Stenographic Transcript Before the

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

## **UNITED STATES SENATE**

## HEARING TO CONSIDER THE NOMINATION OF: LIEUTENANT GENERAL MICHAEL E. KURILLA, USA TO BE GENERAL AND COMMANDER, UNITED STATES CENTRAL COMMAND

Tuesday, February 8, 2022

Washington, D.C.

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5	Tuesday, February 8, 2022								
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7	U.S. Senate								
8	Committee on Armed Services								
9	Washington, D.C.								
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11	The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in								
12	Room SD-G50, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Jack Reed,								
13	chairman of the committee, presiding.								
14	Committee members present: Senators Reed [presiding],								
15	Shaheen, Gillibrand, Blumenthal, Hirono, Kaine, King,								
16	Warren, Peters, Manchin, Duckworth, Rosen, Kelly, Inhofe,								
17	Wicker, Fischer, Cotton, Rounds, Ernst, Tillis, Sullivan,								
18	Cramer, Scott, Blackburn, Hawley, and Tuberville.								
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OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. JACK REED, U.S. SENATOR FROM
 RHODE ISLAND

Chairman Reed: Good morning. The committee meets
today to consider the nomination of Lieutenant General
Michael Kurilla for promotion to general and to be the next
commander of U.S. Central Command.

General, your nomination is well deserved, and I thank you for your willingness to lead in this very important position.

We welcome your wife, Mary Paige, and daughter, Michelle, both of whom are here today, and we ought to welcome Sophie, who I am sure is glued to a television set someplace, watching her father. We thank them for their continued service to our nation.

You have led most recently as the Commanding General of the 18th Airborne Corps, an experience that will serve you well in this new role. Your career spans nearly 34 years with distinguished service across multiple theaters and command at every level of our nation's premier fighting forces. The country is fortunate to have leaders like yourself serving in uniform.

If confirmed, the range of challenges you will need to address is significant. CENTCOM's geographic area of responsibility stretches from Northeast Africa, across the Middle East, to Central and South Asia, and the security

1 challenges are similarly expansive.

Perhaps most pressing is Iran's malign influence in the region. The United States' latest round of indirect negotiations to return to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, or JCPOA, has seen progress, but Iran's ongoing nuclear development threaten to derail any agreement.

7 Simultaneously, Iranian-linked groups continue to mount 8 drone and rocket attacks in the region, including against 9 bases in Iraq and Syria with a U.S military presence. These threats are growing, as are drone and missile attacks by 10 Iranian-linked Houthis against the Gulf States. During 11 12 today's hearing I would like to know your level of concern 13 over rising tensions between the United States and Iran, and 14 how you would advise responding to Iranian malign influence 15 in the region.

16 While the death of ISIS leader al-Qurayshi in a U.S. strike last week dealt a blow to the organization, ISIS 17 18 remains a threat. Last month, ISIS militants seized a 19 prison facility in Syria where thousands of ISIS detainees 20 are held, leading to a days-long standoff requiring U.S. and 21 Coalition air and ground support to the Syrian Democratic 22 Forces (STF). Press reports indicate that up to 200 23 fighters may have escaped, and hundreds of people were killed. If you are confirmed, you will be responsible for 24 25 helping ensure the STF and the Iraqi Government have the

capacity and support needed to address the threat from ISIS
 and properly detain these prisoners.

Of particular emphasis for this committee is a reformation of how CENTCOM and the Defense Department respond to civilian casualty incidents. It must be noted that CENTCOM's approach to this issue in recent years has not been adequate, and the DOD Inspector General and independent studies have highlighted important areas for change.

10 Our military goes to great lengths to avoid civilian 11 casualties, but when tragic errors occur, we have an 12 obligation to be transparent, take responsibility, and do 13 everything we can to learn from those mistakes and prevent 14 future mistakes. As such, General, I hope you will share 15 what steps you would take to ensure CENTCOM improves its 16 openness and transparency with this committee and the 17 public.

Finally, turning to Afghanistan, we have transitioned to an "over the horizon" counterterrorism posture to continue to respond to threats from the region using assets based outside Afghanistan. Our 20-year mission there largely achieved the goal of significantly degrading al Qaeda and other terrorist groups, but the work is not finished.

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During testimony to this committee last October, the

1 Under Secretary of Defense for Policy assessed that ISIS-K 2 and al Qaeda have, in his words, the intent to conduct 3 external operations, but neither has the ability to do so. 4 To prevent terrorist groups from developing this ability, we 5 must to continue to bolster our "over the horizon" 6 capabilities. With that in mind, I would ask that you share 7 the most important lessons learned from your time in 8 Afghanistan, and how you would ensure CENTCOM can conduct 9 optimal "over the horizon" activities. 10 Again, thank you, General, for your continued willingness to serve, and I look forward to your testimony. 11 12 Let me now recognize the ranking member, Senator 13 Inhofe. 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES INHOFE, U.S. SENATOR FROM

2 OKLAHOMA

Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And thank you, General Kurilla, for your willingness to
continue your distinguished career.

б General Kurilla, when confirmed, you will take command 7 of a region where terrorist groups increasingly threaten 8 U.S. personnel, partners, and the homeland. And due to the 9 Biden administration's disastrous withdrawal of the U.S. 10 troops from Afghanistan last summer, Afghanistan is now back to pre-9/11 conditions. The Taliban controls the country, 11 12 and it has already killed more than 100 former Afghan 13 officials, soldiers, and Coalition partners, according to 14 the United Nations.

The Haqqanis, which are affiliated with the al Qaeda, have government positions and ISIS-K, which killed 13 U.S. servicemembers on August 26, is exploiting the vacuum that the Biden administration left behind.

Elsewhere, the Iran-backed Houthis have launched deadly
 missile and drone attacks on Saudi Arabia and the United
 Arab Emirates, threatening U.S. forces and our partners.

And last month, ISIS launched a series of new attacks in Syria and in Iraq. Last week's successful operation against ISIS' leader shows that the counter-ISIS mission isn't over.

1 I am concerned that things will get even worse if 2 President Biden re-enters the failed 2015 Iran nuclear deal, which many of us here have urged him not to do. Iran will 3 4 have received substantial sanctions relief. Iran will spend that windfall on terrorist proxies. That means more arms 5 6 for Hezbollah, Hamas to attack Israel, more training for the 7 Houthis to threaten our Arab friends, and more support for 8 the Iraqi militias that target our personnel. Rejoining the 9 Iran nuclear deal won't prevent Iran from getting nuclear 10 weapons capabilities. The deal's limitations expire in 11 2026, which is not that far off.

So, all of these threats in the Middle East are getting worse, but we also have to prioritize threats from the Chinese Communist Party and Russia right now. And both of those adversaries are heavily invested in competition in the CENTCOM.

So here is what I hope you will address today: What resources do you think we will need to counter these regional threats? What roles should our partners play, and how can we improve their capabilities? And perhaps most important, what can we do to ensure that our longtime regional partners stick with us in the escalating competition with China and Russia?

And so, General Kurilla, you have served with great honor in this CENTCOM region; you are very familiar with it,

1	you are the right guy to do this, and we look forward to	
2	winning together.	
3	Thank you again. Mr. Chairman.	
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1	Chairmar	n Reed:	Thank	you,	Sena	ator	Inhofe.
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STATEMENT OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL MICHAEL E. KURILLA,
 USA, TO BE GENERAL AND COMMANDER, UNITED STATES CENTRAL
 COMMAND

4 General Kurilla: Good morning.

5 Chairman Reed, Ranking Member Inhofe, and distinguished 6 members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, it is an 7 honor to appear before you today as the President's nominee 8 to serve as the next commander of the United States Central 9 Command.

Today, as always, I am humbled to serve the soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines, coast guardsmen, and guardians, who defend our nation at home and abroad every day; they are our nation's best.

Young me today is my amazing wife of 27 years, Mary Paige. Throughout my career, Mary Paige has been my best friend, partner, and enthusiastic advocate for our servicemembers and their families. She is the daughter of a Vietnam veteran and has known from a very young age, firsthand, the challenges and hardships that face our military families.

I have two wonderful daughters. My oldest Michelle flew in late last night from Massachusetts, where she is a senior at Harvard University, double-majoring in Government and English. My youngest daughter Sophie is a sophomore at Tufts University, studying biology and at the lab at the New

England Aquarium this afternoon, so she is watching from her
 dorm.

3 My family has long understood that family readiness is 4 a key component to operational readiness and we are grateful 5 for the service of all of our military families.

I am grateful to the President, Secretary of Defense,
Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staffs for their confidence
in me and to General Frank McKenzie's lifetime of service to
the nation.

I thank the Congress, and especially this Committee,for its unwavering support of our military.

12 This is a critical time for the 21 countries of Central 13 Command. The United States faces a new era of strategic competition with China and Russia that is not confined to 14 15 one geographical region and extends into the CENTCOM area of 16 responsibility. The Middle East, Central and South Asia remain complex and dynamic environments. CENTCOM remains a 17 18 dangerous theater with its own internal threats to American 19 security.

As the United States rightfully prioritizes competition with China, we must remain engaged in the Middle East and Central and South Asia. We must be clear eyed about the fact that the United States Central Command area of responsibility remains home to America's national interests. The region today presents a mixed picture. On one

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hand, there are signs of progress, such as normalization of
Arab states with Israel that defeated the physical so-called
Caliphate, the ending of the Gulf rift, and the continued
support by longtime partners and allies; on the other hand,
there are some vexing challenges: Iran's nuclear program,
ballistic missile advancements, and its continued malign
influence across the region.

8 The CENTCOM theater is also burdened by civil war and 9 humanitarian crisis. The area is home to 9 of the top-10 10 most dangerous, violent extremist organizations, including 11 al Qaeda and ISIS, which are both reconstituting. All of 12 these ill trends are accelerated by water scarcity and food 13 insecurity.

14 China has significantly increased its investment and 15 influence in the region and Russia acts as a spoiler. If 16 confirmed as the CENTCOM commander, I will protect American 17 interests in the region with these challenges in mind.

18 While we are no longer in Afghanistan, we must 19 acknowledge and honor the sacrifice of the more than 1 20 million servicemembers, civilians, partners, and allies who 21 answered the call and did their duty during the war, and we 22 must never forget the ultimate sacrifice of those who gave 23 their last full measure of devotion on the battlefield. 24 If confirmed, I will work hand-in-hand with our 25 diplomats to ensure that diplomacy is in the lead, while

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strengthening our relationship with military partners and
 allies. I will embrace technology, artificial intelligence,
 machine learning, and data-centric warfare to increase
 CENTCOM's competitive edge across all domains.

If confirmed, by this body, I look forward to working with this committee and Congress, the senior leadership for the Department of Defense, and our partners and allies; furthermore, I will always remain transparent and candid with both, Congress and this committee.

10 I look forward to your questions.

11 [The prepared statement of General Kurilla follows:]

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1 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General. 2 As is required, there are a series of standard 3 questions, which you may responded to appropriately. 4 Have you adhered to applicable laws and regulations governing conflict of interest? 5 б General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 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 Kurilla: No, Senator. 11 Chairman Reed: Exercising our legislative and 12 oversight responsibility makes it important that this 13 committee, its subcommittees, and other appropriate 14 committees of Congress receive testimony, briefings, 15 reports, records, and other information from the Executive 16 Branch on a timely basis. 17 Do you agree, if confirmed, to appear and testify 18 before this committee when requested? 19 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 20 Chairman Reed: Do you agree, when asked before this Committee to give your personal views, even if your views 21 22 differ from the administration? 23 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 24 Chairman Reed: Do you agree to provide records, 25 documents, and electronic communications in a timely manner,

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1 when requested by this committee, its subcommittees, or 2 other appropriate committees of Congress, and to consult with the requestor regarding the basis for any good faith 3 4 delay or denial in providing such records? 5 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. б Chairman Reed: Will you ensure that your staff 7 complies with deadlines established by this committee for 8 the production of reports, records, and other information, 9 including timely responding to hearing questions for the record? 10 11 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 12 Chairman Reed: Will you cooperate and provide any 13 witnesses and briefers, in response to congressional 14 request? 15 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 16 Chairman Reed: Will those witnesses and briefers be 17 protected from reprisal for their testimony or briefings? 18 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 19 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, General. 20 Again, let me commend you for your service to the 21 nation and the service of your family. 22 We spoke before about the continuing crisis in 23 Afghanistan and looking forward, the steps we have to take. 24 There is, as you recognized, a humanitarian crisis that is 25 becoming more and more severe, each moment. There is the

persistent threat of al Qaeda and ISIS-K and other terrorist
 groups.

What do you see as the challenges in Afghanistan and the surrounding region and can we cope with them "over the horizon"?

б General Kurilla: Senator, as you identified, one of 7 the challenges is the threat to the homeland from al Qaeda 8 and ISIS-K. They are reconstituting. The Taliban has not renounced al Qaeda. ISIS-K, with the release of the 9 10 prisoners both, from the Bagram Prison and Pul-e-Charkhi, are in the process of reconstituting. While they have 11 12 aspirations to attack the homeland, they do not have the 13 capability yet.

Additionally, we have the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan. I believe there are opportunities in the future of ways that we can work with, perhaps, the World Food Programme and others in the region, to help alleviate some of that burden on the humanitarian crisis.

19 Chairman Reed: Now, in our regional response, we have 20 to consider the position of Pakistan. They have been a very 21 complicated partner, and sometimes not a partner.

Do you have any comments on that relationship and what you would like to do to improve it?

General Kurilla: Senator, we have not always seen eyeto-eye with Pakistan, but I do think we have a shared

1 interest in regional stability and countering violent 2 extremist organizations. One of the most violent is Tehrike-Taliban Pakistani, the TTP, which directly threatens 3 4 Pakistan. Also, the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan, 5 threatens the migrants to push into, and refugees, to push 6 into Pakistan. So, I think there is potentially some shared interests that we can work with them on counter VEOs and the 7 8 humanitarian crisis.

9 Chairman Reed: Well, thank you.

Turning to Iran, as both myself and the ranking member pointed out, it presents a very, very serious challenge. There are talks underway to try to revive the JCPOA, but it is uncertain if that will happen. Their malign activities both, directly and through proxies, like the Houthis, are causing concern, especially attacks recently against the United Arab Emirates.

