 goals are at that point.

24           Yeah, it is a delicate balance, Senator, and it is a  
25 delicate balance because one must not shy away from activity

1 that we need to do to stay strong and to make sure we  
2 outline our priorities of what we will defend. But it is  
3 also necessary not to overdo that and create a problem where  
4 a problem was not.

5 So we work very, very hard on that, Senator, and  
6 clearly we have not hit that point yet.

7 Senator King: Well, I want to be clear. I support the  
8 European Reassurance Initiative. I support what we have  
9 done in Ukraine and what we are doing in Poland and Eastern  
10 Europe and bringing new countries into NATO. I think the  
11 important thing here, and perhaps we talked about diplomacy  
12 a little earlier, is to communicate that this is defensive.  
13 And I just think that is an important point.

14 And I guess my follow-up question is, do you have, as  
15 Supreme Commander of NATO, do you have a communication link  
16 with your counterpart in Russia in order to deescalate not a  
17 conflict but a potential conflict?

18 General Cavoli: So to continue with the last point,  
19 sir, first, if I may, transparency, that communication, is  
20 vital. So in my current position when we conduct our large-  
21 scale exercises, such as DEFENDER, we go to the OSCE. I send  
22 officers to the OSCE. They outline the entire exercise, the  
23 objectives, the major movements, and things like that. So  
24 in addition to my previous answer I should add transparency,  
25 which I think we work very hard on.

1 Senator King: Transparency to the Russians.

2 General Cavoli: To the Russians and to everybody.

3 Yeah, absolutely, sir. We are not hiding anything with  
4 these efforts.

5 Senator King: And do you have a red phone?

6 General Cavoli: The Supreme Allied Commander has a  
7 venue of communication with his counterpart in the Russian  
8 Federation.

9 Senator King: I am sorry. You said you do have  
10 communication?

11 General Cavoli: The Supreme Allied Commander has that.

12 Senator King: Thank you. That is reassuring.

13 A short question. All of us are supportive of the arms  
14 and the support that we have been giving to the Ukrainians,  
15 both humanitarian and military. Looking beyond the current  
16 conflict, however, there will be a huge amount of arms in  
17 this relatively small country. We spent 30 or 40 years  
18 chasing MANPADS that we gave to the Mujahideen in  
19 Afghanistan. Is there any oversight or accountability of  
20 where all these weapons are and where they might be? It  
21 worries me that not the Ukrainians but that they could fall  
22 into the hands of terrorists or other malefactors in the  
23 region.

24 General Cavoli: Senator, establishing accountability  
25 over where all of that equipment is, is a vital task for us.



1 It is challenging right now, of course, because we are not  
2 in the country. But as the conflict winds down or concludes  
3 that will be one of the things that I have to get at,  
4 especially if I am confirmed into the next position. I  
5 share your concern on it.

6 Senator King: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

7 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator King.

8 Senator Sullivan, please.

9 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and  
10 General, thank you and your family.

11 I very much appreciated our discussion yesterday. I  
12 believe you are exceptionally well qualified for this  
13 position. I would like you to brag a little bit, if you do  
14 not mind. Can you just let the committee and the American  
15 people know some of your background and experiences and  
16 education as it relates to Russia?

17 General Cavoli: Asking me to brag is the hardest  
18 question you could ask me, Senator.

19 Senator Sullivan: Go ahead. We want you to brag. I  
20 want you to brag. Very impressive. Russia focus,  
21 education.

22 General Cavoli: Sure. I graduated from Princeton in  
23 1987, where I did not look at Russia. I graduated with a  
24 degree in biology. I entered the Army. I immediately was  
25 stationed in Italy with a parachute infantry battalion. In

1 that role we studied Russia closely because that was our  
2 main opponent during the end of the Cold War.

3 As I came out of company command, sir, I became a  
4 Russian Foreign Area Officer. My wife and I studied Russian  
5 together at the Defense Language Institute for a year. Then  
6 I went to --

7 Senator Sullivan: So you speak Russian?

8 General Cavoli: I do. Yes, I do.

9 Senator Sullivan: And you have studied Russian  
10 military history, Russian strategy --

11 General Cavoli: I also got a degree from Yale  
12 University in Russian and European studies.

13 Senator Sullivan: You have had billets that have  
14 solely focused on Russia.

15 General Cavoli: I have lived in Moscow for months at a  
16 time. I have traveled all over the former Soviet space. I  
17 have had fellowships at the George Marshall Center.

18 Senator Sullivan: In Germany?

19 General Cavoli: In Germany. I was on the Russia desk  
20 for the Joint Staff.

21 Senator Sullivan: Russia desk for the Joint Staff?

22 General Cavoli: I was, sir.

23 Senator Sullivan: So that is every day getting up,  
24 focusing on Russia, the challenges?

25 General Cavoli: Absolutely, Senator.

1           Senator Sullivan: So I would say you are Vladimir  
2 Putin's worst nightmare and could not be more qualified than  
3 probably any other member of the military. So again, I want  
4 to thank you for your service.

5           Can you clearly define -- succinctly, because I have a  
6 bunch of questions -- our top strategic goals in Ukraine?

7           General Cavoli: Yes, Senator. We want Ukraine to  
8 emerge from this conflict independent and free. We want the  
9 NATO alliance to be unified and as strong as ever. And we  
10 want to do these things without engaging in a war with  
11 Russia.

12          Senator Sullivan: Thank you. You know, there is a lot  
13 of discussion, you have already said, about NATO being  
14 energized, unified. I am a huge supporter of NATO. I was  
15 actually at NATO headquarters right after the invasion in  
16 February. I was a big supporter of EDI. I am a supporter  
17 of the Finland, Sweden accessions. I support a robust  
18 military. I am disappointed that the President once again  
19 put forward a budget that cuts defense spending in real  
20 dollars. I supported U.S. economic and military aid, since  
21 February, \$54 billion.

22          But I do want to say here, and hopefully some of our  
23 NATO allies are watching this hearing, there is grumbling on  
24 there. My constituents in Alaska are probably the most pro-  
25 military constituents, Americans in the country. But the

1 grumbling relates to this question. Why is the U.S.  
2 spending more to defend Europe than Europe is spending? And  
3 by that I mean, dating back to George W. Bush, President  
4 Obama, President Trump, President Biden, all of have put  
5 forward this goal of 2 percent of defense spending as a  
6 percentage of GDP, which was agreed upon in the 2014 Wales  
7 summit by all members. And yet right now we are down to 8  
8 members out of 30 -- that is actually down from 10 last year  
9 -- who have met that goal. Very wealthy countries --  
10 Sweden, Canada, Germany, France have not met that goal.  
11 Many of them are not even close to meeting that goal.

12 What can we do? Well, isn't it now or never that the  
13 NATO countries should meet this goal? And I do not believe  
14 this is a sustainable situation. We are doing all we can.  
15 I fully support it. But my goodness, the American people  
16 are looking and saying, "Where is everybody else?" How come  
17 these countries cannot meet this goal that they have been  
18 agreeing to for decades?

19 What is your sense on this? Do we have an opportunity  
20 here? I am working on legislation that would say within 5  
21 years if NATO countries do not meet their 2 percent goal  
22 then Congress will not appropriate dollars for training and  
23 deployments to those particular countries. What do you  
24 think about something like that, and if you are confirmed,  
25 will you be very focused on assuring that these countries

1 understand that we are a democracy too, and at a certain  
2 point the American people are going to say, "Enough."  
3 Europe has to defend Europe as much as America has to defend  
4 Europe. What do you think of all those issues?

5 General Cavoli: Senator, if I am confirmed I will work  
6 on burden-sharing as hard as I can. I am a believer in the  
7 Wales pledge. I am a believer not just in the 2 percent but  
8 on the 20 and 80 part of the rule, which says that nations  
9 should spend at least 20 percent on modernization and  
10 acquisition. I am gratified right now that we hear so many  
11 positive movements in the alliance.

12 Senator Sullivan: Yeah. Germany announcement was  
13 great.

14 General Cavoli: It is really a great moment. If I am  
15 confirmed, a big part of my job will be to help our  
16 diplomats and the interagency of the United States to  
17 convert all of those good intentions into facts.

18 Senator Sullivan: What about legislation I am working  
19 on right now?

20 General Cavoli: Sir, if you do not mind I would rather  
21 not comment on legislation directly, if you do not mind,  
22 sir.

23 Senator Sullivan: Okay. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Sullivan.

25 Senator Hirono, please.

1           Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and welcome,  
2 General. Thank you for your continuing service.

3           In determining fitness to serve of nominees who come  
4 before any of the committees on which I sit I ask the  
5 following two initial questions.

6           Since you became a legal adult have you ever made  
7 unwanted requests for sexual favors or committed any verbal  
8 or physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature?

9           General Cavoli: No, Senator.

10          Senator Hirono: Have you ever faced discipline or  
11 entered into a settlement related to this kind of conduct?

12          General Cavoli: No, ma'am.

13          Senator Hirono: General, talking about burden-sharing,  
14 what countries are welcoming or taking in the millions of  
15 refugees from Ukraine?

16          General Cavoli: Senator, that is an amazing story and  
17 a heartwarming one. As you know, early on my command was  
18 directed to prepare for assistance for Americans coming out  
19 but also we anticipated needing to help with a large number  
20 of refugees we anticipated. We correctly anticipated about  
21 6 million refugees coming into Europe. It was unnecessary.  
22 The pp of Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Slovakia have opened  
23 their doors and opened their hearts to Ukrainian refugees.