17 Can you give us an idea of how you would approach this 18 problem as you take command?

General Kurilla: Senator, Iran is the number one destabilizing factor in the Middle East right now with their malign behavior. I think a going through our partners and allies and strengthening those with a united front from all the partners and allies is the best way to confront them. The U.S. policy of Iran cannot get a nuclear weapon, I

25 believe that any enforceable agreement should make sure that

1 they do not get a nuclear weapon.

2 Chairman Reed: Thank you.

And you also said in the advanced policy questions, and in your testimony, that we must invest in artificial intelligence and machine-learning platforms and programs to increase our ability to detect, defend, and respond to conventional Iranian military capabilities.

8 Can you sketch, very quickly, what you would attempt to 9 do?

10 General Kurilla: So, Senator, right now in the 18th 11 Airborne Corps, when James McConville, General McConville, 12 the Chief of Staff of the Army, charged the 18th Corps to 13 lead and artificial intelligence become an AI-enabled corps, 14 we have taken a four-prong approach to that with the 15 culture, data literacy, data governance and management, and 16 our infrastructure; i.e., cloud computing and cloud 17 computing on the edge. And then we take that and we do a 18 quarterly exercise that uses artificial intelligence for 19 target detection.

Every quarter, from all six services participate. The last exercise had over 40 aircraft, and to include the Navy, participating with the Maritime Operations Center. And it culminated in a Marine F-35 dropping a live, thousand-pound bomb on an artificially intelligence-derived grid that was one meter off from the surveyed grid. And we do these

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exercises quarterly to improve the capability of the
 targeting ability of the Corps. I would look to take that,
 if confirmed, down to CENTCOM, and expound upon that.

4 Chairman Reed: And would that also help us with our 5 issues regarding "over the horizon" sort of suppression of 6 terrorists in Afghanistan?

General Kurilla: Senator, it has capabilities for
8 both, counterterrorism, as well.

9 Chairman Reed: Well, thank you very much, General. I 10 am very confident that you will be confirmed and confident 11 that you will lead with distinction.

12 General Kurilla: Thank you, Chairman.

13 Senator Inhofe: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In the past year, Iran and its proxies have escalated their regional aggression. Hamas launched more than 4,300 rockets at Israel during the May 2021 conflict. The Houthis have increased their attacks on civilian targets in Saudi Arabia. And the U.A.E. and the Iran-backed militias in Iraq, routinely target U.S. personnel, property, and partners.

All this happens while the Biden administration is focusing on returning to the flawed Iran deal, which could provide billions of dollars in sanctions relief for the Iranian regime.

25 Now, General Kurilla, based on what you have observed

of Iran in the past, would you expect Iran to spend at least some of that sanctions relief on its terrorist proxies, and if so, how would this affect the security of our forces in the CENTCOM region?

General Kurilla: Senator, there is a risk with sanctions relief that Iran would use some of that money to support its proxies and terrorism in the region, and if it did, it could increase risk to our forces in the region.

9 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. And, General Kurilla, I have 10 visited for many, many times, our friend, Masoud Barzani in 11 Erbil many times over the years. The Iraqi Kurds are among 12 our most reliable partners in the region and I believe it is 13 important to ensure continued and reliable support to our 14 Kurdish friends, in coordination with the Iraqi Government.

Do you agree that the continued and reliable support to the Kurdish Peshmerga would enhance our partnership and advance our mutual interests in the region, and can you share some insight on the value of our partnership with the Kurds, based on your personal experience, because you had that personal experience?

General Kurilla: Senator, I have worked with our Kurdish partners and found them to be very reliable and very capable. I have worked with them since 2004, on my first tour in Iraq, and as recently as the counter-ISIS fight up in 2014. I have found them to be an incredibly capable and

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1 reliable partner.

2 Senator Inhofe: Yeah. All right. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3 4 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Inhofe. 5 Senator Shaheen, please? 6 Senator Shaheen: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 7 I didn't realize we were still going in seniority 8 order, so I appreciate that. 9 [Laughter.] 10 Senator Shaheen: And congratulations, Lieutenant --Chairman Reed: You have a cheering from the upper 11 12 deck. 13 Senator Shaheen: Yes. Well, General Kurilla, thank 14 you for being here. Congratulations to you and your family 15 on your nomination. We very much appreciate your 16 willingness to serve. 17 And I understand that you are actually leaving directly 18 from this hearing to be part of the task force overseeing 19 the deployment to reinforce our NATO allies, because of 20 Russia's buildup on the Ukrainian and Belarusian border. 21 I wonder what you consider to be the biggest challenge 22 of that deployment? 23 General Kurilla: So, Senator, right now, we are in the 24 process of deploying; and yes, I will be leaving right after 25 the hearing to fly over to be a continued part of that

deployment. I think the challenge is, obviously, moving
 transatlantic with the number of forces we have, our mission
 over there is to assure our NATO allies and detour Russian
 aggression against our NATO allies.

5 Senator Shaheen: And to what extent do you think Putin 6 is hoping for an incident along the border to give him an 7 excuse to go into Ukraine?

8 General Kurilla: Senator, I could not begin to speak 9 for Putin's thoughts, but I do know I am very concerned 10 about a Russian incursion and invasion into Ukraine.

11 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

I want to switch to part of will be your AOR as CENTCOM commander. And one of the things that I am very concerned about is what is happening in the ISIS detainee camps in Syria. The one at Al-Hol has 60,000 family members. It has become a hotbed for a potential radicalization of those family members there.

18 Can you talk about what the strategy ought to be to 19 address those detainee camps? And I know, because you 20 worked with the STF, that they have stated that they are not able to assume long-term responsibility for those detainees 21 22 in those camps, so what should we be doing to address that? 23 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe that there should 24 be a whole-of-government approach and an international 25 effort to both, assist the STF on the repatriation of some

of these detainees. It is approximately 10,000 ISIS
 detainees at about two dozen different detention facilities.
 That is an ISIS army in waiting. We saw that in Hasaka,
 when they attacked the prison.

5 We also have, as you noted, 60,000 family members; over 6 80 percent are children, women and children in the Al-Hol 7 camp. My concern there is the indoctrination that is 8 happening there, and so there must be a whole-of-government 9 approach and an international effort to support the STF on 10 this.

11 Senator Shaheen: And this committee, actually, as part 12 of the Defense Authorization bill last year, passed a 13 requirement to establish a detainee coordinator to help 14 address how we respond in those camps and how we repatriate 15 some of the detainees.

16 Are you aware of that position and do you think that 17 that would be helpful?

18 General Kurilla: Senator, I do think that would be 19 helpful.

20 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

Hopefully, someone is listening to your testimony. I want to go to Iraq because we have seen a series of bomb and grenade attacks taking place over the last week in Baghdad and it is assumed that Iranian-backed militias are responsible for these incidents. So, how can we better hold Iran accountable for these
 kinds of attacks and ensure that our personnel and those
 Iraqis defending their country are protected?

General Kurilla: Senator, I believe the key is that we
have to make sure that we expose the Iranian malign
behavior. I have found that anytime Iran's hand behind us
is exposed, it is helpful.

8 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

9 There was a recent report on a Special Operations-10 directed strike, targeting components of the Tabqa Dam in 11 Syria, despite the dam being on the no-strike list. It is 12 not clear to me how this happened; I haven't seen my reports 13 investigating that.

14 But will you commit to investigating what happened here 15 and to reporting the results to Congress?

16 General Kurilla: Senator, I will, if confirmed.

17 Senator Shaheen: Thank you.

And, finally, we have a law called the Women, Peace and Security Act that is designed to try and ensure that women are involved in our operations and, particularly, in conflict areas. So, can you talk a little bit about how you see that law working in your area of responsibility and what we should be doing and how it could be helpful to what is happening in the Central Command.

25 General Kurilla: Senator, the Women, Peace and

Security Act of 2017, if confirmed, that is an area I would look to see how is CENTCOM employing that law. I think anytime you have women involved in conflict resolution and helping and assisting in the delivery and relief of relief, it is a good thing. So, I think, if confirmed, I would have to take a look at how that is being implemented.

Senator Shaheen: Well, thank you. I look forward to
working with you on that and being helpful in any way I can.
Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Shaheen.

11 Senator Wicker, please?

12 Senator Wicker: General, I think there is widespread 13 agreement that you are the right man for the job. We need 14 to get you back to your base and get your involved in that 15 deployment. I am almost attempted to yield back my time so 16 you can get on about that, but I am not quite convinced that 17 I should do that.

Let me ask you about money. We are now spending money for the Pentagon that was decided on more than a year ago, and that is because of our failure to have a Defense appropriation bill. We are about to do another continuing resolution. People in this town, from the administration, really to DOD, to the Congress seem to sort of view this as an inconvenience and a little bit of a lapse.

How big of a problem is this, and I have got several

1 questions, but is this merely an inconvenience or is CENTCOM 2 really going to take a hit because we can't do our job?

General Kurilla: Senator, I can't speak on behalf of CENTCOM, but I can tell you my personal experience in 18th Airborne Corps. When we have prolonged CRs, it affects readiness, it affects our ability to train, it affects our combat-training centers, our rotary wing flight hours. And I have two armored brigade combat teams in the 18th Airborne Corps; they are very expensive to operate.

10 It affects modernization. It can disrupt 11 modernization. I have an armored brigade combat team that 12 is in a year-long modernization window. They will emerge as 13 the most modernized armored brigade combat team in the Army. 14 The CRs can disrupt that. I don't know the impact if 15 it was to take it all the way out through the year and then 16 have a second armored brigade combat team that is going in 17 the summer.

18 And, lastly, it can affect quality of life. It stops 19 the prevention of new starts, such as military construction 20 for barracks, motor pools and child development centers. 21 Senator Wicker: I may be speaking to the choir about 22 this in this room, but it seems when we bring this up, and 23 any number of members of this committee bring it up, people 24 nod and agree with you, and yet, we are just going to be 25 quite relaxed next week about going to another continuing

1 resolution.

Let me ask you about the Stans that were formerly Soviet Republic, and I am looking at the map here, General, and I see Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan, and then the massive geographic area of Kazakhstan, which covers five time zones.

7 Why are they important to us in the United States and 8 what difference did it make in their leadership seeing how we left Afghanistan, in what I view as a major debacle? 9 10 General Kurilla: Senator, they are very important. That is an area, also, that I think we compete with Russia 11 12 and China. I think with the departure from Afghanistan, 13 there is some security interests that we share with them, 14 and that is, in terms of those that border on Afghanistan, 15 particularly, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, I think we have 16 shared interests on the VEOs and areas that we could 17 potentially partnership with them on the border security to 18 prevent the expansion of the VEOs from coming into their 19 area.

Senator Wicker: But you haven't started this job yet,
but you are anticipating that you will.

Has the leadership of these five former Soviet Republics acting differently after seeing what happened last August in Kabul?

25 General Kurilla: Senator, I am not sure, and, if

confirmed, that is an area that I would take a hard look at. Senator Wicker: If Russia invades Ukraine, how will that, in your judgment, affect how these five former Soviet Republics view their neighbor to the north and the United States?

General Kurilla: Senator, I believe they would have
some concerns with Russia invading Ukraine as that would
look to expand, potentially, one of their former locations.
Senator Wicker: Thank you.

Well, good luck to you, and I am going to yield you a whole 30 seconds to get back and get that deployment going. General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator.

13 Senator Wicker: I yield back.

14 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Wicker.

15 Senator Hirono, please?

16 Senator Hirono: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, General, for your service. You have a lotof experience in your AOR.

I start the questioning of all nominees to any positions in any of the committees I sit on, and these are the following two questions that I ask all nominees. Since you became a legal adult, have you ever made unwanted requests for sexual favors or committed any verbal or physical harassment or assault of a sexual nature? General Kurilla: No, Senator.

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Senator Hirono: Have you ever faced discipline or
 entered into a settlement, related to this kind of conduct?
 General Kurilla: No, Senator.

Senator Hirono: General, I am very concerned, along
with other members of this committee, very concerned about
the ongoing issue of the poor treatment of Afghan women and
girls, especially since our withdrawal and the Taliban's
return to power.

9 Recently, President Biden appointed Rina Amiri, as U.S. 10 special envoy for Afghan women, girls, and human rights, to 11 spearhead an interagency effort to advance the rights of 12 Afghan women and girls.

As commander of Central Command, what do you see your role in supporting Ms. Amiri, USAID, and other agencies, in supporting the rights of Afghan women and girls?

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, that is an area that I would look at to analyze how CENTCOM can be a part of a whole-of-government approach.

Senator Hirono: I like the fact that you have used "whole-of-government" in your response to a number of questions. And I think that is a very good idea, because "whole-of-government" means, I would say, the active involvement of the State Department and, also, any of our allies.

25 So, you know, I would be interested, if confirmed, how

you will proceed in this area, since the fate of Afghan
 women and girls is something that weighs very heavily on a
 number of us and our challenges and getting or rescuing many
 of them out of the country remains very difficult.

5 You mentioned Iran as being the number one 6 destabilizing actor in the Middle East. And, again, with 7 the Iran whole-of-government approach and how to contain 8 their malign activities and you said that when Iranian 9 malign behavior is exposed, it is helpful.

Can you just describe what you consider an example of Iranians malign behavior, which would be helpful to expose, and what do you mean by, it is helpful to expose such behavior?"

14 General Kurilla: Senator, when we see the Iran proxies 15 and those Iranian-aligned militia groups that are either 16 firing rockets at our embassy in Iraq, they are firing at 17 our troops inside of Syria. They support the Houthis and 18 they are providing that technology to them, to fire 19 ballistic missiles into the U.A.E. and into Saudi Arabia. 20 When we exposed the Iranian hand behind that, it causes 21 them to react. 22 Senator Hirono: It causes who to react?

23 General Kurilla: The Iranians to react.

24 Senator Hirono: How would they react; would they pull
25 back their --

General Kurilla: Ma'am, they try and hide their behavior and it can cause them to not take action for a period of time; that is my experience, when I was down at CENTCOM.

5 Senator Hirono: You were asked some questions 6 regarding the JCPOA and that President Biden joined U.S. 7 allies, France, Germany, the U.K., and Ireland in a 8 statement noting that a return to a JCPOA would result in 9 both, in sanctions lifting a law for enhanced regional 10 partnerships and a reduced risk of a nuclear crisis that 11 would derail regional diplomacy.