24          In fact, I have some local national employees in  
25 Poland, three of them, who have Ukrainian families in their

1 homes right now. It has been a remarkable thing to see the  
2 societies mobilize to assist Ukrainians.

3 Senator Hirono: I think it is an amazing and  
4 heartwarming story. So even as we talk about commitment,  
5 monetary commitment to NATO, there are many other ways that  
6 our European allies are stepping up regarding what is  
7 happening in Ukraine, and I think it is important to  
8 remember that.

9 And I am glad that Senator Sullivan asked you to talk  
10 about your background because it is indeed impressive, and I  
11 think you are highly, highly qualified for this position  
12 that we are considering you for. I feel like asking you to  
13 answer some questions in Russian, but that is okay. I think  
14 it is a really difficult language to learn, and I commend  
15 you for that kind of focus.

16 On Sunday, a delegation of U.S. diplomats is set to  
17 travel to The Hague for talking with allies, and I am  
18 quoting the State Department, "regarding our responses to  
19 atrocities committed in Ukraine and in other conflicts and  
20 on efforts to bring the perpetrators of atrocities to  
21 justice."

22 If confirmed, how will you assist the International  
23 Criminal Court in holding Russia accountable for the alleged  
24 war crimes being committed in Ukraine?

25 General Cavoli: Senator, if I am confirmed I will

1 execute the U.S. policy as it stands with regard to that at  
2 any given time. Clearly this is an issue that has been  
3 considered in our policymaking circles for some time, and I  
4 would have to follow U.S. policy.

5 Senator Hirono: I think it is very important for  
6 Russia to be held accountable for the atrocities that they  
7 are committing, and, of course, this totally unprovoked war  
8 on an independent country.

9 Last Saturday, President Biden signed a \$40 billion  
10 package of new military and humanitarian assistance to  
11 Ukraine. This includes a vast array of military defensive  
12 weaponry such as anti-aircraft and anti-tank systems, which  
13 the Ukrainians urgently need to protect themselves. If  
14 confirmed, how will you ensure the continuing coordination  
15 of the rapid transfer of U.S. resources and weapons to  
16 Ukraine and consider the country's future defense needs  
17 against Russia?

18 General Cavoli: Senator, if I am confirmed I will  
19 continue to execute the way it is being executed right now,  
20 with improvements and modifications as we go forward. So  
21 currently, at a policy level, our nation consults with other  
22 nations on what they might contribute, we consult with the  
23 Ukrainians on what they need, and then we try to bring those  
24 together. We hand that to U.S. European Command which  
25 coordinates the logistics of it, and then ultimately all of



1 the U.S. contributions come through the hands of my forces  
2 who are located in southeastern Poland, and they move it  
3 into the right locations. So I think we will continue to do  
4 it that way.

5 I think the accounting of all of this is going to be of  
6 great importance, Senator. I think understanding where  
7 everything is and being able to account for the money that  
8 has been provided will be a very important part, if I am  
9 confirmed.

10 Senator Hirono: Yes. As Senator Warren also  
11 mentioned, there is going to be so much money that will be  
12 needed to help Ukraine in the aftermath that yes, we do need  
13 to make sure that this money is going where it is supposed  
14 to go for the purposes for which we are appropriating the  
15 funds.

16 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do have some other  
17 questions that I will submit for the record.

18 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hirono.

19 Senator Hawley, please.

20 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General,  
21 good to see you again. I enjoyed our conversation the other  
22 day, and congratulations on your nomination.

23 Let me start with NATO, which is much the topic of  
24 conversation this morning. Of course, we may soon be asked  
25 to consider and vote on NATO expansion. You and I talked

1 about this a little bit when we met.

2 Let's start with the Wales pledge. You are familiar,  
3 of course, with the Wales pledge. You have talked about it,  
4 I know, today. Our current ambassador to NATO, Julie Smith,  
5 prior to her confirmation, sent me a letter in which she  
6 said, for the record, that it was her opinion that NATO  
7 allies should spend more than 2 percent of GDP on defense,  
8 in other words, to go beyond the Wales pledge. The Vice  
9 Chairman of the Joint Chiefs said the same. Assistant  
10 Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs  
11 Celeste Wallander also said the same to me, that allies  
12 should go beyond the Wales pledge.

13 So let me just ask you. In your personal opinion now,  
14 is it time for NATO allies to move beyond the Wales pledge  
15 and increase defense spending above 2 percent?