What are your thoughts on a return to the JCPOA and would rejoining the agreement be a positive step in containing Iran's nuclear ambitions?

As far as I am concerned, there is no question that our membership in the JCPOA enabled us to really track what Iran was doing. Would a return to the JCPOA really, greatly enhance efforts to contain Iran's nuclear ambitions?

General Kurilla: Senator, I am not aware of the exact details of the ongoing negotiations, but I am supportive of any enforceable agreement that limits Tehran's ability to gain nuclear weapons.

23 Senator Hirono: I think a large part of that would be 24 to have an agreement, such as a JCPOA, and, unfortunately, 25 that is not where we are.

1 If confirmed, how do you plan to work with partners and 2 allies to confront the challenges presented by Iran? Senator, if confirmed, I will have to 3 General Kurilla: 4 take a hard look at the partners and allies. Each one of them bring different capabilities. I think there is some 5 6 opportunities in an integrated air-and-missile defense, 7 particularly, with Israel, now under the CENTCOM area of 8 responsibility, that they can do some partnerships in terms 9 of increasing the capability. 10 Senator Hirono: Thank you. I would say that Israel would be a major partner in 11 12 that effort. 13 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 14 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hirono. 15 Senator Fischer, please? 16 Senator Fischer: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 17 Welcome, General, to you and your family, and thank 18 you, sir, for your many years of service to this country. 19 General, we read in the Washington Post about an Army 20 review of the Afghanistan drawdown. The report highlights 21 the extent to which the Biden administration's poor planning 22 forced our servicemembers into an incredibly dangerous and 23 an incredibly chaotic situation during that evacuation. 24 I know that you are not responsible for this report, 25 but, if confirmed, do I have your word that if future

1 reports like this are completed, that this committee will
2 learn about them from you and not from the morning paper?

3 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

4 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

5 I wouldn't think that members of this committee would 6 have to make a FOIA request in order to learn information 7 that should be brought forward in a positive way to keep us 8 informed so we can perform our oversight responsibilities.

9 General, based on your prior experience that you have 10 had in the region, your knowledge of the region, what do you 11 assess to be the most significant challenges for CENTCOM to 12 carry out an "over the horizon" counterterrorism strategy in 13 Afghanistan?

General Kurilla: Senator, "over the horizon" 14 15 capability is extremely difficult, but not impossible. I 16 think the biggest challenge for Afghanistan is that it is a 17 landlocked country. We rely on another nation for an air 18 line of communication to be able to enter Afghanistan. The 19 distances required to fly ISR is great. We spend 20 approximately two-thirds of the time flying there and getting back, versus over the target. So, it is a resource-21 22 intensive to be able to do the finding, and then the fixing, 23 and then the finishing of those targets that you are going 24 after.

25

I think we need to reinvest in a lot of our

intelligence capabilities, our human-intelligence capability
 that was lost during the withdrawal.

3 Senator Fischer: Do you anticipate that we will have 4 more success in the future on being able to find those 5 partners on the ground?

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, I will need to
7 make an assessment of that.

8 Senator Fischer: Do you know of any ongoing 9 conversations about basing agreements with neighboring 10 countries that would be helpful to us in being able to do 11 "over the horizon" CT?

General Kurilla: Senator, I am not aware of any detailed discussions going on, but I know that there are discussions happening right now, that could ease the distances that are required.

16 Senator Fischer: I would hope if you do, you would 17 contact us so that we can keep up to date on the progress, 18 or lack thereof, in this regard, because it is so vital to 19 our commitments that we have and in Afghanistan and the 20 needs that we have to meet in Afghanistan.

I hope that you will do that review process. We heard from Secretary Kahl in October ISIS-K could generate the capability to attack our homeland by April. That is not too far away from today. And if there needs to be a change in strategy, if CENTCOM needs to be resourced differently, I

would hope that you would bring that to our attention, as
well.

3 General Kurilla: Senator, I will.

4 Senator Fischer: Thank you.

5 When you were speaking about partners and allies and 6 our need for partners and allies, especially in dealing with 7 Iran and their proxies, are there specific ways that you 8 feel we could help our partners defend themselves with 9 regard to missile and drone attacks?

General Kurilla: Senator, I believe that is probably the area with some of the greatest opportunity in terms of working towards and integrated air and missile defense. The addition of Israel to the AOR, I think, will help with that.

I think there are areas, also, in terms of cyber defense. We are collectively stronger together, when we work together, so there are areas there that each one brings unique capabilities in terms of that.

18 Senator Fischer: From your comments, I would imagine 19 that you would, then, be a strong advocate for providing 20 Israel with the defensive means that they need?

21 General Kurilla: Senator, I am.

22 Senator Fischer: Thank you very much.

23 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

24 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Fischer.

25 Now, via Webex, let me recognize Senator Gillibrand.

Senator Gillibrand: Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.
 In recent years, Beijing has elevated the Middle East
 strategic significance by building commercial ports in
 Pakistan. They are beginning another port project in
 U.A.E., which was halted by U.S. pressure.

6 We try and rely for the Persian Gulf for nearly half 7 its energy supply. Do you view countering the expansion of 8 China's Belt and Road Initiative in the CENTCOM area 9 responsibility as a fundamental priority?

10

General Kurilla: Senator, I do.

11 Right now, 18 of 21 countries in the CENTCOM AOR have 12 signed agreements, strategic agreements for Belt and Road 13 Initiatives with China. China has increased their spending 14 360 percent in the Middle East. So, I believe it is of 15 great concern.

And what we have to do is expose their predatory practices, where they treat every country as a client or a customer; where we deal in relationships and we are partners and allies.

Senator Gillibrand: So, how does countering China in
the region balance against some of our other
counterterrorism commitments with regional partners?
General Kurilla: Senator, I believe we can do both.
Senator Gillibrand: Reports last year emerged that
Saudi Arabia purchased ballistic missiles from China, while

also manufacturing its own ballistic weapons using Chinese
 technology.

Are you concerned that China is forging technological relationships with countries, such as Saudi Arabia, to further enhance the ballistic missile capabilities of regional actors; also, do you have a broader concern that our traditional allies in CENTCOM should be shifting towards China as we potentially focus on other regions across the global?

General Kurilla: Senator, I am very concerned with China's military involvement, as well as, in terms of these agreements. Three of the top purchasers of their UAVs are out of the Middle East. The technological agreements they have with Huawei; five major Middle Eastern countries have also come into agreements with them, so I am very concerned with that.

Senator Gillibrand: And you will give us any guidance to the extent you need additional resources or authorities to address those concerns?

20 General Kurilla: Senator, I would not hesitate to do 21 that.

22 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

A recent NDAA-directed RAND study pointed out numerous shortcomings in the DOD's investigation in response to civilian casualties. It concluded a number of

recommendations to improve DOD's internal and external
 process conducting tactical strikes. One specific issue
 RAND highlighted is the need for the Department of Defense
 to better engage with non-governmental organizations to
 develop a better situational assessment for civilian casualty incidents.

7 If confirmed, will you continue to prioritize effective 8 CIVCAS response within your command and do we have your 9 commitment that CENTCOM will improve and regulate and engage 10 with NGOs on this issue?

11 General Kurilla: Senator, I do.

12 Senator Gillibrand: Thank you.

My last question. As the military shifts focus to great power competition, low-intensity conflicts in the Middle East may lose significant resources.

Can you discuss how forced-planning concepts, like dynamic force employment, that is the ability to rapidly shift key U.S. military assets from one theater to the other, will allow the U.S. to divert resources from CENTCOM to meet the challenges faced by near-peer competitors, if necessary.

General Kurilla: Senator, that is going to have to be -- if confirmed, I would have to make an assessment of the impact of those DFEs. The challenge with counterterrorism efforts are that they do take time to develop the targets;

it is finding the targets and fixing them. Dynamic Force
 Employment could come in for a finish, potentially, but,
 really, the effort goes into the findings and the fixing.
 Senator Gillibrand: Okay. Well, thank you so much.

5 And thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Kurilla: Senator, thank you for your support
for 10th Mountain up in Fort Drum; part of 18th Airborne
8 Corps.

9 Senator Gillibrand: My pleasure and privilege.
10 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Gillibrand.
11 Now, let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Rounds.
12 Senator Rounds: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Kurilla, first of all, I did enjoy our visit in my office and I can share with you that I do believe that you are the right man for the job right now, and I look forward to supporting your nomination.

I would like to explore a little bit along the lines that Senator Fischer began, with regard to the "over the horizon" capabilities. I think this is something that we have got to be able to explain in terms of the challenges here a little bit better.

One item that we talked about was literally the number of units necessary to maintain surveillance over a particular area. Would you just take a minute or so and dive in a little bit deeper with regards to the challenges

of "over the horizon" capabilities that we face with regard
 to Afghanistan.

3 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

4 So, just using an MQ-9 Reaper as an example, you have 5 the normal ones with an extended range can go up to 30 hours б of endurance. If it is taking you 10 hours to get to a 7 target and 10 hours to fly back, to be able to keep a single 8 sensor over that target, you are going to have to have two 9 and a half MQ-9s; one taking off every 10 hours, to be able 10 to be over the target for just one sensor to be able to 11 develop that target.

In Afghanistan, when we were doing operations, sometimes I would have up to 12 sensors on a target to be able to follow individuals, develop the target.

And it is also used in civilian-casualty mitigation, because you are watching all the approaches to that target when you are taking a strike. So, it can be very resource intensive.

Senator Rounds: I think that is the critical part here, is when we talk about "over the horizon" capabilities, it is extremely equipment intensive and it will take a huge amount of resources in order to be successful in the Afghanistan region.

Your background is one of developing and moving ahead
with regard to technologies. With regard to the 18th

1 Airborne Corps, would you share a little bit about the 2 challenges that you found in terms of bringing in and using the newest technology, including the threats of 3 4 cybersecurity or cyberattacks, what you found you needed to 5 do in order to keep the team up to speed, and talk just a 6 little bit about with regard to artificial intelligence; the 7 fact that this is not something in the future, but rather, 8 something that we are faced with right now.

9 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe it is the next 10 revolution in military affairs.

I find the biggest challenge is actually the data literacy and the education of our current force, and particularly, with kind of the older generation of us. It is really our younger generation does get a lot of this.

The challenge you have is being able to, then, take this, and how do you fight with artificial intelligence. What we have discovered is that the human must be in the loop. An individual human augmented by artificial intelligence is far more effective than just artificial intelligence on its own right now.

We do these quarterly exercises called "Scarlet Dragon." Every quarter, we will bring in all six services and we go through the process of how can we increase the scale and scope of targeting against a near-peer in a largescale combat operation. And we have found that we were able

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to exponentially increase that capability to sort through hundreds of targets, to pick the right targets, to be able to strike moving at machine to machine, and directly to an aircraft.

5 Senator Rounds: Tell us how to integrate that with 6 regard to the AOR that you are going to be responsible for. 7 You now have Israel as a part of this AOR. They are an 8 ally. They have significant capabilities.

9 As you move forward, do you see some real opportunities 10 here to coordinate with Israel with regard to cybersecurity, 11 AI, and sort of, in an integrated defense program?

General Kurilla: Senator, I think there are tremendous opportunities to partner with, not just Israel, but with all the partners in the region, in terms of that.

Senator Rounds: Can you talk a little bit about, with regard to Iran, the threats that you see with regard to cybersecurity threats emanating from Iran.

General Kurilla: Senator, Iran has a very capable offensive cyber capability. We see that playing out in the CENTCOM region right now. So, I think the areas that we can work on is hardening our cyber defenses of our partners in the region.

23 Senator Rounds: They talk about Iran having access to 24 ransomware and, as such, since it is normally used by 25 criminals, it is one way in which they can, perhaps, hide

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1 some of their activities.

2 Would you agree that Iran is a threat, with regard to 3 ransomware at this time? 4 General Kurilla: Senator, I do agree. 5 Senator Rounds: Thank you. 6 Mr. Chairman, I yield back my 10 seconds. 7 Thank you, sir. 8 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Rounds. 9 Now, let me recognize, via Webex, Senator King. 10 Senator King: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. First, I want to compliment our colleague Senator 11 12 Gillibrand; I thought her questions on China and China's 13 growing influence in the region were very perceptive and 14 important, and something that we often don't think much 15 about. 16 General, it is hard to ever utter the phrase 17 "cooperation" and "Taliban" in the same sentence, but we have a common enemy in ISIS-K. The Taliban doesn't like 18 19 We don't like them. They are a danger to us. them. They 20 are a danger to them. 21 Is there an opportunity for developing a kind of, 22 compartmented relationship, if you will, with the Taliban, 23 with regard to ISIS-K? 24 We are able, we have been able to use the ALoC through 25 Pakistan for ISR, but there has been no kinetic strike yet

and there is some question as to what effect that would have
 on the relationship to the Taliban and Pakistan.

The short question is, is there room for some relationship with the Taliban that could help us, and help them, with the problem of ISIS-K?

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, that is an
area that I would have to do a deep study on, but I do
think, in my personal opinion, there are pragmatic instances
where we could come together, going after ISIS-K, based on
the threat to the homeland.

Senator King: Well, I would hope so, because as they say, the old saying is that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. So, there may be an opportunity there to deal with the threat of ISIS-K, which I think is very significant and growing.

16 How do we assist with the humanitarian crisis in 17 Afghanistan, without, at the same time, assisting the 18 Taliban? Are there avenues to provide support that we can 19 avail ourselves of that don't shore up the Taliban regime? 20 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe the most important thing would be to make sure that it is transparent and it 21 22 does not fall into the hands of the Taliban and is used as 23 a, that they can weaponize it. I think an opportunity 24 potentially exists with the U.N. food program. They are a 25 very transparent and accountable organization. To be able

to provide funding of relief, I also think working with
 Pakistan, they have a shared interest in that because of the
 refugees coming out of Afghanistan right now into Pakistan.

Senator King: Moving to Iraq, there appears in recent
years, or in the recent, last year or so, a decline of
Iran's influence in Iraq with Sadr and with some of the
militias.

8 How do you assess the situation in Iraq; is there an 9 opportunity for us to leave there or should we have to maintain a presence in order to offset Iran's influence? 10 11 General Kurilla: Senator, we are in Iraq right now for 12 the enduring defeat of ISIS and to maintain our strategic 13 relationship with the Government of Iraq. I think that the 14 partnership that we have with them on the enduring defeat of 15 ISIS is very important. The Iraqi Security Forces do have a 16 very capable force, but it is not, it can still grow and 17 needs to develop so that it is self-sustaining for being 18 able to go after ISIS.

Senator King: And as you mentioned earlier, one of our key allies there are the Iraqi Kurds, which have been reliable and capable allies throughout this entire process in the Middle East.

General Kurilla: Senator, I have worked a lot with the Kurds and they are a very capable and reliable partner. Senator King: How do you assess the addition of

Israel, the moving of Israel from EUCOM to CENTCOM in terms of your job and the ability to deal with the Middle East as a coherent entity?

4 General Kurilla: Senator, I think there is significant 5 opportunity with the addition of Israel. It starts with the 6 Abraham Accords, the normalization of relationships between 7 Israel and Arab nations. We have both, Bahrain and the 8 United Arab Emirates, and that has caused them to start 9 talking. And when you are talking, you are lowering the 10 temperature in the room. There is talk of security cooperation, as well, and I think that is only a good thing. 11 12 Senator King: Finally, in your military judgment, we 13 have been having discussions about the JCPOA and whether to 14 re-enter, and everybody is committed to Iran not achieving a 15 nuclear weapon. In the absence of diplomacy or some kind of 16 enforceable agreement, what are the military options, 17 realistically, for eliminating Iran's nuclear capability? 18 General Kurilla: Senator, my current job, I am not 19 aware of the current military options. My only concern 20 would be that you can never take away the intellectual knowledge that they have on how to increase their nuclear 21 22 capability and then the reaction that Iran would have of any 23 strike on them.

24 [Pause.]

25 Chairman Reed: Senator King, we cannot hear you and

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your time has expired. So, with your permission, let me
 recognize Senator Cotton. Thank you.

3 Senator Cotton: General, welcome to the committee and 4 congratulations on your nomination. It is a very important 5 post in the long and illustrious posts that you have held 6 over your distinguished career. Thank you for your service 7 to our nation.

8 We have had a lot of talk about Iran this morning in 9 the committee, in part, because Iran is the worst country in 10 your region. They are the world's worst sponsor for state 11 terrorism. They are behind almost every proxy war in the 12 region, to say nothing of what they are doing in trying to 13 obtain nuclear weapons.

If it becomes clear that Iran is actively pursuing a nuclear weapon, does Central Command have the resources necessary, should the Commander in Chief, President Biden, direct a military strike against Iran?

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, I would have to look at the mission and the resources required and I would come back to the chairman and the secretary if additional resources were required.

22 Senator Cotton: Can you commit that you will do that 23 and that you will give your best professional military 24 judgment about what resources would be needed to carry out 25 such a mission?

1

General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

2 Senator Cotton: Senator King just spoke about Iran 3 getting a nuclear weapon and how we all think that Iran 4 should not have a nuclear weapon, and that is what President 5 Obama frequently said in 2015, in defending the nuclear 6 deal, that Iran, that he would not allow Iran to obtain the 7 bomb. I think President Biden just said something similar.

8 That leaves open the possibility that we would allow 9 Iran to get right up to the threshold of getting a nuclear 10 weapon; the proverbial turn of the screwdriver, if you will, 11 the way a country like Japan is today. I mean, people worry 12 about Japan being one step away from a nuclear weapon 13 because Japan is not run by a bunch of crazed theocrats.

14 It may be one thing to say the United States could live 15 with an Iran that is one turn of the screwdriver away from 16 getting a nuclear weapon. Can a country like Israel live 17 under those circumstances, though, or what about Saudi 18 Arabia or the other Arab nations in the region?

19 General Kurilla: Senator, my concern would be Iran 20 being a nuclear threshold state, that it could be very 21 destabilizing to the region and cause others to attempt to 22 work on their defense.

23 Senator Cotton: But even if they don't have a nuclear 24 weapon and don't have a demonstrated capability, if they are 25 simply a nuclear threshold state, it would embolden them 1 that much more; that is your point?

2 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

3 Senator Cotton: Yeah. I think you are right about 4 that.

5 One incredibly emboldened action I have seen over the 6 last couple of months is that Iran's proxies in Yemen are 7 firing ballistic missiles and one-way drones into the 8 Emirates and some of those are attacking bases where we have 9 American troops.

What do you make of this incredibly provocative and escalatory action coming out of Iran's Yemeni proxies? General Kurilla: Senator that is an example of Iranian malign behavior and aggressive behavior from their proxies in the region.

15 Senator Cotton: Why do you think, so, they have been 16 doing that to Saudi Arabia, in Southwestern and Western 17 Saudi Arabia for a few years, why do you think in the last 18 couple of months, those proxies in Yemen are now firing 19 those missiles or drones all the way into the Emirates? 20 General Kurilla: Senator, my personal opinion is part of that is because of the advances of the Giants Brigade 21 22 down in Yemen took back areas like al-Shabwa Province from 23 the Houthis, and that is their reaction back to the U.A.E. But I would have to have, if confirmed, do a deeper 24 25 study on that.

Senator Cotton: What would you do if you were sitting
 in Abu Dhabi and you had missiles and drones flying into
 your territory, just sort of hitting your bases or hitting
 the Burj Khalifa?

General Kurilla: Senator, if I am the CENTCOM
commander with forces there, I would use the Patriots and
THAAD Systems that we have in the theater to shoot them
down.

9 Senator Cotton: Do you think we currently have enough 10 of those systems in the region to protect, not only our 11 allies, but in this case, again, it was our troops; our 12 troops at bases in the Emirates?

General Kurilla: Senator, I think that one of the advances that we can look at doing is increasing the integrated air and missile defense in the region of our partners and allies to contribute to make sure that they are all integrated.

18 Senator Cotton: I mean, based on the threat we have 19 seen coming out of Yemen in these last couple months, I 20 think it is going to be one of the most urgent priorities 21 you face; both making sure we have the resources we need, 22 but also working with our partners to help them.

Because I don't think, as Iran is emboldened, I don't think this threat is going to increase; I think it is only going to increase. Again, we are just talking about it

coming out of Yemen, not other places, where they are
 supplying proxies with similar missiles or drones.

One final point. I kind of get irritated when I see reports about the F-22s and F-35s bombing insurgencies or, you know, in 2017, I think we bombed a drug factory with an F-22.

7 Can we do a better job about not using advanced fifth8 generation aircraft to bomb low-threat first-generation
9 targets?

10 General Kurilla: Senator, as a military person, if that is the only asset available, I would use that asset. 11 12 Senator Cotton: I got that. I would like to see 13 better asset-planning, though, so those aircraft are 14 directed towards countries like China with advanced air 15 defenses and fifth-generation fighters, themselves, and 16 older-generation aircraft are directed against ISIS and al 17 Qaeda.

18 General Kurilla: Certainly.

Senator Cotton: One final question. There has also been a lot of talk about the "over the horizon" strike capacity in Afghanistan. I think that would be better termed "over the rainbow" strike capacity.

How can we possibly be striking into Afghanistan without intelligence on the ground and when we are completely beholden to Pakistan for giving access to their

1 airspace; it is a big problem, isn't it? 2 General Kurilla: Senator, it is a challenge. Senator Cotton: All right. Good luck trying to 3 4 conquer that challenge. We need you to. 5 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator. 6 Senator Cotton: Thank you. Congratulations, again. 7 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Cotton. 8 Now, let me recognize Senator Blumenthal. 9 Senator Blumenthal: Thanks, Mr. Chairman. 10 General, welcome to the committee and thank you for 11 your services. Thanks to talking with me the other day, as 12 we did on the phone, and answering my questions, as 13 insightfully and forthrightly as you are doing here at the 14 committee. And I look forward to visiting with you during 15 your service in CENTCOM. 16 As you and I discussed, I am very deeply concerned, in 17 fact, frustrated and even angry about the slow pace of the 18 evacuation of at-risk Afghanistan allies and, potentially, 19 Americans from Afghanistan. We have been dwelling in this

20 committee hearing mostly on the use of American power, our 21 military power, but our credibility and power around the 22 world depend on our keeping our word.

We have given our word to the translators and interpreters and guards and drivers and all the Afghans who put their lives on the line to protect our troops and

diplomats during the 20 years of our engagement there in combat, and I worry about our credibility around the world and our credibility in the next struggle.

4 Two of my sons have served. One was an infantry 5 officer, a Marine Corps officer in Afghanistan. It took him 6 2 years to bring over his interpreter. The other was a Navy 7 SEAL. And I just want to say how grateful I am to the 8 veterans groups for their support in the continuing effort 9 to enable those at-risk, Afghan allies to come to this 10 country.

But I have been frustrated by, frankly, our State Department's seeming reluctance to be as engaged as it should be in this effort. And a number of us colleagues have joined, Senator Graham, Senator Ernst, myself, Senator Cardin, in a measure called "Honor Our Commitment," which would try to enable more of those at-risk, Afghan allies to come here.

Let me ask you, what capacity do you think CENTCOM has to facilitate the continued evacuation of the Afghan allies who remain at risk in that country?

I know it is winter there, as it is here. The airport has failings, but we are America; we can fly in and out of that airport. Can CENTCOM play a role in facilitating the evacuation of those at-risk, Afghan allies, if asked to do so?

1 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe we have a moral 2 obligation to help those at-risk Afghans to come out of Afghanistan. If confirmed, I commit to you to look at what 3 4 options are available to be able to assist in that 5 Department of State. 6 Senator Blumenthal: Will you commit to come back to 7 the committee, I think it is implied in your answer, with 8 such a plan and a description of the options and assets that 9 could be made available? 10 General Kurilla: Senator, I will. Senator Blumenthal: 11 Thank you. 12 Do you think that there is, there are necessary assets 13 in CENTCOM right now, if you know, to support that kind of 14 plan? 15 General Kurilla: Senator, I would have to look at the 16 current missions, if confirmed, look at the current missions 17 assigned to CENTCOM, the resources allocated, and identify 18 the risks associated against all of those, if that 19 additional mission is applied, what resources, and does that place others at risk, or go back for additional resourcing 20 21 for that. 22 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you. 23 Well, I welcome your commitment to come to us with a 24 plan and description of the assets that could be made 25 available, and if necessary, additional assets that would be 54

1 required. Thank you.

Let me ask you a final question. When we are talking about defending against missiles and our allies that need those defenses, the Iron Dome is one very reliable and important means of Israel defending against its adversary's missiles. Would you agree that replenishment of the Iron Dome capacities of Israel is important to the security of that country and potentially our own?

9 General Kurilla: Senator, you know, the U.S. Army just 10 got two Iron Dome batteries that are going through testing 11 and evaluation and I believe it has had about a 90 percent 12 kill rate in terms of being able to knock down targets, but 13 I do think the Iron Dome should be funded.

Senator Blumenthal: And that it should be funded and replenished for Israel, because, as you have absolutely correctly observed, it is a very reliable, defensive, emphasize defensive, mechanism.

18 General Kurilla: It is, Senator.

19 Senator Blumenthal: Thank you very much, General.20 Good luck.

21 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator

22 Blumenthal.

23 Senator Ernst, please?

24 Senator Ernst: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

25 General Kurilla, thank you so much for being here today

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1 and for your many, many years of service.

And to Mary Paige, and to your daughters, as well,
thank you for the love and support that you have given to
General Kurilla.

5 I am coming from a unique perspective here, in that, б General Kurilla, I have had the opportunity to know you 7 better than 25 years, closer to 30, and I have had the 8 opportunity to watch your career and I am extremely 9 impressed with the path that you have chosen and has been 10 chosen for you. I am very excited about your opportunity to 11 serve as our CENTCOM commander. And while you can't assume 12 confirmation, I absolutely can, because I will be 13 supporting.

We have talked about a number of issues today, and I will associate with so many of my colleagues in the threats that we are seeing around the globe. China's influence in CENTCOM, Russia's influence in CENTCOM, certainly, Iran, and then you also have all of the violent extremist

19 organizations on your plate, as well.

20 Senator Blumenthal's point, as far as those we have 21 left behind in Afghanistan, that remains heavy on my heart, 22 as well. So many of us are working to find opportunities to 23 bring these folks out of Afghanistan and safely into, 24 whether it is third countries or into the United States. 25 So, I look forward to your partnership there.

1 So, we have talked through so many of those issues, but 2 beyond being tactically proficient and sound at your craft, which you are, there are other things that commanders do 3 4 need to be concerned about, and that is the health and 5 welfare of their soldiers. And we all know and understand б in the SOF community that humans are more important than 7 hardware and you exhibited that in the 82nd Airborne with 8 focusing on mental health and brain health and the checkup 9 from the neck up.

And if you could talk a little bit about the importance of mental health and well-being of your soldiers and what you will do to continue those types of movements within CENTCOM.

14 General Kurilla: Senator, thank you.

15 Senator, one of the areas that we are trying to look at 16 right now in terms of mental health, we know that anytime a 17 soldier does a permanent change of station, that is a very 18 high-stress environment, and so our medical professionals do 19 a screening of, a full-evaluation screening of everyone 20 coming into Fort Bragg right now, regardless of the unit, and we identify those that are either moderate or high-risk, 21 22 and they are able to talk to a mental health professional that day. Sometimes we can miss the transition from someone 23 24 who is coming from one installation to another.

And so, we start with there, and then we also make sure

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1 that they have the availability of the mental health 2 professionals. Additionally, we have an ongoing effort right now, whether you are an El Private or an 09 Lieutenant 3 4 General, that you must go get, talk to a behavioral health 5 specialist annually, we do it for our teeth, annually, 6 because you never know what someone is going to say behind 7 closed doors. They might be able to talk about some 8 challenges and issues they have, and if that saves one life, 9 then it is worth it. So, we are working through that right 10 now.

11 Senator Ernst: And by having every soldier and every 12 officer do that, do you feel that that takes away the stigma 13 of having those conversations?

General Kurilla: One hundred percent, Senator. When they know that that individual has to go in behind there, you never know what someone is going to say behind closed doors. And if they know that I even have to go behind there and talk to a behavioral health specialist that can only help reduce the stigma.