16 General Cavoli: Senator, I really liked the  
17 Ambassador's formulation on that. She has been saying 2  
18 percent is a floor, not a ceiling, and I agree with that. I  
19 know all of the land forces chiefs in NATO. Each one of  
20 them has a list of requirements. The requirements would all  
21 take more than 2 percent of GDP. So I am advocate of  
22 spending more than 2 percent, at least 2 percent. So I  
23 agree, yeah.

24 Senator Hawley: Good. Good. Thank you.

25 When we talked last week you told me that you did not

1 expect Finland's and Sweden's admission to NATO to result in  
2 U.S. force requirements in Europe. I have seen since then  
3 reports that Sweden is requesting a greater U.S. naval  
4 presence in the Baltic Sea. I am also seeing reports the  
5 Pentagon plans to keep 100,000-plus troops in Europe for the  
6 foreseeable future.

7 I just wanted to revisit this topic that you and I  
8 discussed in light of those reports. I mean, given this,  
9 how confident are you that Finland's and Sweden's accession  
10 to NATO would not result in U.S. forces doing more in Europe  
11 than we are currently obligated to under our current NATO  
12 commitment?

13 General Cavoli: So the 100,000 forces in Europe that  
14 are being extended, that is part of the surge that we  
15 performed over the last few weeks, Senator, and was not  
16 related to the question of Finland and Sweden joining NATO.

17 I remain of the opinion, as I told you in our office  
18 call, that at least in the ground domain that this is not  
19 going to be a requirement for large, additional forces, or  
20 additional forces. I think exercises and occasional  
21 presence, like we do with any ally, will increase.

22 Senator Hawley: Different basing requirements, do you  
23 think? I mean, will this necessitate a shift in posture by  
24 our forces or NATO forces?

25 General Cavoli: I do not know right now, and I would

1 point out that the word "basing" carries with it an enormous  
2 number of other implications that I would have to consider  
3 deeply before I came back to you with a firm response on  
4 basing.

5 Senator Hawley: Well, since you mentioned coming back,  
6 if you are confirmed, would you commit to providing the  
7 committee with a full account of the implications of  
8 Finland's and Sweden's potential accession to NATO, the  
9 implications for U.S. forces in Europe should they accede to  
10 NATO, so that we can consider that as part of any debate we  
11 might soon have in this chamber over NATO expansion?

12 General Cavoli: Senator, I would be happy to do that  
13 if I am confirmed.

14 Senator Hawley: Great. Thank you. Still on this  
15 general topic, burden-sharing, you and I talked about this,  
16 with our NATO allies and then vis-à-vis what we need to do  
17 in the Asia Pacific, with regard to China. We are going to  
18 have to do a lot more burden-sharing with our NATO allies,  
19 is my view, in Europe, if we are going to focus as we need  
20 to on PACOM.

21 Let me just put it to you this way. Do you think our  
22 European allies should assume primary responsibility for  
23 conventional deterrence in Europe with us, of course, the  
24 United States, providing extended nuclear deterrence and  
25 more select conventional capabilities, but Europe really

1 focusing on everything else as we shift scarce resources to  
2 China? What do you think about that?

3 General Cavoli: Senator, I think it is imperative as  
4 we look at the emergence of the threat of China for us to  
5 find ways to be able to handle the acute threat of Russia in  
6 a collective fashion with the alliance that allows us to do  
7 that. There are a number of different ways that could play  
8 out. Almost all of those ways include increased burden-  
9 sharing on the part of the alliance -- on the part of other  
10 members of the alliance, I should say. But they also depend  
11 on what the security situation in Europe is like at the end  
12 of this conflict.

13 So really, this conflict and the way it comes out is  
14 going to drive a lot of my answer to your question. It is  
15 just premature for me to talk about it.

16 Senator Hawley: Here is my last question, and my time  
17 has expired so I will ask it and I will let you answer and  
18 yield. What are some of the capabilities that we currently  
19 provide in Europe that you think European allies could  
20 feasibly contribute instead, going forward?

21 General Cavoli: Sir, some of the things we provide are  
22 heavy equipment and armor. Our allies could provide some of  
23 that. In many cases it should be modernized first or larger  
24 quantities. We provide long-range fires and logistics. We  
25 would encourage the development of those capabilities across

1 the alliance. And then probably most importantly, increased  
2 air and missile defense across the alliance would be welcome  
3 contributions in terms of capability.

4 Thank you, Senator.

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Hawley.

6 Senator Kaine, please. Senator Kelly. I am sorry.

7 Excuse me.

8 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am going to  
9 follow up on Senator Hawley's line of questioning here,  
10 General, and great to see you again and thank you for your  
11 willingness to continue to serve our nation.

12 EUCOM obviously present some unique and difficult  
13 challenges right now, and it is clear that the conflict in  
14 Ukraine is going to have a lasting impact on the future of  
15 European security. That is why I think it is important to  
16 continue to look ahead, and I appreciate the discussion we  
17 had in my office last week. And we talked a little bit  
18 about the Ukrainian military needs looking forward, from  
19 equipment to training to structural reforms. It is clear  
20 that these things are going to take some time.

21 And I feel that if we want to deter further aggression  
22 beyond this conflict, from Putin or somebody else like him  
23 in the future, we need to start thinking about this right  
24 now. And as we think about the future of the Ukrainian Air  
25 Force I think, you know, a centerpiece is not going to be

1 the MIG-29. You know, it needs to be a U.S.-build or  
2 Western fighter or something like the F-16 might be a good  
3 option here.

4 And over the last few years we have successfully sold  
5 F-16s to some of our partners in the Middle East, and in the  
6 state of Arizona the 162nd Air National Guard wing has  
7 extensive experience training foreign pilots. They have  
8 been doing this for years, and that is pretty much all they  
9 do. They are currently helping Slovakia, as an example,  
10 transition from obsolete and, as we have seen, often  
11 ineffective Soviet aircraft like the MIG-29 to the F-16.

12 So General, can you provide your thoughts on how the  
13 U.S. and our allies can help modernize Ukraine's military to  
14 deter future aggression, and specifically with looking  
15 towards their Air Force.

16 General Cavoli: Thanks, Senator. Yes. First of all,  
17 as with a previous question, I think that Ukraine's military  
18 requirements at the end of this conflict are going to depend  
19 largely on what the shape of the security landscape is at  
20 the conclusion of the conflict and what threat they face and  
21 how much threat they face.

22 So the second thing I would say is that the aid we have  
23 been giving them is very important, and it is very important  
24 to what they are doing, but it is going to require some  
25 rationalization on the far side, I would say. There will

1 probably need to be some homogenization of fleets, for  
2 example. It is hard to have five or six different types of  
3 tanks or Howitzer, Senator. So I think that will be  
4 something that is very important to do right away.

5 With regard to the air domain, I think that Ukraine is  
6 going to have to sit down with us, examine the security  
7 situation they have, and sketch out a strategy for a way  
8 ahead. I cannot say what it would look like now, but I do  
9 look, if I am confirmed, to coming back and to talking to  
10 you about it in the future, because I think it is a critical  
11 question for them.

12 Senator Kelly: Yeah, I appreciate that. There are  
13 going to be a lot of tough decisions. Certainly the  
14 agreement, whatever this final, you know, depending on how  
15 this concludes, is going to play a big role in what the  
16 security cooperation looks like.

17 General Cavoli: It will, yes.

18 Senator Kelly: And what the reforming of their  
19 military looks like here in future years.

20 Another issue we discussed was the possibility of  
21 permanently basing more U.S. troops in Eastern Europe, an  
22 issue that many of us have advocated for. And I understand  
23 there are multiple factors to consider when making this sort  
24 of decision. So, General, what are your thoughts on the  
25 possibility of permanently stationing U.S. forces in Eastern



1 Europe, and specifically, where would you right now -- you  
2 know, where are you starting to think about where they could  
3 go, and obviously, the reason is to deter future Russian  
4 aggression here.

5 General Cavoli: Senator, so as we float additional  
6 forces in over the last few months, and as NATO has  
7 repostured NATO forces, multinational forces, over the past  
8 couple of months, clearly what has been happening is the  
9 center of the NATO force has been shifting eastward.  
10 Depending on the outcome of the conflict we may need to  
11 continue that for some time. We will have to see at the end  
12 of the conflict.

13 With regard to how those guys are sourced, how are  
14 those soldiers sourced -- permanently, rotational,  
15 unaccompanied tours -- boy, so many things go into that,  
16 Senator. A lot of the questions are service equities. A  
17 lot of the questions are policy matters. And I will have a  
18 voice in that, I am sure, if I am confirmed, but there will  
19 probably be a lot of other considerations that go into that.

20 Senator Kelly: I was recently in Poland and Germany  
21 and I think, you know, especially with the Poles it is going  
22 to be an important conversation to have. They are very  
23 interested in a stronger alliance and a possibility of a  
24 commitment to U.S. forces in Poland.

25 General Cavoli: We discuss it together frequently,

1 sir, yeah.

2 Senator Kelly: Thank you, General. Thank you, Mr.  
3 Chairman.

4 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kelly.

5 Senator Peters, please.

6 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. General  
7 Cavoli, welcome to the committee. Thank you for your  
8 service. I have a number of questions related to Ukraine  
9 but they have been asked, and I do not want to ask you to  
10 keep repeating answers to questions related to that. So I  
11 have a few other questions in some outside areas I would  
12 like to ask you in this time.