20 Senator Ernst: Absolutely. I appreciate that and look 21 forward to working with you on those efforts, as well.

Again, there are so many challenges that exist across the spectrum. "Over the horizon," I know, as we spoke the other day, you will go into the position, you know, you know, I am assuming confirmation for you, but going into

1 your position, you will do an assessment and I believe that 2 you will, at some point, come back to the committee, and if you need additional resources, you will absolutely let us 3 4 know; is that correct? 5 General Kurilla: Yes, it is, Senator. 6 Senator Ernst: Okay. We look forward to that 7 discussion. 8 And, again, I am going to yield back the last 30 9 seconds, but, General Kurilla, I know that you have the 10 intestinal fortitude to move quickly and easily into this 11 position. I wholly support your confirmation. 12 God bless you. Thank you so much for your service to our great United States. 13 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator. 14 15 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Ernst. 16 Senator Warren, please? 17 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 18 And General Kurilla, welcome to you and your family, 19 and congratulations on your nomination. 20 I would like to focus on one of the topics that you and I discussed when we met last week: civilian casualties. 21 Ι 22 think everyone in this room can agree that U.S. military 23 operations kill far too many civilians. In the past 2 24 decades, the United States has killed tens of thousands of 25 innocent people, including hundreds of women and children,

across a half dozen countries in the Middle East in the
 Africa.

3 Now, we will likely never know the true numbers, given 4 the difficulty of accurate reporting and the Pentagon's 5 failure to fully investigator reports of civilian harm. 6 This has been the unfortunate reality of U.S. military 7 operations, despite congressional oversight, despite dozens 8 of watchdog groups raising the alarm, and despite 9 documenting the harm, and despite DOD's own efforts and 10 attempts at reform, designed to improve how it protects 11 civilians.

So, General, you have been nominated to lead the United States' military operations in an AOR that has even the lion's share of these casualties. Civilian casualties, obviously, they destroy the lives of those affected, and that alone, is reason enough for reforms.

17 But, would you also agree that these civilian 18 casualties harm our credibility abroad and fuel the very 19 insurgencies that we are fighting against? 20 General Kurilla: Senator, they do. Senator Warren: Good, I mean, that you recognize this. 21 22 Do you want to say more about that? 23 General Kurilla: Senator, every civilian casualty is a 24 tragedy. I know there is a process right now down at 25 CENTCOM, if confirmed, I would look to see how I can improve

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1 upon that process.

Senator Warren: Well, you know, it is clear that we do
need reforms and I am glad that you want to focus on this.

4 But instead of tackling this problem head-on, the 5 Pentagon has repeatedly weakened accountability for civilian 6 Most recently, there was reporting from The New casualties. York Times that detailed a secretive U.S. task force that 7 8 used loopholes in the law to sidestep safeguards that were 9 designed to protect against civilian casualties. The Times 10 also found that DOD prematurely dismissed many civilian casualty reports at the assessment phase, without doing 11 12 basic due diligence, like internet searches or searches in 13 Arabic.

General, do you agree that any credible reports of civilian casualties deserve the Pentagon's full attention and thorough investigation?

General Kurilla: Senator, I do, and I think the Secretary of Defense's new Civilian Harm Mitigation and Response Plan of action that he has asked to come back in 90 days from 27 of January. If confirmed, I would look to be able to participate in that to make the process better.

22 Senator Warren: Good. Well, I am glad to hear that 23 you are committed to a full investigation. We will see what 24 happens with the reforms.

25 You know, it is clear that additional reforms are

needed. I have ideas on that front. I am sure there are
 others; I am not alone on this.

So, let me just see, I know we have a report coming 3 4 out, but, General, if confirmed, will you commit to 5 prioritizing reforms that will mitigate civilian casualties, 6 resulting from U.S. operations and improving accountability 7 and transparency at the Pentagon on this issue? 8 General Kurilla: Senator, I will. 9 Senator Warren: Good. I really appreciate it, 10 General, and I want to say thank you. You know, I have said it before, but it deserves 11

12 repeating: the system is broken. We cannot accept the 13 deaths of innocent civilians as just an unavoidable cost of 14 warfare. It is long past time that DOD addresses the harms 15 that U.S. military operations have caused and implement 16 meaningful reforms that de-emphasize lethal force and 17 prioritize civilian lives.

I have already asked President Biden to incorporate these ideals into his upcoming counterterrorism review, but, General, if confirmed, I think you are going to have an opportunity to set the standard to protecting innocent lives and actually implement some real change here.

23 So, I look forward to working with you. I hope we can 24 make some improvements in this area. Thank you.

25 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator.

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1 Senator Warren: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Warren. 3 Let me recognize Senator Tillis, please. 4 Senator Tillis: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 5 General, thank you for being here. Congratulations on б your nomination. I intend to support you, as well. I don't 7 gamble, but I do bet from time to time, and that is when I 8 am absolutely certain that I am going to win it. So, I have 9 to agree with Senator Ernst; I have you will have strong 10 support from this committee. I have one, or a couple of questions. One is within 11 12 your current area of responsibility, but do you believe the 13 decision to employ elements out of Fort Bragg to Poland and to Germany was a wise decision from a reassurance 14 15 standpoint? 16 General Kurilla: Senator, the mission we were given 17 was to reassure our NATO allies and to detour Russian 18 aggression against those NATO allies. So, we were deploying 19 elements of the 18th Airborne Corps headquarters, the 82nd 20 Airborne Division, and other elements of 18th Airborne Corps 21 to Poland and Germany. 22 Senator Tillis: A question, I don't know if it has 23 been asked before, but within your future area of 24 responsibility, do you have any concerns at all with the

25 continued implementation of the vaccine mandate and

1 readiness of our troops' strength?

2 General Kurilla: Senator, I don't have any concerns3 with that right now.

Senator Tillis: I did have a question related to what Senator Warren said, so just more curiosity, I don't know the answer to this, but do you have access to a body of knowledge that would say in the past years, that the United States has been responsible for the killing of tens of thousands of innocent civilians in this area of

10 responsibility?

11 General Kurilla: Senator, I am not aware of the exact 12 number.

13 Senator Tillis: It would seem to me that it would be 14 far less than that. And one question that I have about it, 15 at least in some of the after-action reports that I have 16 seen, it appears as though ISIS, in particular, finds a way 17 to embed itself in populations where they are putting maybe 18 some innocent lives in harm's way, but do you agree that 19 that tends to be a tactic of theirs and we are doing 20 everything we can to be more surgical in our approach to taking out bad actors, but recognizing that innocent 21 22 civilians are not something that our military is in the 23 business of trying to do?

General Kurilla: Senator, I am, in my past
experiences, I have seen these ISIS, al Qaeda, Taliban do

1 hide among the population and we do our absolute best to try 2 and not harm civilians.

Senator Tillis: Well, we can always get better, and I 3 4 do agree with some of Senator Warren's comment about how do 5 we get better, but I also think that we have to recognize б that we are talking about people, particularly in 7 Afghanistan, where we are concerned with their 8 reconstitution, either ISIS or al Qaeda, now in a breeding 9 ground to, I think, potential attacks within that area of 10 responsibility and within the homeland. 11 We heard public reports of 6 months to a year before we 12 could actually have a threat on U.S. interests, either here 13 or abroad. We have to continue to take that fight to them 14 or they are going to take it to us. 15 Would you agree with that? 16 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator. 17 The timing, I would defer to the intelligence community 18 on the exact time, because the conditions continue to 19 change. 20 Senator Tillis: I want to talk a little bit about 21 Iran. 22 Are you familiar with the Abraham Accords implementation? 23 24 General Kurilla: Senator, I am. 25 Senator Tillis: Do you think that is a footprint that

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www.trustpoint.one www.aldersonreporting.com 800.FOR.DEPO (800.367.3376) 1 we should expand, and do you have any ideas on other 2 countries that should be in the pipeline?

General Kurilla: Senator, I think it is a very good thing, because anytime we have countries that are talking, it is lowering the temperature in the room. It also goes to an economic growth and it creates job growth in some of these countries where you have a high large unemployment in some of these Arab countries.

9 With Bahrain and U.A.E., right now, as members of the 10 Abraham Accords, I think that is a very good thing. I would 11 defer to, you know, having to understand the reasonings 12 behind other countries, why they are not coming forward 13 right now, but I do think there are opportunities going 14 forward.

Senator Tillis: You generally believe your job is going to be easier or harder if we just pass a CR, rather than appropriate authorities?

18 General Kurilla: Senator, we need timely, accurate, 19 predictable funding.

20 Senator Tillis: What sorts of capabilities do you 21 think you need, in addition to what you already have, for 22 our own forces, but also for our partners in the area of 23 responsibility?

General Kurilla: Senator, I can really only speak on behalf of 18th Airborne Corps, but it does affect readiness. It can affect modernization and it can affect quality of
 life.

3 Senator Tillis: One other question, just in, or not a 4 question, just a reinforced point that was made by Senator 5 Blumenthal. The one thing that I hope when you move into 6 this role that I would like to get feedback on, is the 7 extent to which CENTCOM can play a role in prioritizing 8 those who want to get out of Afghanistan.

9 We succeeded in getting several out, but it is only a 10 fraction of nearly 800 cases, that in North Carolina, alone, that we are tracking. And I believe that your engagement 11 12 and the interagency activities, to make sure that we are 13 prioritizing the most at-risk and those who have had a 14 longstanding service as partners with the United States when 15 we were in Afghanistan, I think that that is a role that I 16 hope you will take seriously and assert because you have 17 insights, you have background.

I have a lot of servicemembers who are desperately calling our office and looking to get folks out and I hope I can get your commitment on making sure that you play an active role in that.

22 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

23 Senator Tillis: Thank you.

24 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

25 General Kurilla: Senator, thank you for your support

1 for Fort Bragg.

2	Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Tillis.
3	Now, let me recognize, via Webex, Senator Manchin.
4	[Pause.]
5	Chairman Reed: Senator, you are talking, but we cannot
6	hear you. We have a technical complication.
7	[Pause.]
8	Chairman Reed: No, we cannot hear you, Senator.
9	Do you want to recede for a moment and fix it and we
10	will call on someone else?
11	We still cannot hear you, Senator, so let me take the
12	prerogative of asking if we can fix that and let me call on
13	Senator Sullivan.
14	Senator Sullivan: Mr. Chairman, can I pass for Senator
15	Cramer?
16	Chairman Reed: Absolutely.
17	Senator Cramer, please?
18	Senator Cramer: Anything I can do to help. Thank you,
19	Mr. Chairman.
20	Thank you, General, for your service and your
21	willingness to step into this new role. Congratulations. I
22	don't think you are going to have any trouble getting the
23	job.
24	You know, we have seen reports that the Houthi rebels
25	in Yemen are firing missiles at U.A.E. at Al-Dhafra and

there are some North Dakota airmen there, and these missiles that they are firing, of course, were designed and they were built in Iran.

4 Do you think the Houthis brought those missiles from 5 Iran or did Iran donate them to the cause?

General Kurilla: Senator, I believe that Iran does
fund the missiles that go into the Houthis --

8 Senator Cramer: So, do we consider these attacks on 9 our airmen to be Houthi attacks or Iranian attacks and, 10 either way, do they demand a response, do you think?

General Kurilla: Senator, Iran funds the Houthis. The Houthis were firing at the U.A.E. I cannot say if they definitively were firing at American servicemembers going forward. I am not aware of the intelligence behind it.

15 Senator Cramer: All right. I want to spend just a 16 minute, because, and by the way, I associate myself with 17 several of my colleagues who have been asking about 18 Afghanistan prioritizing this. I appreciate Senator Tillis' 19 request of a commitment to do everything we can to 20 prioritize more appropriately going forward and thank you 21 for all that.

22 So, I want to focus just for a minute or 2 on military 23 sales and to U.A.E. The Trump administration, as you know, 24 agreed to sell the U.A.E. some F-35s, but in May, the Biden 25 administration, reportedly, put the sale on hold, due to

1 concerns about the U.A.E.'s relationship with China.

And I know these things are complicated, and to be up front, I am more curious than I am committed to a position on this, so I would really like your views and your expertise.

6 What are the benefits of selling U.A.E. some F-35s, in 7 your view, if there are some, and then, of course, the 8 opposite, what are the risks?

9 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe the benefits are 10 that you have a close partner that has a, it is a very 11 capable equipment that serves as an offset to Iran.

Senator Cramer: So, what is the downside and how can we mitigate any risks?

General Kurilla: The downside is technology transfer that could be leaked. Can they safeguard the technologies, as the F-35 is an exquisite piece of military hardware?

Senator Cramer: So, can we mitigate that, somehow,that concern? I share the concern, by the way.

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, that would be an area that I would have to make an assessment on with the State Department and others as they look at this.

22 Senator Cramer: So, maybe just elaborate a little bit, 23 and, you know, your answers are very concise and good. I 24 appreciate that, but do countries like the U.A.E., or U.A.E. 25 and other countries like them, do they have many options for these kinds of exquisite weapons systems and, particularly,
if the U.S. refuses to sell them?

General Kurilla: Of the F-35, no, but there are other capabilities that I believe they have looked at in the region and from other partners.

6 Senator Cramer: Well, I appreciate, again, the 7 efficiency of your answers. As I have said, I am curious. 8 I am trying to gain my own perspective based on a lot of 9 other people's perspectives, but I have to say on balance, I 10 am concerned that we are allowing this relationship with the 11 U.A.E. and the opportunities that it presents to slip away 12 if we don't ask more questions of people like you.

And while I don't have a commitment, I certainly lean more toward trying to be the source of their exquisite weapons systems, rather than somebody else, and hopefully, we can mitigate.

With that, I will yield my last minute, Mr. Chairman.Thank you.

19 Thank You, General.

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

We have a technical issue with our colleagues who are trying to participate on Webex, so we will recognize those who are here in person.

24 Senator Sullivan, are you ready?

25 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General, congratulations. Thanks for your service. I
 really think it has been exceptional. I fully intend to
 support you.

As you and I discussed, I have my own experience out in the CENTCOM AOR. I was recalled to active-duty at the end of 2004 and was there as a staff officer to General Abizaid until the middle of 2006; so a year and a half.

8 And have you had the opportunity to talk to General 9 Abizaid or other CENTCOM commanders to get their advice, 10 prior to this hearing?

11 General Kurilla: Senator, pending confirmation, I plan 12 on talking to several of them.

Senator Sullivan: Good. I would strongly recommend that. General Abizaid, in my view, he is one of the most strategic thinkers we have had in our military in a long, long time.

One of the things that I witnessed during that year and a half, a huge concern was the proliferation of EFPs and, you know, we were in Iraq on a regular basis; General Abizaid was. I was with him during that time and we saw this proliferation starting in Basra and into Baghdad.

22 Can you describe very briefly what those were and what 23 they did?

General Kurilla: Senator, an explosively formed penetrator, or an EFP, had the capability to go through any

of our military vehicles that we had at the time. I lost
 several friends and soldiers from them.

3 Senator Sullivan: So, you lost soldiers under your
4 command to the EFPs?

5 General Kurilla: I have lost soldiers to EFPs,6 Senator.

Senator Sullivan: So, I don't think this is highlighted enough, General, but I am sorry that that happened to you. In 2007, the then-Iranian ambassador to the U.N., Ambassador Zarif, who later became foreign minister, was quoted as saying, the Iranians did not provide any EFPs to anybody, Iraqi, Shia militias, and that the U.S. was lying and fabricating evidence about that.

14 Who do we now know supplied Iraqi Shia militias, these
15 EFPs that killed and wounded thousands of Americans?

16 General Kurilla: Senator, they came from Iran.

17 Senator Sullivan: So, Zarif was clearly lying?

18 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

Senator Sullivan: General, what do you think the Iranians learned during that period? What is the estimate that you have heard of how many were killed and wounded; the best and brightest, by the way, in our country, with regard to these EFPs that killed our soldiers, marines, airmen, sailors.

25 General Kurilla: Senator, I am not sure of the exact

number, but I believe it is around the number, somewhere
 around 400.

3 Senator Sullivan: Four hundred and several thousand 4 wounded, correct?

5 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

Senator Sullivan: What do you think the Iranians
learned during that time, as they were killing our troops?
Zarif was lying to the world and, yet, there didn't seem to
be any kind of retaliation from the United States.

10 General Kurilla: Senator, I am not certain what they 11 learned from that.

12 Senator Sullivan: Do you think it was good that there 13 was no retaliation at the time or we didn't make them pay 14 for the deaths of Americans?

General Kurilla: Senator, I think we were fighting the insurgency at the time. I can't presume to understand what the Iranians were thinking at the time.

18 Senator Sullivan: Let me, I will just give you my 19 I think that they thought that they could kill sense. 20 Americans with impunity and not pay a price. And, to the contrary, the price that they were, they didn't pay, but 21 22 they were actually rewarded with the JCPOA. Secretary of 23 State John Kerry negotiated with Zarif; one of the many 24 outrages, I think, under Kerry's tenure, to literally 25 negotiate, almost become buddies with him. You saw this

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other thing that Kerry and Zarif were talking a couple of
 years ago where Kerry was providing what looked like
 classified information; literally, the guy with American
 blood on his hands to get the JCPOA.

I talked to President Trump about this a number of times. Do you think that we were able to regain deterrence after the United States killed the Quds Force leader, Soleimani?

9 General Kurilla: Senator, I do.

Senator Sullivan: Did you agree with that strike? General Kurilla: Senator, I don't think anyone, any adversary should be able to kill Americans with impunity. Given the intelligence, at the time, I would have taken the strike.

Senator Sullivan: So, if you are confirmed, and I hope you will be confirmed, will you commit to this committee to work hard to keep that deterrence that I think we have actually --

19 [Audio malfunction].

20 Senator Sullivan: More specifically, if Iran tries to, 21 or does kill Americans, the way they have a history in the 22 past, doing that impunity, would your advice to the 23 President be, make sure that there is retaliation, so they 24 pay the price?

25 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe my job is to

75

1 provide options.

2 Senator Sullivan: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And I will have some more questions for the record.4 Thank you.

5 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Sullivan.
6 And we notice --

7 [Audio malfunction].

8 Senator Peters.

9 Senator Peters: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

10 Use a louder voice, so we can make sure we are heard.

General, good to see you in person. We were have some technical difficulties, so I made a run down here to be able to ask these questions, personally, thank you for your distinguished record of service to our country.

General, in November, the Department of Defense stood up the U.S.-Israel Operations Technology Working Group. It was an initiative that I certainly have been championing for the last few years and I believe that it is absolutely vital that the U.S. remain on the cutting edge of defense technology and development and working with the capable allies, like Israel, is really paramount to that effort.

So, my question for you, sir, is, could you discuss how working in a collaborative fashion with CENTCOM allies, like Israel, on technological development, could help the United States, itself, stay at the forefront of defense innovation. General Kurilla: Senator, I believe Israel has some very unique capabilities. They have a culture of innovation in their country, so I do believe each country has some unique capabilities and working with all of them can help the United States.

6 Senator Peters: We have heard in the last few weeks 7 that the United States has announced plans to reroute \$67 8 million of security assistance for the Lebanese Armed Forces 9 to support members of the military as Lebanon grapples with 10 a severe financial crisis.

Normally, the aid package will include livelihood support payments that will go directly to troops to help them weather the extreme economic conditions being faced in their country.

General, can you discuss what the U.S. can do to support Lebanon during this time of political turmoil and, more broadly, why support of the Lebanese Armed Forces is actually important to the U.S. nationalism?

19 General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, that is an 20 area that I would have to make an assessment, but I do know 21 from my past experience, our relationship with the Lebanese 22 Armed Forces, they are a multi-sect variant organizations 23 that supports all of Lebanon and can act as a counterbalance 24 to Hezbollah. They are an accountable organization and any 25 military aid that we provided during my experience in the 77

1 past, they were highly accountable for that.

2 Senator Peters: General, the past month, we have seen 3 continued escalation in the conflicts in Yemen with Houthi 4 militias directly attacking the U.A.E. and the Saudi-led 5 Coalition, continuing to pummel the Yemeni people into 6 submission.

7 What efforts have we been making to end this conflict 8 and to bring a close to the world's worst humanitarian 9 disaster that we have seen since World War II, so to this 10 time, we have not succeeded. Moving forward, what can the 11 U.S. and our allies do to bring about an end to the war, 12 which is now entering its eighth year?

General Kurilla: Senator, I don't believe there is any military solution for Yemen. There should be a negotiated settlement. I believe in supporting the U.N. and our own special envoy for Yemen.

17 Senator Peters: Thank you for your answers.

18 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

19 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Peters.

20 Senator Scott, please?

21 Senator Scott: Thank you, Chairman.

General, thanks for your service and thanks for being here with us.

What lessons would you draw from policy and continued positions leading up to the deadly withdrawal of U.S. troops 1 from Afghanistan and how would you apply them if you are 2 confirmed to lead CENTCOM?

General Kurilla: So, Senator, I know, and I applaud the Congress on the war commission that they are doing to identify the big lessons learned, strategically, over the last 20 years. I believe the Secretary of Defense right now also has an after-action review ongoing.

8 If confirmed, as the CENTCOM commander, that is an area 9 that I will go and assess those lessons learned and ensure 10 that we apply them. Much like we have in the military since 11 I was a second lieutenant, we, after every operation, we did 12 an after-action review to say what can we get better, but we 13 must learn from it.

Senator Scott: General, under what circumstances would you be advising to cooperate militarily with the Taliban?

16 General Kurilla: Senator, I think areas that would 17 have to be a pragmatic approach. If there was a threat to the homeland from ISIS-K, which they are a rival, there is 18 19 potentially an area there. And I also think on the 20 humanitarian crisis that is ongoing, look at ways that we can get the humanitarian relief to the people of Afghanistan 21 22 that need it, and maybe not necessarily through the Taliban, 23 but they would have to facilitate it, perhaps, through the 24 World Food Programme, perhaps through Pakistan or others. 25 Senator Scott: What is your view of the --

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www.trustpoint.one www.aldersonreporting.com 800.FOR.DEPO (800.367.3376) 1 Voice: Your mic, please, sir.

2 Voice: It should be working.

3 Senator Scott: Is it working now?

4 Voice: Yeah.

5 Senator Scott: Ah, that is better.

Okay, what is your view of Israel's inclusion in
CENTCOM and where do you see new opportunities to expand the
cooperation between Israel and our other regional partners?

9 General Kurilla: Senator, I think there is significant 10 opportunities with Israel's inclusion into the CENTCOM AOR. 11 It starts with the Abraham Accords and the normalization of 12 relationships between several of the countries in the AOR. 13 I think there are opportunities for others, but those are 14 individual decisions based on that.

There are areas of security cooperation between Israel and other countries; particularly, in air and missile defense, and other security areas.

18 Senator Scott: Thank you.

What do you see, what do you think China's strategy in the Middle East is and so how is that completely different than ours?

General Kurilla: So, Senator, China has economic interests and influence that they are looking to gain in the Middle East and the CENTCOM region. They have a Belt and Road Initiative agreements with 18 of the 21 countries in CENTCOM. They have increased their spending in the Middle
 East by 360 percent over the last year.

I think what we need to do is show their predatory 3 4 nature of these agreements. They treat every country as if 5 they are a client or a customer, where we deal in б relationships and we treat them as allies and partners. 7 Senator Scott: And what would you, what do you think 8 we ought to be doing to counter that? 9 General Kurilla: I think we strengthen those 10 partnerships and allies to show them that we are still there 11 for them. 12 Senator Scott: Do you think that takes money? 13 General Kurilla: It think it takes money. I think it 14 takes a presence. I think it takes engagements. 15 Senator Scott: All right. Thank you. 16 Thank you, Chairman. General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator. 17 18 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Scott. 19 Now, let me recognize Senator Kaine, please. 20 Senator Kaine: General Kurilla, thank you, and congratulations on your nomination. I look forward to 21 22 supporting you. 23 Just to state some facts at the outset that I don't 24 think have gotten enough attention, and this is, by the way,

25 a thank you to the American military regarding the

evacuation of Afghans. The United States military, in a
 very difficult environment, evacuated about 125,000 Afghans;
 50,000 or so to third countries, mostly in the region,
 76,000 to the United States.

5 Of the 76,000 Afghans who had been evacuated to the 6 United States, most came into Virginia Dulles Airport or 7 into the Philadelphia Airport. I visited families at the 8 Dulles Expo Center right near the airport as they were 9 arriving, and then they were transitioned to eight military 10 bases around the country; all of these heavily supported by 11 the DOD. Three of the bases were in Virginia.

As of today, 68,000 of the 76,000 Afghans have been resettled in communities across the United States with a multi-government, multi-agency effort; DOD, DHS, now the lead agency. NGO is participating in a significant way so that Afghans can begin a new chapter of life in the United States.

I visited with Afghan families at each of the three bases in Virginia: Quantico, Fort Lee, and Fort Pickett. All those bases are now returned to their normal military operations and there are no more Afghans there. Last week, the DOD indicated that the remaining 8,000 Afghans would be resettled, likely by the middle part of this month.

It has been an incredible effort to bring 76,000Afghans here. In my visits with them, they express fear and

anxiety, obviously, about the future and about the fate of loved ones in Afghanistan, but also deep, deep appreciation to the United States, to the U.S. military, to the opportunity that they are being afforded here to begin a new life, that is a safer life than the one they left.

6 The burden is still on our shoulders, though, to make 7 sure that this resettlement of Afghans in the United States 8 is successful. Most of the Afghans in the United States are 9 under a 2-year humanitarian parole that expires at the end 10 of 2 years from their arrival here.

11 Mr. Chair, it is my hope that as we get into the NDA 12 discussion, much, as in the past, the committee has grappled 13 with SIV issues for Afghans who have worked in tandem with 14 the U.S. military. The committee might explore what we 15 could do with respect to the humanitarian parolees in the 16 United States. We talked about this yesterday. These 17 matters are in the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, 18 but it has been common for the Armed Services Committee to 19 grapple with SIV issues to support our Afghan partners, and 20 I would hope we would explore ways we could be of 21 assistance.

But the scale of the effort both, on the ground in Afghanistan, tragically leading to the death of 13 troops, the injury of another four or five dozen U.S. troops, and the deaths and injuries of hundreds of Afghans, you know, I

1 don't like to say that I can improve upon scripture, but a
2 powerful line in scripture is, greater love hath no man
3 this, that he would lay down his life for his friends.

I can improve on that. It is greater love to lay down your life for someone you don't even know. And the fact that our 13 troops tragically lost their lives, but in doing so, paved the way for 125,000 people to experience freedom and more security is a powerful thing and we will never forget their sacrifice.

I want to ask you this question, does the United States have military forces in Iraq right now purely to assist the Iraqi Government in the ongoing mission to make sure that ISIS is defeated?

14 General Kurilla: Senator, they do.

Senator Kaine: And in your view, is the Government of Iraq, a strong security partner of the United States in this mission?

General Kurilla: Senator, the Iraqi Security Forces are a very strong partner in this. The Government of Iraq currently is forming after Muqtada al-Sadr gained the plurality of the last vote.

Senator Kaine: Is the United States at work with Iraq?General Kurilla: No, sir.

24 Senator Kaine: I would renew my request to my

25 colleagues that the war authorization against the Government

of Iraq, two of them, actually, one passed in 1991 and one passed in 2002, be repealed, since they are now a security partner and we are not at war with them.

4 The last thing I will say, General, I would just 5 encourage along the lines that Senator Peters asked, б attention to the situation in Lebanon. The Lebanese Armed Forces has been a reliable partner for the United States and 7 8 that is great. I think most accounts of Lebanon suggests 9 that it is close to being on the verge of a collapsing state 10 and that poses such significant danger in the region to 11 Israel, to the Lebanese population, to other neighbors. The 12 Armed Forces may be the one institution in that country 13 where we can be a strong partner with other aspects of the 14 Government, in or near collapse. Attention from CENTCOM to 15 that important historical partner is something I would urge. 16 I appreciate your service.

17 And, Mr. Chair, I yield back.

18 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator.

19 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Kaine.

20 Did you have a comment?

General Kurilla: No, I was just going to thank the Senator for his support for our three bases and the 18th Airborne Corps soldiers on up in Virginia: Fort Lee, Fort Eustis, and Fort Story.

25 Chairman Reed: Thank you, sir.

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1

Let me recognize Senator Blackburn, please.

2 Senator Blackburn: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And General, welcome. Welcome to you and your family and thank you for the time that you spent visiting with me last week; I really do appreciate that.