13 General, the U.S. Special Operations Command Europe  
14 announced the basing of a new special operations  
15 headquarters in Albania just weeks prior to the Russian  
16 invasion. My question for you, sir, is in conjunction with  
17 SOCOM's efforts how do you see NATO and EUCOM complementing  
18 this increased partnership with what is really a critical  
19 ally in a very challenging part of Europe?

20 General Cavoli: Senator, so last year we conducted a  
21 large portion of the DEFENDER large-scale exercise in  
22 Albania. It was a U.S. Army Europe exercise but it was  
23 augmented, and critically augmented, by the U.S. Navy and  
24 Naval Forces Europe and Air Forces Europe as well. It had a  
25 huge effect, a huge positive effect. On the back of that we

1 have increased our activities with our Albanian allies  
2 fairly significantly. SOCEUR's addition of a base down  
3 there is an example of that.

4 If I am confirmed as the EUCOM Commander I will  
5 continue to pay close attention to the levels of our  
6 presence and the amount of interaction we have with our  
7 allies and our partners in the Balkans. I think it is  
8 critically important.

9 Senator Peters: Great. That is great to hear. Great  
10 to hear. General, to stay with the theme of partnerships, I  
11 am proud to represent the Michigan National Guard state  
12 partnerships in Latvia as well as Liberia, two programs that  
13 I expect you know well given your current position as  
14 Commander of the U.S. Army both in Europe and in Africa.

15 Every commander I have talked to, including General  
16 Wolters, has praised the State Partnership Program. And my  
17 question for you is, if confirmed as the Commander of the  
18 most powerful alliance in the world, how will you leverage  
19 the National Guard Bureau's programs to achieve your  
20 objectives?

21 General Cavoli: Senator, in my current role we use and  
22 leverage the State Partnership Programs every day, and if I  
23 am confirmed you will be able to add me to the list of  
24 combatant commanders who love the State Partnership Program.

25 I have a two-star deputy who is from the National Guard,

1 and he liaises constantly with the TAGs who have state  
2 partnerships in our area. And it is absolutely invaluable  
3 the depth of the relationships they have. The continuity of  
4 relationships they have has all been very, very important to  
5 us, in crises as well as in peace time.

6 So it is an extremely valuable program. If I am  
7 confirmed as the EUCOM Commander I look forward to adding  
8 the Air Guard portion of that to my portfolio.

9 Senator Peters: That is great. Great to hear,  
10 General. General Cavoli, on Sunday the leaders of Armenia  
11 and Azerbaijan announced a border commission as a possible  
12 step forward towards a peace plan in Nagorno-Karabakh. And  
13 while Russia certainly has made it very clear to the entire  
14 world that its words and its commitments cannot be trusted,  
15 as a result of their horrific actions that we are seeing in  
16 Ukraine right now, but having said that they did play a role  
17 in the discussion in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

18 And so my question for you is, if confirmed, how do you  
19 see EUCON and NATO influencing conditions to enable peace in  
20 the Nagorno-Karabakh region, given Russia's involvement in  
21 that area?

22 General Cavoli: Yes, Senator, that is a prickly  
23 question. In the caucuses, in general, I have spent quite a  
24 bit of time down there and studied it, and dealt with our  
25 partners down there. Almost every issue has several

1 different angles on it. The Russian angle is always one of  
2 the ones that needs to be considered. In any given proposal  
3 or any given situation, if I am confirmed, I would sit down  
4 and I would examine it very closely from all angles I could  
5 before coming up with my best recommendation. I recognize  
6 how delicate that area is and how many external interests  
7 are at play.

8       Senator Peters: Absolutely. And while NATO  
9 enlargement increases the collective capacity of our  
10 defensive alliance it also increases some of the  
11 complexities behind maintaining a unified front, as I am  
12 sure you are well aware. A significant example can be seen  
13 by Turkey's concerns regarding Finland and Sweden's  
14 accession into the alliance.

15       And so my question for you, sir, if confirmed, you will  
16 serve as NATO's Supreme Allied Commander. How do you see  
17 you fostering an environment that continues to promote unity  
18 and cohesion among very unique and sometimes very different  
19 member nations?

20       General Cavoli: Senator, I think in terms of fostering  
21 the right climate the first step is to remember that the  
22 military arm of NATO is only one part of NATO. You know, it  
23 is a military organization under collective civilian  
24 control.

25       The second thing I would say is always to remember that

1 each of those service chiefs represents a sovereign nation's  
2 army or a sovereign nation's military, and to treat them  
3 with the respect accordingly.

4 And then finally, to consult with them, routinely, and  
5 to build consensus as I can.

6 Senator Peters: Great. Thank you, General. Thank  
7 you, Mr. Chairman.

8 General Cavoli: Thank you.

9 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Peters.

10 Senator Scott, please.

11 Senator Scott: Thank you, Chair Reed. General, thank  
12 you for being here. Thank you for your service.

13 General Cavoli: Hello, Senator.

14 Senator Scott: Thank you the visit we had.

15 As we talked, just recently I went to Europe and  
16 visited with American troops in Germany and Lithuania. I  
17 went to Germany, Poland, and Lithuania. Clearly I was  
18 impressed with what our troops are willing to do, and also  
19 from the conversation I had I was impressed with our Eastern  
20 European allies, what they are doing. They clearly see the  
21 threat, and it is important to them. But it is clear they  
22 need our support. They cannot do this on their own.

23 There is no nation like the United States. There is no  
24 military that is like ours. So I think it is clear that the  
25 security of not only Europe but the security interest of our

1 country is that we have got to stop these tyrants, like Xi  
2 and Putin and others, from trying to control the world.

3 It does not appear that the Biden administration did  
4 everything they could to deter Putin because they clearly  
5 invaded. It seems like we did the same thing. Obama did  
6 the same thing back in 2014, and so it has put us in a tough  
7 position.

8 Also, it does not appear that we are doing enough to  
9 deter Communist China, because they are continuing to do  
10 threats against Taiwan. I mean, none of us want to send men  
11 and women to fight, but we are going to end up that way if  
12 we do not stop these guys.

13 So in your professional judgment, given your many years  
14 of military service, do you believe the U.S. can deter enemy  
15 regimes like Russia and China and Iran if we do not  
16 demonstrate even greater military capabilities and a very  
17 united political will?

18 General Cavoli: Senator, I believe that all  
19 instruments of national power are necessary parts of  
20 deterrence, of an integrated deterrence posture. That  
21 includes the military. It includes the diplomatic, the  
22 information, the economic. And I agree that political will  
23 is a necessary thing to demonstrate in order to achieve  
24 deterrence.

25 Senator Scott: What does the European Command need

1 more to try to deter Putin and make sure he does not win in  
2 Ukraine and also he does not ever invade a NATO ally?

3 General Cavoli: Yes, sir. So I think the first thing,  
4 and the most important thing, that the European Command  
5 needs to continue to deter is continued unity of the  
6 alliance, continued political will of the alliance, which we  
7 are seeing in abundance right now. We need to keep that  
8 going. I think that is the first step.

9 The second step is we need to continue support of the  
10 Armed Services to provide us with the capabilities that we  
11 need. So those are the two things I think we have there.

12 Senator Scott: Do you think it makes sense to  
13 reposition some of our troops further to the east rather  
14 than have so much of it concentrated in Germany?

15 General Cavoli: Sir, as you know, in response to this  
16 crisis we have done exactly that. The alliance has  
17 repositioned four battle groups forward into southeastern  
18 Europe, and many nations have bilaterally reinforced their  
19 forces. For example, we have reinforced Latvia. The U.K.  
20 has reinforced their battle groups in Estonia. The Germans  
21 have reinforced their battle group in Lithuania. And the  
22 U.S. has added additional forces into Eastern Europe as  
23 well. So I think that is exactly what we have done in  
24 response to this crisis, sir.

25 Senator Scott: Even with Sweden and Finland not being



1 part of NATO, do we have a good working relationship with  
2 their military?

3 General Cavoli: Sir, we have very good working  
4 relationships with their military. We work very closely  
5 with the Swedish military on specific technical things but  
6 also in general on exercises. With the Finnish army I think  
7 I just brought two Stryker troops back from Finland, and a  
8 parachute battalion is on its way to Finland on routine  
9 exercise later this summer. Yes, sir, I think they will be  
10 very easy to integrate.

11 Senator Scott: What would you like to see in addition  
12 to what our European allies are doing in Europe to help  
13 Ukraine? Anything that they should be doing that they are  
14 not doing today?

15 General Cavoli: Sir, I think we should keep doing what  
16 we are doing today. As we talk more and more with our  
17 Ukrainian colleagues we get the opportunity to understand  
18 better and better what it is they need and how they plan to  
19 use it. And so I think we are moving in the right  
20 direction.

21 I think the question of what happens on the far end to  
22 Ukraine, after the conflict concludes, however it will  
23 conclude I think is going to be a very important question  
24 for Europe as well as for our country.

25 Senator Scott: Thanks for your service.

1 General Cavoli: Sir, thank you.

2 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Scott.

3 Senator Rosen, when she gets settled, will have the  
4 floor.

5 Senator Rosen: Good morning, General. Good to see you  
6 again. Thank you, Chairman Reed, for holding this hearing.  
7 It was so nice to have a great conversation with you last  
8 week. I am glad to see you here this morning.