б And we discussed China and how they are focused on 7 getting customers and clients and the U.S. is focused on 8 allies and relationships in the region. And I would like 9 for you to expand a little bit on how you are going to push 10 back on China, particularly, as we discussed last week, with 11 cyber and AI, how you are going to be able to do more with 12 less and what new capabilities are on your tick list for 13 what you need to counter what Beijing and Moscow are doing.

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, again, I would have to make an assessment of each of the countries and the area and the relationships and the inroads that China has made into each one of those countries and each one, I think, would be individualized based on that.

Exposing the predatory nature of their lending is a big part of that. I am concerned with the inroads that Huawei has made into several of the countries as they look to do their infrastructure and we know the security concerns associated with that.

24 Senator Blackburn: I appreciate that and I appreciate 25 your comments about the 18 of the 21 countries and CENTCOM 1 have done a BRI agreement with China.

And talk a little bit about where you see that belt and road ending in military fusion and how that affects the task in front of you, if confirmed.

5 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe right now, for 6 China is the economic in the CENTCOM region, although, they 7 do have their largest base outside of China in Djibouti, 8 which is just across the Gulf of Aden, south of Yemen, and 9 it is at a strategic choke point by the Bab-el-Mandeb, so 10 that is very concerning. It allows them to do maintenance 11 on some of their vessels while they are overseas.

12 And my concern would be any expansion of that into the 13 CENTCOM AOR, if confirmed.

14 Senator Blackburn: And I have had the opportunity to 15 visit our facilities and our presence in Djibouti, and it is 16 of tremendous concern to me, as you see how China is trying 17 to expand into that region. We have talked a good bit this 18 morning about Afghanistan and this committee has put a good 19 bit of attention on that.

And I want to come back and kind of finish off a couple of questions that have been presented to you. Are there any instances where you think we should be sharing intel with the Taliban, and if that is done, would you commit to informing us, even if it is in a classified setting, that that has occurred?

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General Kurilla: Senator, looking at the specific instances, I think it is a case-by-case basis, based on that with the Taliban and I will commit to sharing incidences with both, I will share it with the chairman and the oversight committees and the Secretary of Defense.

6 Senator Blackburn: For those of us on this committee, 7 we have continued to look at what happened in Afghanistan 8 and for people like me that represent a major military post, 9 and so many of our Tennesseeans are with Fort Campbell or 10 they are posted at Fort Campbell or they have served, and to 11 see how this has, how it took place, the debacle that it 12 became, has been of tremendous concern.

One other thing on that, with the Taliban takeover there in Afghanistan, how do you assess Pakistan's role in supporting the Taliban in Afghanistan and what is your assessment of how they are working to help get people that we are trying to get out of Afghanistan, how they are getting them out.

General Kurilla: Well, Senator, first off, thank you
 for your support for the 101st Airborne Division at Fort
 Campbell, one of our 18th Airborne Corps units.

22 Senator, I am not aware right now of what Pakistan is 23 doing in my current role to assist in getting out. I think 24 that is an area that we could potentially work with Pakistan 25 on. I think they are concerned about the regional stability in the area and the violent extremist organizations inside
of Afghanistan. The Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan, the TPP, is
a very violent organization that has done, killed tens of
thousands of Pakistanis, so they have a vested interest and
a security interest with us on that, as well as the
humanitarian crisis inside of Afghanistan.

Senator Blackburn: Thank you for your service and
thank you for being here with us today to answer the
questions.

10 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator.

11 Senator Blackburn: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

12 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Blackburn.

Now, via Webex, let me recognize Senator Manchin,please.

Senator Manchin: Can you hear me, Mr. Chairman?
Chairman Reed: I can hear you, Senator.

17 Senator Manchin: Thank you very much.

General Kurilla, first of all, thank you for your service and thank you for your attempt to continue to service and we appreciate it very much.

Let me just ask you this. ISIS remains a threat in Syria, as we all know, and most of its activity is focused on re-establishing networks, assassinating and intimidating local leaders and Security Forces and extending its influences in rural areas throughout Eastern Syria and Iraq. 1 So, my question to you will be, do you assess that the 2 February 3 killing of ISIS leader Quraishi gave a 3 significant blow to ISIS and the region and how do you plan 4 to capitalize on the lack of leadership, if it did, really, 5 truly break up their network?

б General Kurilla: Senator, anytime a leader of any 7 terrorist organization is taken out, it causes the 8 leadership to have to figure out who will take over. Tt. 9 generally, temporarily, sets them back. It depends on the 10 capability of that leader that was in charge. But then, 11 what it does, is also exposes that network as they 12 communicate and try and find the next leader to replace 13 them, and that provides opportunities.

Senator Manchin: So, the intel, the opportunity of intel right now is probably a premium?

16 General Kurilla: It is, Senator.

17 Senator Manchin: Let me say this. I want to also tell 18 you, sir, I appreciate so much the efforts that you all have 19 made to protect all civilians and we truly do. But we also 20 know, I think Senator Tillis on both points, and Senator 21 Warren, who is concerned, and we are all concerned, and 22 Senator Tillis identifying that, basically, they embed 23 themselves in. So, we know your job is difficult. We 24 sympathize, but, also, we cannot allow these terrorist to go 25 unchecked or undeterred, that is for sure.

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In the past, counting violent extreme groups with al
 Qaeda and the Islamic State was the top national security;
 both of which are critical challenges to the CENTCOM area of
 responsibility for decades.

5 How do you assess the shift in resources, if China and 6 Russia right now are taking the forefront in national 7 security challenges facing the United States, that shift in 8 resources would affect CENTCOM?

General Kurilla: Senator, I will have to look at the 9 10 missions; if confirmed, look at the missions assigned to 11 CENTCOM, the resources allocated, and the risks associated 12 with each of those missions, and look at ways to mitigate 13 that risk. One of the ways is partially through 14 partnerships and allies that can make up some of that 15 mitigation, and also through technology going forward. 16 But then I would come back to both, the chairman, and

17 the Secretary of Defense, and inform this committee of any 18 additional resources required.

Senator Manchin: Let me ask if you have any knowledge of the validity that China's talking points of partnering with the Taliban in Afghanistan, and if so, how are we going to counter that?

General Kurilla: Senator, I know that the Taliban has reached out to China. That was an open source, but, if confirmed, that is an area that I will have to make a deep

1 assessment of.

2	Senator Manchin: And, sir, national operations with
3	CENTCOM, in West Virginia, the National Guard already has a
4	strong connection with Qatar through our State Partnership
5	Program. I think it was one of the first in the Middle
6	East, and it might still be the only one. I am not sure.
7	We also had multiple units rotate to the Middle East
8	throughout our wars with both, Afghanistan and Iraq.
9	Additionally, they were 50 percent of the total force of C-
10	130s operated by Reserve component units and we have a large
11	contingency of that also in West Virginia.
12	Can you tell me how do you think, strategically, when
13	employed, National Guard units in your area of
14	responsibility.
15	General Kurilla: Senator, I am observed, as the
16	CENTCOM Chief of Staff, that our National Guard and our
17	Reserve provide tremendous capability into the AOR and can
18	also help offset the impact on the active-duty force, as
19	well.
20	Senator Manchin: So, in your planning and operations
21	and defense and things of that, and security, you are using
22	National Guard and their abilities, as basically, with your
23	own forces?
24	General Kurilla: Senator, we have used the National

25 Guard in all of my experience in the Middle East.

1 Senator Manchin: Well, let me say thank you. Ι 2 appreciate very much. And I yield back my time. 3 4 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator. 5 Chairman Reed: Thank you very much, Senator Manchin. 6 Now, let me recognize Senator Hawley, please. 7 Senator Hawley: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 8 General, congratulations on your nomination. Thank you 9 for being here. 10 Let me ask you about disturbing reports in the Washington Post today. The headline is, Documents Reveal 11 12 U.S. Military's Frustration With White House Diplomats Over 13 Afghanistan Evacuation. 14 The Washington Post has been able to see a 2,000 page 15 Army investigative report. This committee has not been able 16 to see that report. It has not, I don't think, been made 17 public. The Post has it. Their reporting today begins this 18 way: senior White House and State Department officials 19 failed to grasp the Taliban's steady advance on 20 Afghanistan's capital and resisted efforts by U.S. military leaders to prepare the evacuation of embassy personnel and 21 22 allies weeks, weeks before Kabul's fall, placing American 23 troops ordered to carry out the withdrawal in greater 24 danger, according to sworn testimony from multiple

25 commanders involved in the operation.

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General Farrell Sullivan goes on to say in his sworn testimony, in my opinion, the National Security Council to the White House was not seriously planning for an evacuation.

5 Now, this report is disturbing for all kinds of 6 reasons, not the least of which is it seems to directly 7 contradict testimony that this committee has heard from, 8 among others, General Milley, who had said that there was no 9 way to have planned for or have anticipated the fall of 10 Kabul. There was no way to have anticipated that anything 11 like this would happen.

And, in fact, what the Army report seems to say is that military commanders repeatedly and for weeks, if not months, warned the White House and other leadership that something like this was imminently foreseeable, there needed to be action taken, and the White House and the State Department did nothing.

Here is my question to you, I understand this morning that, now, CENTCOM and OSD have taken position of this 2,000 page report. If you are confirmed, will you commit to releasing that full report to this committee? General Kurilla: Senator, I would defer to the

General Kurilla: Senator, I would defer to the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Staff on that. Senator Hawley: So, that is a no?

25 General Kurilla: Senator, if it is within my authority

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1 to do so, I would, if confirmed.

Senator Hawley: If confirmed, and if it is up to you,
you would do it.

General Kurilla: Senator, I believe it is publicly
available.

6 Senator Hawley: If confirmed, do you commit to provide 7 to this committee in a timely manner, any other information 8 requested about the withdrawal in Afghanistan, including 9 intelligence reports, assessments, and other material that 10 may be at CENTCOM?

General Kurilla: Senator, I will provide to the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs and oversight committees, whatever is required.

14 Senator Hawley: The last part is the only part that I 15 am interested in, the oversight committee.

16 You would provide to this committee, intelligence 17 reports, assessments, other information that we request on 18 the withdrawal from Afghanistan?

19 General Kurilla: Senator, I will come before this20 committee and testify on those reports.

21 Senator Hawley: That is not quite what I am asking. I 22 am not asking about your testimony. I am asking you 23 providing information that we directly request, that may be 24 held at CENTCOM.

25 Would you commit to us, if you are confirmed, to

providing for us, information that may be held at CENTCOM, 1 regarding the withdrawal from Afghanistan, intelligence 2 reports, assessments, et cetera? 3 4 General Kurilla: If it is within my authority to 5 release, I would, Senator. б Senator Hawley: Great. Thank you. 7 And I just want to say for the record that this 8 committee needs to have open, public hearings on this 9 report. We need to have open, public hearings on what we 10 have learned about what has happened in Afghanistan, and no more closed briefings behind closed doors that shut out the 11 12 American public and the cameras that we see behind us. 13 And, frankly, this committee's scarce interest in 14 finding out what has happened in Afghanistan, I think, 15 reflects badly on this committee and it is time for the 16 members of this committee to get serious about it. 17 Let me ask you, General, the Secretary of Defense has 18 designated China as the Department's pacing threat and the 19 Indo-Pacific as its priority theater. Can I just ask you 20 for a yes-or-no answer, do you agree with that assessment? 21 General Kurilla: I do, Senator. 22 Senator Hawley: Great. If the Indo-Pacific is the 23 priority theater, then it would follow that other theaters 24 are, by definition, lower priorities; not unimportant, but 25 if they are not the priority theaters, then other theaters

are lower priorities, and that would include the Middle
 East, I would think.

Do you agree with that, that the Middle East would be a lower-priority theater, as compared to the Indo-Pacific? General Kurilla: Per the 2018 NDS, that is accurate, Senator.

7 Senator Hawley: Okay. And do you agree with that 8 assessment?

9 General Kurilla: I do, Senator.

10 Senator Hawley: Okay. Good. Great.

11 The Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs wrote for the 12 record, this is Admiral Grady that I am referring to, wrote 13 for the record that DOD needs to do less in lower-priority 14 theaters, so it can focus more of its scarce resources on 15 deterring China in the Indo-Pacific, barring a significant 16 increase, of course, in the Defense budget.

Do you agree with that assessment by the Vice Chairman?General Kurilla: Senator, I do.

19 Senator Hawley: Very good.

Let me shift to squarely, the AOR. Recent reports show that Israel and the U.A.E. are moving quickly to improve security and intelligence cooperation. You have been asked a little bit about that, I think, in earlier parts of today's hearing. That is a great example of the opportunities created by the Abraham Accords. And I know that you have testified today that you understand the possibilities there. It is an example, I think, of something that CENTCOM can support in years ahead, now that Israel is part of your AOR, the CENTCOM AOR.

5 If you are confirmed, here is my question, how would 6 you plan to empower Israel and our Gulf partners to work 7 together and to strengthen deterrence at the regional level 8 against Iranian aggression?

9 And I see my time is expired, so I will let you answer 10 that, General, and then I will return my time to the chair. 11 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

General Kurilla: Senator, I think I would have to make an assessment of that to find the best method forward. I think it is by going to each individual country and making that assessment.

16 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Hawley.

17 Senator Duckworth, please?

18 Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

I would like to begin by disagreeing with my colleague from Missouri in saying that this committee has scant commitment to looking at what happened in Afghanistan; in fact, on a bipartisan basis, this committee passed the Afghanistan War Commission Act, which was set up, an entire commission to look at the entire 20 years of the war in Afghanistan, including the evacuation. And it also provision for equal representation, equal opportunity for the ranking member and the chairman of both, the majority and minority committees on SAF, on Foreign Relations, and on Intelligence, to appoint committee members, as well as the minority and majority leaders.

I can't, I don't think it can be any more fair than that, and the fact that it passed on a bipartisan basis, I think makes it clear that this is going to move forward and there is a commitment, overall, on a bipartisan basis to look at everything that happened in Afghanistan.

With that said, I would like to welcome you, General.
Thank you. I want to apologize to you for cutting our call
short the other day. You were very generous. It was one of
those crazy days.

15 I want to return to our discussion there, talking about 16 the fact that after decades of focusing much of our budget 17 and capability on CENTCOM, we are now shifting, rightly, 18 towards the Indo-Pacific region; however, I do believe that 19 CENTCOM remains a critical part of our overall strategy to 20 push back against great power rivals, as senators on both sides of the aisle on this committee have pointed out, given 21 22 that Russian and Chinese attempts to grow their influence in 23 the Middle East, as well as Iran's ongoing push to develop 24 its nuclear capabilities.