9 So I guess we will just get right into it. You know, I  
10 worry about cyber, so Russian cyber threats. And, you know,  
11 we were talking about that just last week, the importance of  
12 maintaining our collective vigilance in the face of Russian  
13 cyber threats. So earlier this month, CYBERCOM Commander  
14 General Nakasone, he did say a cyber mission force hunt  
15 forward team traveled to Ukraine in December to help them  
16 build resilience against cyberattacks, but still,  
17 unfortunately, Russia has launched destructive cyberattacks  
18 against Ukraine.

19 So if confirmed, how will you work with CYBERCOM to  
20 enhance the cybersecurity capacity of Ukraine, our other  
21 European partners, including through the hunt forward  
22 operations?

23 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator. If I am  
24 confirmed, I will continue to work with General Nakasone and  
25 all of his components. Of course, the 16th U.S. Air Force

1 under Tim Haugh currently runs cyber operations for USEUCOM  
2 and do a great job.

3 I think General Nakasone's command has set up some  
4 great models throughout Europe in terms of defending  
5 forward, hunting forward, and doing it in collaboration with  
6 our partners or our allies. And I would very much look  
7 forward to pursuing all of those with him. It is going to  
8 be of critical importance as we go forward, Senator.

9 Senator Rosen: Well, that is great. You led me into  
10 my next question because what do you assess NATO's overall  
11 cyberspace capabilities in our alliances, our just readiness  
12 together to respond to any attacks?

13 General Cavoli: I think the alliance has collectively  
14 begun. We have established a cyber center in Estonia, for  
15 example, and are working towards cyber strategies. But  
16 clearly, just like for all of our countries individually,  
17 there is much work to be done for the entire alliance  
18 collectively on this. If I am confirmed, it will be one of  
19 the things I turn my attention to first.

20 Senator Rosen: Thank you. I appreciate it. And I am  
21 going to move down a little bit to the Black Sea because  
22 Russia is maintaining a blockade of the Ukrainian coast. It  
23 now controls a number of strategy ports in the Black Sea,  
24 and Ukraine actually exports 70 percent of its cargo through  
25 there.

1           So last month Russia said it in the second phase of its  
2 invasion that is going to include targeting those Ukrainian  
3 southern regions, potentially neighboring Moldova. So if  
4 confirmed, what actions would you take to mitigate those  
5 threats on the Black Sea, and what more can NATO be doing?  
6 What can you be doing together to -- again, we have the  
7 coast, equip us there?

8           General Cavoli: Senator, first I would point out that  
9 there are three NATO nations that border the Black Sea, that  
10 have shores on the Black Sea, and each has a navy. I would  
11 also agree that the problem of exporting, or not exporting,  
12 grain from Ukraine right now is an important problem, not  
13 just for Ukraine but for the world, and because of that for  
14 us as well.

15           What I would do, if confirmed as SOCEUR or as Commander  
16 U.S. EUCOM is provide the military options required by our  
17 civilian leaders. Clearly the way we approach that would  
18 have to be a whole-of-government approach, which may or may  
19 not include a military component.

20           Senator Rosen: And so building on that, I know in this  
21 setting can you speak on anything more specifically about  
22 how we should be preparing in the Black Sea for this  
23 potential incursion, if you will?

24           General Cavoli: Ma'am, I think the first thing that we  
25 have been doing is probably the most important and it is not

1 in the Black Sea. It is establishing alternative ways to  
2 get the grain out. So Deutsche Bahn, the German national  
3 train company, has been conducting massive lifts of grain  
4 out of Ukraine right now, coming out through Poland and then  
5 up to the northern Germany ports for export. Romania has  
6 opened the port of Constanta for outflow, which goes through  
7 the Black Sea but not through a blockaded portion of the  
8 Black Sea.

9 So I think it is going to be a combination of modes of  
10 transportation that we are going to have to use, and I look  
11 forward to contributing to that.

12 Senator Rosen: And I know I only have 20 seconds left,  
13 but I just want to ask a little bit about if Sweden and  
14 Finland join NATO what kind of security guarantees do you  
15 think we should provide for NATO -- excuse me, for Sweden  
16 and Finland if they do join NATO and Article 5 protections  
17 kick in?

18 General Cavoli: Ma'am, obviously the security  
19 guarantees and the nature of the security guarantees that we  
20 or anybody would provide would be a policy matter. I can  
21 state that as a military matter we are in a position to back  
22 up any guarantees across the European land mass.

23 Senator Rosen: Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chair.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Rosen.

25 General, thank you for your testimony today, your service to

1 the nation, which is a proud family tradition. And I think  
2 you have demonstrated quite clearly why you should be  
3 confirmed and continue the leadership that General Wolters  
4 has shown in facing this grave crisis in Ukraine.

5 With that we will adjourn the hearing. Thank you,  
6 General.

7 General Cavoli: Thank you, Senator.

8 [Whereupon, at 11:15 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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