I was really pleased to see the emphasis that you

placed on partnerships and coalitions in your written testimony, and we do agree that we must better integrate our partners into our operational planning and we must reinforce reviewing their capabilities, as the Coalition's capabilities. So, again, you know, go with your pacing item, so we have to look at what our partners can do.

Yet, as we discussed on our call last week, capabilities are more than just military equipment. This is why I truly believe that engagement in exchange programs, such as our International Military Education Training, the IMET program, is to critical to success in the region.

What opportunities, General, do you see for partner engagement and exchange programs, including IMET, to retain influence in the region and prevent potentially malign actors from gaining a toehold in the Middle East?

General Kurilla: Senator, I believe IMET is one of our more powerful capabilities we have. When we bring foreign officers to the United States and we expose them to our democratic values, they understand us and they understand our society. That is very powerful in helping, because eventually they continue on up and become senior leaders in their respective countries.

I think the partnership goes well beyond just military capability. It could also include intelligence. The one commodity we have a lot of is our intelligence capability

and our challenge is sharing with every country in the CENTCOM AOR. We would like to do intelligence sharing, while still protecting our sources and methods that we use to get that intelligence. So, think that is an area that we can look to advance, as well.

6

Senator Duckworth: Thank you.

7 What reforms, if any, would help you to make these 8 partner engagements and exchange programs more effective in 9 Central Command?

General Kurilla: Senator, my attempt would be to get an assessment going into CENTCOM. I really can't give you that right now. I would have to look at that, and I would be willing to come back and provide that to you.

14 Senator Duckworth: Thank you. Thank you.

15 We have already talked about the National Guard and the 16 State Partnership for Peace program; although, that is not 17 the only model. Central Command houses a unique program 18 between the National Guard and the country of Israel. It is 19 run at the National Guard Bureau level and the program 20 allows Israel to tap into the Bureau's expertise across the National Guard's many missions and capabilities. It 21 22 provides training opportunities for multiple National Guard 23 units, including those from Illinois. This program was 24 reaffirmed last year, after an initial 15 successful years 25 and now falls under CENTCOM.

Could you speak to the value of this program and how it would fit into your objectives for Central Command, if you are confirmed?

General Kurilla: Senator, I would have to make an
assessment of that and then come back to you.

6 Senator Duckworth: Okay. Along with my partner across 7 the aisle, Senator Cornyn, I fought to include a provision 8 in last year's NDAA that pushes for a partnership between 9 the National Guard and Taiwan. After reviewing my 10 legislation, the National Guard Bureau believes that 11 partnership with Israel provides the best model for a 12 comprehensive engagement with Taiwan.

13 If confirmed, once you have had a chance to review, 14 would you make resources available within Central Command, 15 either yourself or your staff and planners, to help 16 implement a similar program between National Guard and 17 Taiwan that is similar to the partnership with Israel, if 18 requested?

19 General Kurilla: Senator, I would have to make an
20 assessment on that reference to Taiwan being in the
21 INDOPACOM AOR.

22 Senator Duckworth: Right. But if they came to you and 23 said, hey, can you tell us how it works with Israel, would 24 you be willing to share that information with --

25 General Kurilla: Absolutely.

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Senator Duckworth: -- Admiral Aquilino and the folks 1 2 dealing with the Taiwan version? 3 General Kurilla: Absolutely. 4 Senator Duckworth: Thank you. 5 I look forward to you being confirmed and, again, I 6 apologize for the abruptness of our call, the abruptness of 7 this, but I look forward to working with you in the future. 8 General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator. 9 Senator Duckworth: Thank you. 10 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Duckworth. Senator Kelly, please? 11 12 Senator Kelly: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 13 General Kurilla, congratulations on your nomination and 14 thank you for being here today. You certainly have 15 extensive experience and I know you have spent a significant 16 amount of time in the CENTCOM AOR, so I know you understand 17 some of the challenges that await you. 18 I noticed that your former boss, General Votel, 19 commended your engagement on adoption of technologies like 20 artificial intelligence, calling you an early adopter, and emphasizing their applicability for Central Command. 21 22 As chair of this committee's panel on emerging threats 23 and capabilities, leveraging AI and other autonomy 24 technologies, is something that I am very focused on. And 25 we often discuss this in the context of great power

competition. But I believe these capabilities will be
 increasingly important in regions like the Middle East,
 where we no longer have the sizable military presence and
 advantage that we have had in recent decades.

5 So, can you elaborate on how, if confirmed, you would 6 leverage artificial intelligence and other emerging 7 capabilities to address current challenges that we face in 8 the region?

9 General Kurilla: Senator, thank you for that. I believe artificial intelligence, when it enables a 10 11 human, can exponentially increase the capability of several 12 of the things that we do now. Particularly, where we are 13 focused right now in the 18th Airborne Corps is in our 14 targeting capability, where we can take large pieces of 15 terrain and rapidly identify hundreds of targets, prioritize 16 them based on a high-priority target list, that determines 17 which ones we should strike with the resources that we have, 18 and then that, then, goes back into our firing solutions and 19 doing that. And that happens in seconds, versus what would 20 take hours, normally, or sometimes even days to be able to 21 develop these targets, and it is doing it in real time at 22 the edge, in our command post, and not being tied, just back 23 into a garrison computing environment.

We do this quarterly and we do it with all six services participating, and where we share that with all of them, in

an attempt to make all the services better with our
 artificial intelligence. So, rising tides raise all boats.

3 Senator Kelly: It would be great if you could come to 4 us with some ideas of what you would need next. If you 5 could think about what does AI on the battlefield look like 6 a decade from now and let's make sure that we develop the 7 tools so that it will be available.

8 I want to move on to a couple other quick topics here. 9 The Iraqi F-16 fighter force, they paid us \$2 billion for these airplanes. The Arizona Air National Guard 162nd 10 Fighter Wing in Tucson plays a very critical role in 11 12 training these Iraqi pilots to fly these F-16s. The 162nd 13 is uniquely qualified to do this because of the access to 14 ranges and unmatched flying days per year in Southern 15 Arizona, and the squadron also has decades of experience 16 training foreign national pilots.

17 General, what is your perspective on the value of the 18 foreign-pilot training to our combatant commanders?

19 General Kurilla: Senator, anytime we can get a partner
20 to do something that we would do, that is a good thing,
21 because it reduces the requirements and resources on us.

Senator Kelly: And I am also concerned about, you know, reports that the F-16 fleet faces, the Iraqi F-16 fleet faces some serious maintenance issues and readiness issues. So, could you report back to this committee on

both, the status, if confirmed, the status of the Iraqi Air
 Force's F-16 fleet and actions needed to remedy any
 deficits.

4 General Kurilla: Yes, Senator.

Senator Kelly: And then, finally, General, as you
know, Israel, which was once the purview of the European
Command is now part of Central Command and you will oversee
Central Command, if confirmed.

9 While there are a number of challenges and 10 opportunities facing Israel, one concrete action we can take 11 is to support our ally is ensuring replenishment of the Iron 12 Dome system, which was incredibly successful in the May 13 2020-2021 conflict, but also has been depleted.

I am proud of the role that Arizona has played in developing this technology; the technology behind the Iron Dome system, and I believe it is important that we work quickly to ensure that it can remain operational, to protect Israeli civilians.

What is the threat to Israel if the Iron Dome system is not replenished in a timely manner?

General Kurilla: Senator, the Iron Dome is a very capable system. The Army currently has two batteries that is undergoing testing and evaluation.

Israel does face a significant threat with literally hundreds of thousands of missiles both, in Hezbollah and

1 both, in Hamas. So, what it does is it is a great defensive 2 weapons system, so I am very supportive of the Iron Dome. Senator Kelly: Okay. Well, let's make sure that we 3 4 work together to ensure that we replenish and return Iron 5 Dome to its full, operational capability. б General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator. 7 Senator Kelly: Thank you, General. 8 Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Kelly. 9 I have been informed that Senator Rosen is finishing up 10 her questioning in another committee and will shortly be available by Webex. That will give me the opportunity, 11 12 General, to ask one or two more questions. 13 First, Russia has a significant footprint in Syria, 14 Russia, now, is confronting NATO in Ukraine. But coming 15 back to Syria, how do you project their role there, together 16 with their pretensions with respect to Ukraine? 17 General Kurilla: Senator, I believe that if Russia 18 does invade Ukraine, they would not hesitate to be able to 19 act as a spoiler in Syria, as well. Already, we see it as 20 one of the most contested, electromagnetic spectrum 21 environments that we are currently operating in. So, I 22 believe there is, you know, they are a competitor of ours. 23 Chairman Reed: So, when you assume command of the 24 CENTCOM, you will be very sensitive to reactions within 25 Syria by the Russians that may be a consequence of something

1 happening in Ukraine; is that fair? 2 General Kurilla: Absolutely, Senator. And, again, I don't believe that Russia wants to go to 3 4 war with us and I know that we don't want to go to war with 5 Russia, so I would be very sensitive to that. б Chairman Reed: Thank you very much. 7 I believe that Senator Rosen is available, so now via 8 Webex, let me recognize Senator Rosen. Senator Rosen: Well, thank you, Mr. Chair. 9 And, of course, thank you, Ranking Member Inhofe, for 10 11 holding this hearing. 12 And I would also really like to thank you, General 13 Kurilla, for meeting with me last week, for your lifetime of 14 service, and your willingness to continue serving and 15 leading the men and women of our services. 16 And so, as I have noted in previous hearings, as you 17 and I have discussed, Iranian-backed militias are 18 increasingly targeting U.S. installations and servicemembers 19 in Iraq and Syria, via rocket and drone attacks. Iran, the 20 world's leading state sponsor of terrorism continues to 21 threaten the U.S. and allied interests in the Middle East 22 and around the world, via not only its ballistic missile 23 program, but also its support for Hezbollah and the Islamic 24 Republic's multitude of terrorist proxies. 25 So, General, can you discuss the threat of Iranian-

1 backed militias in the Middle East post to our U.S. troops 2 and our allies and how do you believe the U.S. should respond to their proliferation of attacks, how are you going 3 4 to take on this challenge, if confirmed, and what is our 5 ability to target them. б Do you have everything you need? 7 General Kurilla: Senator, I will not be able to make 8 an assessment, if we have everything I need, until, if 9 confirmed, to actually make that assessment. 10 It is a big concern of the Iranian-aligned militia groups that are currently operating both, inside of Iraq and 11 12 then other elements operating inside of Syria, going after 13 our servicemembers. We should, I will always protect our 14 people and I would take action against them if they took 15 action against us. 16 Senator Rosen: Thank you. 17 I want to also build on a little bit as we think about 18 Israel's transfer to CENTCOM, because now that Israel is 19 within CENTCOM's area of responsibility, it is my sincere 20 hope that this transfer will potentiate even greater 21 military cooperation between the U.S. and Israel through our 22 shared goals, as well as cooperation between our Arab and

23 Israeli partners.

24 So, General, I want to follow-up on Senator King's 25 question. If confirmed, how would you leverage the Abraham

Accords to improve defense cooperation in the region, in furtherance of U.S. interests and do you have any plans to integrate the joint exercises with Israel and Arab states who have signed on to the normalization agreements?

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, I will make an
assessment of the best ways to increase the cooperation
between Israel and our Arab partners in the region. I think
only good comes out of that when they are talking. When you
have countries talking, it lowers the temperature.

10 Israel brings some very unique capabilities, in terms 11 of their military component, that they believe they can 12 share with their Arab partners in the region to increase 13 both, the air and missile defense is a big area, based on 14 the threat from Iran. I am a big fan of joint exercises, 15 because I believe, collectively, rising tides raise all 16 boats, when you make the elements train together, they get 17 better.

18 Senator Rosen: So, you definitely see a benefit to, 19 and opportunities to Israel's inclusion in CENTCOM? 20 General Kurilla: One hundred percent, ma'am. 21 Senator Rosen: And you spoke a little bit about 22 Iranian incursion. And so, what is your current assessment 23 of CENTCOM's ability to respond to Iranian nuclear breakout 24 and I know you are not confirmed yet, but what are the 25 contingency plans you believe CENTCOM should be prepared to 1 execute in order to prevent an Iranian nuclear weapons, any 2 capability?

General Kurilla: Senator, if confirmed, I would have
to make an assessment of the current military capabilities
and plans for any military action along those contingencies.
Senator Rosen: Thank you.

7 And, of course, lots of terrorism in the region, and so 8 we have to think about our future counterterrorism 9 operations in Afghanistan, and I have asked questions in 10 previous hearings about our ability to conduct our 11 counterterrorism operations in Afghanistan, now that we no 12 longer have a "boots on the ground" presence, and I would 13 like to ask you a little bit about this, as well.

14 So, General, if confirmed, how do you plan to execute 15 an enduring counterterrorism strategy that will be able to 16 address and counter the influence of violent, extremist 17 organizations in Afghanistan and the region?

Senator, "over the horizon" 18 General Kurilla: 19 counterterrorism is difficult; it is not impossible. Ι 20 think I have to make an assessment of the actual mission and then those resources to apply against it and highlight the 21 22 risks and look for ways to mitigate that risk, either 23 through basing additional resources, intelligence, assets, 24 technology that can then increase the effectiveness of that 25 counterterrorism.

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1 Senator Rosen: Thank you.

2	I see my time is just up, so I will submit this for the
3	record, but I just wanted you to think about what the
4	collapse of the Afghan Government, how it is going to affect
5	ISIS, al Qaeda in Iraq, Syria, and the Arabian Peninsula. I
б	will submit these questions for the record.
7	Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.
8	General Kurilla: Thank you, Senator.
9	Chairman Reed: Thank you, Senator Rosen.
10	General, let me thank you and your family for a
11	lifetime of distinguished and dedicated service to the Army
12	and to the nation. And I think you have persuaded all of
13	us, I suspect, that you have the character, the experience,
14	and the judgment to lead CENTCOM. I look forward to your
15	confirmation.
16	With that, I will adjourn the hearing.
17	General Kurilla: Thank you, Chairman.
18	[Whereupon, at 11:49 a.m., the hearing was adjourned.]
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